

STUDIES

IN

CHURCH HISTORY

BY

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"That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. . . . Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history."

—MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, b. XI., c. ii.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PAUL V. THE INTERDICT OF VENICE. THE PROHIBITION OF THE ENGLISH TEST OATH.

Pope Leo XI. (Alessandro dei Medici), the successor of Clement VIII., having died after a reign of only twenty-six days (1), sixty cardinals entered into Conclave, and on May 16, 1605, Camillo Borghese mounted the pontifical throne as Pope Paul V. Contemporary authors agree in asserting that Borghese had manifested, during his entire ecclesiastical career, every virtue befitting his state of life, and a more than ordinary capacity for government. As Pontiff, he was ever a lover of peace; and his every thought was directed to the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith. As Pope-King, he was lavish and unceasing in augmenting the artistic beauties of his capital; and his chief biographer, Bzovius, is eloquent in a description of all that this reign effected for the comfort and æsthetic delectation of the Romans. The visitor to the Eternal City especially lauds the memory of Paul V. when his admiring eyes are directed to the beauties of the Borghese Chapel in the Liberian Basilica, to the magnificent halls with which this Pontiff embellished the Quirinal, and above all, to what he effected for the completion of the Basilica of the Apostles; the artist and the architect will delight

(1) The totally unexpected death of this Pontiff gave rise to a report that he had been poisoned by means of a rose which was given to him during the ceremonies of his installation in the Lateran; but Cardinal Du Perron, who was present at the autopsy, testified that it proved that the death was due to catarrh of the stomach, superinduced by the exhaustion entailed by the long and fatiguing ceremonies in the basilica. When it became evident that the Pope would not survive his illness, great pressure was brought to bear upon him that he might be induced to enroll his grand-nephew in the Sacred College. The young man was worthy; but this scion of the Medici was of mould different from that of Leo X. and Clement VII., and he declared that it should never be said that he had effected nothing as Pope but the greater aggrandizement of his family. When his confessor joined the suplicants, he dismissed the imprudent man from his presence, chose another director, and would never again see the culprit. MURATORI; at y. 1605.—STRINGA *Life of Leo XI.*

in reading of the energy and generosity which he manifested in this, his greatest work, as they are set forth in the pages of Oldoini, Angelo Rocca, and Bonanni. In fine, as head of the Church, the fifth Paul was zealous; as man, his virtue was unimpeachable; as Pope-King, however, it must be admitted that his excessive nepotism prevented his subjects from praising him, as they otherwise would have gladly done, as one of the best of their sovereigns (1).

One of the first acts of Pope Paul V. was an assembling of the Congregation *De Divinis Auxiliis* which, as we have already noted, had been instituted by Clement VIII. for the purpose of producing harmony between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, then disputing most virulently on the relations of grace with free-will. Sixteen sessions of this body were held; and then, in 1606, for reasons which are not known, and also because of the controversy with the Venetian oligarchs, of which we shall soon treat, the Pontiff decided to promulgate no doctrinal decision. But having summoned the generals of the Friars-Preachers and the Society of Jesus, he handed to each the following Rescript: "In the matter *De Auxiliis* his Holiness, our lord the Pope, has signified to the debaters and consultors that they may retire to their homes. And his Holiness has declared that he will promulgate a declaration of his decision at some opportune time; but meanwhile he enjoins most severely on each party, when treating of this subject, not to dare to censure or in any way characterize the other. The Friars-Preachers and the Jesuits are both ordered to punish severely any of their members who may be delinquent in this matter. His Holiness wishes this his decree to be held inviolate; and therefore your Paternity will not be unfaithful to your office by neglecting to watch over its observance. Furthermore, each one of you will

(1) "The sole complaint made against this pontificate was founded on the Pope's excessive gifts to his nephews, who built, both inside and outside of Rome, palaces which were sufficiently superb to rival those of kings. One nephew alone, the prince of Sulmona, had an annual revenue of 100,000, and some say of 200,000 scudi, besides the money in his treasury. And no wonder; when Cardinal Borghese, he who had been Scipio Caffarelli, son of a sister of the Pope, was despotic minister in the holy court, and whenever an office became vacant, he gave it to some relative, thus causing public discontent. Therefore it was that Andrew Vettorelli said of this Pontiff: 'Had he been wanting in this characteristic, profusion towards his relatives, all men say that he would have been regarded as one of the most blessed of Popes.'" MURATORI; *loc. cit.*

take occasion to inform his Holiness as to what you may have done in the premises." This decree was immediately forwarded by the Holy Office to the apostolic nuncios at Florence, Cracow, Naples, Venice, Madrid, Prague, and to those in France and Savoy; as well as to the inquisitors-general in Spain, Portugal, Milan, Genoa, Turin, Avignon, Malta, the Puglia, Sardinia, and Sicily; all of whom were enjoined to promulgate the document in their respective jurisdictions. We may here observe that on Dec. 1, 1611, Paul V. strictly prohibited the publication of any work treating of the disputed points, "even though said work advanced the pretext of commenting on St. Thomas, *aut alio modo*"; and that this prohibition was renewed by Urban VIII. on May 22, 1625, by Innocent X. on April 23, 1656, and by Innocent XII. on Jan. 28 and Feb. 6, 1694 (1).

No people have been more firm in their devotion to the Catholic faith than were the citizens of the venerable Venetian Republic, while that state existed as an independent nationality. And nevertheless we are about to narrate an episode of Venetian history, which has but few parallels in the annals of rebellion and schism. The reader must know that the Republic of Venice was the first state to receive the decrees of the Council of Trent; and that as a token of his appreciation of its promptitude, Pope Pius IV. presented to *La Serenissima* the magnificent palace in Rome yet styled "*di Venezia*"—a regal gift which elicited from the proud oligarchs the return present of the majestic palace "*Gritti*" in Venice, as a residence for the papal nuncios. But these interchanges of courtesies were by no means indicative of sterling sympathy between the *political* cabinets of Rome and Venice. Zealous as the Venetians had ever been in their attachment to Catholic doctrine and to every Catholic custom, they had, from

(1) "Would that both of the contending parties had observed this silence! As for me, although I shall ever cling to those columns of the Church, Sts. Augustine and Thomas, most firmly, and therefore shall ever believe in the doctrine of grace which is efficacious *per se* and gratuitous unto the glory of predestination; nevertheless I shall never be led out of that harbor of safety, a religious silence on this matter of controversy, which I have chosen, nor shall I ever fail to show a sincere and public reverence for the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs. And undoubtedly this resolution and refuge will be embraced by whoever is truly wise, and wishes for a quiet life." AMAT DE GRAVESON; *Eccles. Hist.*, Cent. XVII., Conversation ii.

time immemorial, been extremely jealous, suspicious, and extravagantly independent, in all their secular dealings with the Popes. Long before the days of Febronius, Giannone, etc., they had conceived the idea of the quasi-divinity of their state, and in their blind devotion to it, had advanced in what is now called "liberalism"—be it understood, however, only in their relations with Church disciplinary authority—as far as their Catholicism, in its utmost latitude, would allow. Thus, for centuries, the Republic had reserved to itself the right to build new churches or convents; all control over instruction, unless the purely religious; the regulation and protection of all the externals of divine worship; the examination of all documents arriving from Rome, and the consequent right of granting the *exequatur*. "We are slaves to our laws, and hence our liberty," grandiosely said their Serenities of *La Signoria* in excuse to Pope Pius IV. for their refusal to receive a bishop of his nomination. Ecclesiastical immunity was nearly a mere name in Venice, and the clergy were excluded from every governmental employment. In the debates of the Council, if affairs with Rome were brought forward, the doors were opened for the exit of all *papalisti*, i. e., all who had relatives or even intimate friends in the Roman States; and in 1525 the Ten had decreed that no debate on a Roman question could be shared by any member who had children, nephews, or nieces, in the Religious Orders. At the time of Paul V., the oligarchy had become so jealous of its jurisdiction over all ecclesiastics, that the Inquisitors of State having heard that guests of the papal nuncio had contended that "the secular government cannot judge clerics, unless permitted by a pontifical indult," it was ordered that any Venetian prelate who thus expressed himself, "should be described, in a book kept for such purpose, as *but little liked*, and occasion should be sought for the sequestration of his revenues; if he persisted, the utmost rigor should be used toward him, for gangrene needs iron and fire" (1). From time immemorial the Venetians had prohibited clergymen from holding real estate, and at this period they were compelled to sell any such property which they had acquired even

(1) *Statutes of the Inquisition of State*; Supplement, art. 3.

by the last will of a parent. It may be readily imagined that this state of things was not acceptable to a Pontiff like Paul V., a man of rigorous virtue, who was convinced that the Holy Spirit had prompted his election precisely in order to remedy the abuses which had lowered the dignity of the Holy See ; who instituted a commission for the devisement of means "to check the presumption of secular government" ; and who was wont to declare : "There can be no true piety, where an entire submission to the spiritual power is wanting." Very soon after his election this Pontiff anticipated a remark which the "great" Prussian Frederick is said to have made in reference to the meddlesomeness of the emperor Joseph II. Addressing the Venetian ambassador, Conterini, our Pontiff said : "My lord, we very much regret to learn that the Ten wish to play the sacristan, prescribing the hour for closing the churches, etc."

At first, Paul V. contented himself with beseeching the doge for a change in the republic's methods ; but soon he felt it incumbent upon the Holy See to adopt severe measures. The crisis was precipitated by the imprisonment of two ecclesiastics by order of the Ten, and their threatened trial for immoralities by a civil tribunal. This violation of clerical immunity from civil process was considered by forty-one cardinals in full Consistory ; and they all, with one sole exception—a Venetian—approved of the papal design to launch the censures of the Church upon the contumacious oligarchs. Accordingly, on Dec. 25, 1605, Pope Paul issued a Bull whereby excommunication and interdict were pronounced against the Venetians if, within twenty-four days, they did not submit to the wishes of the Holy See. Their Serenities expressed much grief on account of the pontifical action : but they manifested no symptoms of an inclination to yield. They even threatened to punish severely all persons who would dare to promulgate the Bull of Interdict, and they ordered the parish clergy to continue the administration of the Sacraments. The recalcitrants were either fined and imprisoned, or exiled. Among the banished were nearly all the Capuchins, Jesuits, and Theatines, who retired in processional order, bearing candles in their hands and crucifixes on their breasts.

But it is worthy of note, and the *Italianissimi* of our day would do well to observe the fact, that amid all the mental effervescence entailed by this disturbance of every religious relation, their Serenities suffered no insults to be offered to the clergy, and they tolerated no outrages against sacred things. On one occasion, when a friar allowed himself to indulge in invectives against the Holy Father, saying, among other absurdities, that Paul had become Saul, the Ten severely admonished the cowed censor; and as an "admonition" of their Serenities generally guaranteed its own observance, the complaints of such gentry against their chief superior were thereafter heard only in their own convents. It appears that, as a rule, the friars arrayed themselves, as far as they could, on the side of the oligarchs in this lamentable dissension with the Pope. Gregorio Leti was not absolutely mendacious when he asserted, in his buffoonesque *Life of Sixtus V.*, that "the Venetian friars would renounce, so to speak, God Himself, let alone the Pope and religion, for the sake of the republic"; but few will agree with Leti when he adds: "All friars should do the same; although I must admit that there are many scandalous instances of friars refusing to thus serve their sovereign." When so many religious were found wanting in the true spirit of their vocation, we need not be surprised on learning that there appeared innumerable pamphlets and other more pretentious works in attempted refutation of the equally innumerable vindications of the papal action which then saw the light (1). Among these "apologies" for the Holy See the most noteworthy was written by Cardinal Bellarmine at the request of the Pontiff, who was convinced that the known moderation of the great controversialist would avoid embittering the Most Serene, while contending for the just claims of the Holy See (2). It was not the fault of Bel-

(1) See the *Collection of Works on the Interdict Issued by the Presses of Venice and Rome*: Ultra, 1907.

(2) Francesco, Romano Roberto Bellarmine, better known by us as Bellarmine, was born in 1542 at Montepulciano, near Florence, and was a nephew of Pope Marcellus II. (Marcellus IV.) At the age of eighteen, he entered the Society of Jesus; and in 1559 he was appointed to a chair of theology in Louvain, being the first Jesuit to occupy that position in the Belgian University. Here he taught for nearly seven years; finding time to compose a *Hebrew Grammar* and a work on *Ecclesiastical Writers*, as well as to take part in the Balaŋ controversy. The years between 1575 and 1580 found him delivering in Rome the polemical lectures which form the body of his chief and truly great production, the *Con-*

larmine that Pope Paul V. did not abstain from his condign punishment of the oligarchs. In the Consistory in which the project was debated, many of their Eminences vented their indignation against the republic in bitter terms; Bellarmine breathed naught but reconciliation. This fact was well known, and hence the confidence of the Pontiff that with the aid of the cardinal of Capua he would gain the victory. Addressing their Serenities, the papal champion demonstrated that the arguments adduced by certain theologians in favor of the Venetian assumptions were without foundation. When those theologians, argued Bellarmine, tried to prove that the republic could with propriety condemn the papal censures, they adduced false interpretations of passages of Holy Writ. Their views were diametrically contrary to the Canons and ancient practice of the Church; and as to their citation of Gerson, they should have remembered that the great Frenchman was speaking, in the adduced passage, of circumstances afflicting the Church during the Great Western Schism, when a plurality of contending claimants for the tiara justified assumptions which could have no foundation when the Papacy

controversies Concerning Christian Faith, a work which is still unrivalled, and is especially praiseworthy for its author's gentlemanly treatment of his adversaries, more than one of whom were incapable of understanding such a method of argumentation. His treatise on the *Transfer of the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Franks*, written in refutation of the courtier-theologicist absurdities of the Illyrian, Flaccius (See our vol. ii., p. 34), enhanced the reputation of Bellarmine as a polemic; and in 1589 Sixtus V. sent him to France as an assistant to the papal legate. He faithfully followed the Pontiff's policy in regard to the League, resisting all endeavors to make him a declared partisan of that association, and confining himself to ecclesiastical matters. Gregory XIV., more partial to the League than Sixtus V. had been, recalled Bellarmine from France, and for two years the theological athlete was provincial of the Neapolitan Jesuits. In 1597, Clement VIII. appointed him an Inquisitor, a member of the Congregation for the Examination of Bishops, and finally enrolled him in the Sacred College. In 1602, he was made archbishop of Capua, the Pontiff wishing, thinks Hefele, to have him at a distance. The probable motive of this deprivation of favor was Bellarmine's having pronounced in favor of the doctrine on grace as it was interpreted by his order, although, in his *Controversies*, he had advocated the Thomistic theory. "Notwithstanding his olden opinion," says Hefele, "he took sides with his order, and tried to influence the Pope to do the same. When the public sessions of the Congregation *De Auxiliis* were begun, Bellarmine was sent away from Rome, at the demand, as it would seem, of the Dominicans; the Pontiff consenting the more readily because he himself was a Thomistic theologian, and Bellarmine had endeavored to prevent any decision of the matter." While Bellarmine was attending to his diocese of Carua, he composed his *Catechism*, which is probably the best ever written, and has been translated into every European tongue, and also into Arabic, Armenian, and Syriac. We shall meet with Bellarmine in his position of member of the Inquisition, when we treat of Galileo. Besides the *Answer to the Book of James, King of Britain*, Bellarmine wrote another work in the interest of the English Catholics, his adversary being the famous William Barclay, a Scotch Catholic lawyer, who having found that his faith debarred him from

enjoyed its normal conditions. The immunity of her servants from civil process was a sacred thing in the eyes of the Church; and the law which contravened this exemption, as well as the other enactments which the Holy See lamented, rendered the position of the Venetian clergy more intolerable than that of the vilest subjects of the republic. Then the cardinal conjured the doge and senators, so justly renowned for wisdom and justice, to reflect on the importance of this grievous dissension with the Roman Pontiff. Let them exercise that spirit of equity which had hitherto rendered their decisions celebrated in the annals of jurisprudence; and finally, urged his Eminence, let their Serenities not give reason to the enemies of the Church for rejoicing because the Pontiff was beset most sadly by his friends (1).

It is not to be supposed that the Venetian malcontents derived much satisfaction from the realization that their dissension with Rome was eagerly fomented by England, Holland, and the Grisons, all of whom thought to plant thereby the pretended Reformation in the very heart of Italy. But cer-

all chance of practising his profession in the British dominions, had gone to Antwerp as a teacher of law, and had there written a treatise on *The Power of the Pope*, in which he greatly restricted the power of the Pontiff in temporal matters. Bellarmine's reply, published in 1610, displeased the parliament of Paris, ever intent on sustaining the supposed prerogatives of its royal master in face of the temporal claims of the Holy See; and the work was solemnly condemned by parliamentary decree on Nov. 26, 1610, its sale being prohibited as high-treason against his Majesty. Thus the holy controversialist saw himself condemned as a too ultra papist by the French parliamentarians, while Pope Sixtus V. had reproved him for granting to the Pontiff merely an *indirect* power in temporals, i. e., a power to be exercised only when the salvation of souls is jeopardized. In fact, Bellarmine's *Supreme Pontiff* had been placed on the *Index* by Sixtus V.; but Urban VII. erased the work from the list (For Bellarmine's theory, see our vol. ii., p. 203). The sanctity of Bellarmine was evident throughout his life, and it is patent even in his controversies. His canonization has been frequently broached; but not until the time of Benedict XIV. did the cause appear destined even to an initiation and then the storm against the Jesuits was brewing, and policy may have induced the Holy See to hesitate in canonizing a member of an order against which the courts of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma were evidently bound to proceed to extremities. The *Controversies* of Bellarmine were the subject of more talk than any other works of their time; during the life of their author twenty-two volumes were issued in England and Germany against them. So great was the fame which he enjoyed, that his contemporaries narrated how a German stood outside the residence of the Jesuits in Rome for several days, accompanied by a notary-public; and when the cardinal finally came forth, the admiring Teuton simply gazed on him, and then having caused the official scribe to draw up an attestation to the effect that he had really seen the great writer, he returned to boast of the fact in his own country. In every Protestant University chairs were founded for the express purpose of "refuting" the arguments of Bellarmine. It is interesting to note that Bellarmine received the priesthood while he was teaching at Louvain, and at the hands of Jansenius, then bishop of Ypres.

(1) FRIZON; *Life of Bellarmine*; Nancy. 1708.

tainly they were encouraged to persist in their revolt by the arguments of Paolo Sarpi, that Servite friar whose work on the Council of Trent has already received our attention, and who was, without doubt, one of the most talented men of his century. As "theologian of the Republic," he declared that all civil rulers derive their power immediately from God, and that said power is therefore independent of both Pontiff and people. In fact, the distinctive characteristic of Fra Paolo was an aversion to the Holy See. He contended that the power of the Pope was not to be blindly acknowledged; that each one of his commands should be scrutinized, in view of a determination as to its legitimacy and propriety; that an excommunication of a multitude was unjust and sacrilegious, and that the Tridentine Council erred when it pronounced that any one who persevered in the excommunicated state for a year, should be regarded as suspected of heresy; the secular magistracy had a perfect right to prevent the publication of a Bull of excommunication. Protestant polemics have affected to regard Fra Paolo as a sort of hero; but surely it required little courage to attack the *Curia Romana* in a Republic which was always most averse to the pretensions of that court. He has also been styled a liberal; but the Constitutions which he would have given to the Order of the Servites advise the use of torture; he would have no discussions in courts of justice; he wanted to oppress the colonies in the Levant; he thought that the entire Greek race was fit only for humiliations, scourgings, and a regimen of bread and water—"humanity should be kept in reserve for better peoples"; in certain affairs of state, he thought that secret poison was a better protector for the Republic than a public execution; he abominated the freedom of the press (1). Duplessis-Mornay, the "Pope of the Calvinists," and the physician Asselineau of Orleans, who were involved in the intrigues of Sarpi, hailed him as an Italian Luther; and Mornay writes that in 1609 the friar preached the Lenten course "with freedom and truth, to a large concourse of nobles and people, in spite of the remonstrances of the nuncio." Scaliger

(1) For these and other proofs of his illiberalism, see his *Opinion of Fra Paolo as to How the Republic Should be Governed, in Order to Have Perpetual Dominion*.

wrote, about that time, that Venice "would receive the Gospel very soon." Sarpi himself seems to have thought that the prospects of the Reformers in Italy were fairly bright, for, when writing, Feb. 18, 1612, about the "constancy in the faith" displayed by Marsilio, an apostatized Jesuit, he says: "I think that only reasons of state prevent many from coming out of the ditch of Rome." De Liquez, a companion of the famous Diodati, writes: "Fra Paolo assures me that he knows more than twelve or fifteen thousand persons who are ready to revolt against the Roman Church." Many of the Reformers thought that the French monarch, Henry IV., owing to his enmity to Austria, would favor the malcontents in Venice; but great was their consternation when this prince forwarded to their Serenities of the *Signoria* a letter of Diodati to Durand, a Calvinist preacher in Paris, in which the plots of the Venetian innovators were fully revealed. This direct denunciation (1) caused the oligarchs to reflect more seriously on their position in face of the head of the Church. The friends of the Pontiff began to breathe more freely, and Sarpi declared that "incredible harm had been effected by that letter" (2). Like all patriots of his stamp, he invoked the aid of foreigners. But Sully, although a Huguenot, preferred to use his influence to effect a reconciliation of their Serenities with Pope Paul. To the French monarch's prayers were now joined the good offices of Florence, the emperor, Spain, and Savoy; and in April, 1609, a papal nuncio was sent to Venice with very lenient conditions for a lifting of the interdict. The banished clerics, the Jesuits excepted, were to be allowed to return to the Republic; the *Serenissima* was to undergo no humiliation, nor was any retractation enjoined. Then the doge, Lionardo Donato, announced that "By the goodness of the Lord, the Holy Father had been enabled to perceive the candor of our hearts, the sincerity of our actions, and our continual deference toward the Holy See. The causes of the late differences were now removed; and their Serenities were well content to have attained the object

(1) Voltaire and Daru deny this move of King Henry, declaring that he would not have committed "so vile an action." But the *Memoirs* of Duplessis-Mornay leave no doubt in the matter.

(2) Letter No. 44, to Dell' Isola.

of their just desires, for they were devoted and most obsequious sons of the Holy See"; and therefore, the protestation against the late interdict was withdrawn by the Republic. It is to be noted that the two prisoners, who had been the occasion and the immediate cause of all the trouble, were placed aboard of two gondolas and given into the custody of Cardinal Joyeuse, the French ambassador to the Most Serene; his Eminence utilizing the opportunity to state that King Henry IV. had repeatedly enjoined him to advise the Venetians "to keep on good terms with the Pope."

Nicolo Contarini, afterward doge, a great friend of Fra Paolo, having been appointed historiographer of the *Serenissima*, wrote a narrative of the dissension; but when he died, the Ten sequestered the manuscript in the interests of peace. Afterward, the Senator, Anthony Querini, wrote another account which also remained unedited, but from which we are able to extract some of the author's conclusions after the late experience. 1. A contest which, even only in appearance, turns on religious affairs, is most dangerous, since it reaches into the very foundations of society. 2. The Pontiff will always have a great advantage in any contest, even though his claims be extravagant; for many temporal princes will aid him, both for the sake of his favor, and in order to oppress his opponents, under the cloak of religious zeal. 3. Nothing can be more dangerous to the public weal than a disagreement with the Pope. 4. If the Republic did not lose reputation in this struggle, since it did not abolish the contentious laws, nevertheless it yielded up the two prisoners (whose incarceration was the proximate bone of contention); and the two most powerful monarchs in the world guaranteed to the Pontiff that the *Serenissima* would never again enforce those laws.

The author of the *Defense of the Declaration of the French Clergy in 1682*, generally supposed to have been Bossuet, wishing to decry every pontifical interference with the temporal affairs of princes, finds comfort in the fact that Paul V. did not depose the Venetian doge or the Ten, as, for instance, St. Gregory VII. deposed the German Henry IV. The same author gladly acclaims the alleged fact that all the Venetians obeyed their Senate rather than Rome; and he rejoices in the

Senate's triumph which was effected by the continuance of the senatorial enactments which the Pope had condemned. But here the Eagle of Meaux, if indeed he was the author of the famous *Defense*, forgot that the case of the Most Serene was very different from that of the German sovereign. Unlike the latter case, the former involved no crime which necessarily entailed deposition; the disobedience of the oligarchs had not reached that point where it would amount to a practical heresy. Nothing is more certain than that the Venetian Senate recognized the *indirect* power of the Roman Pontiff in the temporal affairs of states (1). The question was whether the laws condemned by the Pontiff were really unjust; no canonical definition, insisted Donato (though absurdly), had yet been pronounced in the premises—*nulloque juris ordine servato*. The right of the Pope was not questioned. If the assumption of the Senate was correct; if, observes Cantù, "the laws in question had been just and befitting, the Pope (by his interference) would have exercised a *direct* power over an independent state, which power would have been in excess of his prerogatives, since the spiritual power of the Pope affects temporals solely when there is question of sin. For these reasons the Senate opposed Paul V., and it was not forced to retract them" (2). As to the assertion that the Venetians obeyed their Senate rather than the Pope, we know that thousands of friars, monks, nuns, and other religious preferred exile and its attendant evils—perhaps starvation, to disobedience of the papal authority. If the majority of the laity did not revolt against their Serenities, their failure to do so is no proof that they denied the pontifical claims. Do the millions of Catholics in Russia recognize the sway of right in their constant and often bloody persecutions? Do other millions in the France of to-day, and throughout Spanish America, assert the right of the Brethren of the Three Points to tyrannize over them, when they resign themselves to what appears to be (perhaps through their own excessive timidity) unavoidable, and trust in God for happier days?

(1) For the meaning of the distinction between the direct and indirect power, see our vol. II., p. 203.

(2) *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse 66, Note 33.

In reference to the champion of the Most Serene during this dissension, Fra Paolo Sarpi, we need say but little. We have already investigated his calibre, when treating of the Tridentine assembly; and we shall meet him again, when we consider the abolition of the Society of Jesus. Now we would merely say a few words as to his orthodoxy, concerning which there is a great diversity of opinion. He was an envenomed foe of the Jesuits, but that fact would not necessarily imply an apostasy from the faith. He bitterly opposed the Roman *curia*; but very little intelligence is required to distinguish that from the Church. He heartily applauded every assertion of the "Gallican liberties," and hence became such an absolutist that he contended that "if anything is withdrawn from the sovereign power of a prince, by that very fact he is dethroned." He even mocked at miracles, and praised the Huguenots. But all this is not apostasy. In fact, Sarpi considered religion as inviolable in its essence, provided that it took no part in affairs of state. Leti tells us (1) that in Rome, the zealots sought for the writings of Fra Paolo in order to burn them, while others hunted for them with the lantern of Diogenes. Courayersaid: "Like Erasmus (?), the Servite was a Catholic in the gross, and a Protestant in detail." Gioberti numbers Sarpi among those who have erred in separating the idea of nationality from the religious spirit—men like Arnold of Brescia, Rienzi, Porcaro, and Baroncelli; and he ranks the friar with Machiavelli as "chief among the writers who have injured the patriotic spirit in Italy." Pallavicino held that "the teachings of this friar were seeds of atheism, for they destroyed the idea of certainty in any religion." Fontanini regards him as the type of a hypocrite who made use of his priestly character and a reputation for uprightness "merely to disseminate his doctrines in a way that would prevent their immediate detection as heretical." Quinet, an extravagant admirer of Sarpi, thinks that he remained in the Church until his demise, that he might play the spy, and denounce Catholicism with more effect. Bossuet was of the same opinion (2). It is due to the reputation of the distinguished

(1) *Political Balance*, Letter xvii.

(2) In the *Defence of the Declaration, etc.*; vol. i., pt. 2, b. 8, ch. xii. Also in the *History of the Variations of Protestantism*.

Order of which Fra Paolo was so unworthy a member, to note that his brethren nearly unanimously protested their aversion for his peculiar opinions, and that several of the best refutations of these teachings are by Servites. The chief of these Servite productions was written by Lelio Baglioni (1); and it so pleased Pope Paul V. that he enjoined upon its author the task of confuting the famous Dalmatian apostate De Dominis—a work which death prevented his completing.

It is not the least among the many glories of the Venetian Republic, that she who was, in her halcyon days, by far the most patriotic of European countries, did not allow her terrible alienation from Rome during the pontificate of Paul V. to throw her into the arms of the German reformers, as they had confidently expected would be her decision. A century and a half after this lamentable event, Albrizzi could write: "The most noteworthy characteristic of this august republic is her firm and inviolable attachment to the Catholic Church. The commanders of her armies, the governors of her fortresses, in their wars with the Turks, have defended the faith with their blood, and often amid most cruel torments. In most critical conjunctures this wise government has guarded most strictly the purity of the faith. . . . The souvenir of the many victories of Venice is renewed every year by some religious ceremony, performed with as much majesty as appropriateness; the doge, at the head of the senate, fulfils this pious duty" (2). And how could Venice have permanently disjoined herself from the Papacy, when her origin, her patrons, her very national festivals, and even the fine arts, in the love of which she found her greatest happiness, all proclaimed her thorough Catholicism? "Let any person of judgment tell us," cries Cantù, "whether that religion was likely to perish, which was then erecting so many sumptuous churches. When the public spirit was so identified with Catholicism, could an eminently conservative government have dreamed of so radical a revolution? We have studied many documents concerning the interdict of Venice,

(1) *On Ecclesiastical Powers and Immunities.*

(2) *The Stranger Enlightened as to the City of Venice, Venice, 1771.*

and while we have found much boldness and much discontent, we have always discerned Christian submission and a desire for reconciliation" (1).

One of the most important matters submitted to the decision of Paul V. was the liceity of subscribing to the famous Test Oath which James I. had tendered to the Catholics of England as a guarantee of some little alleviation of their terrible sufferings. When the son of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, first ascended the throne of his ancestors, he showed himself not very hostile to the Catholics of his kingdom; and when these children of persecution reflected on the sufferings of his mother, whom they preferred to regard as a martyr to her faith, rather than as a victim of conscienceless statecraft, they found it easy to believe that their young monarch and future king of England would return to the faith of his ancestors. The hope grew when they learned that James kept an agent in Rome, and that he had entreated the Holy See to enroll a Scotchman in the Sacred College. Then came the welcome intelligence that the king had conceived a deep admiration for Cardinal Bellarmine, and that in 1600 he had begged for the friendship of the great controversialist in a letter in which he avowed that he had found more solidity in any one of the cardinal's writings than in all the volumes which his Scottish preachers had produced in attacking them. The reply of Bellarmine to the royal letter, although it contained some excellent arguments showing that James was bound in conscience to embrace the Catholic faith, made such an impression on the mind of the prince, that he turned with increased ardor to the study of theology, for which science of sciences he fancied, during his entire life, that he possessed a special aptitude, although he knew that Sully, an excellent judge of ability and of character, styled him "the wisest fool in Europe." The hopes of the Catholics were dissipated almost as soon as James, in 1603, donned the English crown; it became evident that he found it an easy task to follow in the footsteps of his mother's murderess. Shortly after the judicial murder of the Jesuit, Garnet, who had been falsely accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, James devised

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 188.

a scheme which effectually, and for many years, divided the Catholic body in England into two factions. The king had determined to draw a line between those Catholics who believed in the power of the Pope to depose heretical sovereigns, and those who denied that power. Abbott, the Anglican incumbent of Canterbury, and Sir Christopher Perkins, a conforming Jesuit, were commissioned to frame a new oath of allegiance; and the document which resulted not only denied the deposing power of the Pontiff, but declared that to maintain that power was heretical and damnable. "The great, the only point of importance," remarks Lingard, "was the rejection of the temporal superiority attributed by many theologians to the Pontiff; and it is equally a matter of surprise that the king, on the one hand, should have allowed the introduction of a clause calculated to prevent his own purpose (1), and that the Catholics, on the other, did not petition that such clause should be totally expunged, or at least cleared from the hyperbolical and offensive epithets with which it was loaded" (2). The parliament approved this Test Oath; and the Catholics of England learned that those who would refuse to subscribe to it would incur perpetual imprisonment, the forfeiture of their entire personal property, and the confiscation of the income from real estate during their lives. It is interesting to note that the married among the gentler sex, who dared to refuse to acknowledge the divine right of the Pope-King of England to hold their consciences in his clutches, were imprisoned in the common jail until their "obstinacy" was, perchance, converted into an appropriate docility.

Great indeed must have been the astonishment of Pope Paul V. when he learned that the unfortunates who dared to risk their salvation by taking this oath were, nevertheless, as Catholic recusants who persisted in declaring that the Roman Pontiff was the sole head of the Church on earth, subjected to the following penalties, ordered by parliament on May 27th of this memorable year, 1606. I. No Catholic should appear

(1) Lingard surmises—on what ground, we cannot tell—that James, in the proposal of this measure, "had the intention of gradually relieving one portion of his Catholic subjects from the burden of the penal laws."

(2) *History of England*, vol. VII., ch. I., p. 91. English edit. 1883.

at the royal court, even reside within ten miles of London, or ever to go more than five miles from his residence without the written permission of the four nearest magistrates. II. No Catholic could practise the healing art; be a judge, lawyer, or clerk in any court; present to any living, school, or hospital, even though the founders of these benefices or institutions had expressly decreed that the right of presentation thereto should reside perpetually in his heirs, of whom said Catholic was the representative. III. No husband or wife could acquire any right of property from the other party in the contract, unless the union had been solemnized by a Protestant minister. If each child was not baptized by a Protestant minister within a month from its birth, the parents were to be fined one hundred pounds. The burial of the corpse of a Catholic should be in a Protestant cemetery; any infraction of this provision entailed a fine of twenty pounds on the executor. IV. Any Catholic child educated on the continent was deprived, from the day when he left England for that purpose, of any benefit by descent or gift, unless he returned to Britain and took the Test Oath, as well as the Oath of Supremacy; all his legacies or gifts were to go, in case of his recalcitrancy, to the next of his kin who was a Protestant. V. The house of every Catholic might be searched at any time; his books and furniture were to be burnt, if they even appeared to have any bearing upon or relationship with the Catholic religion or worship; and at any time his horses and weapons could be taken from him by the magistrates. VI. Absence from the services of the Establishment was to be punished as it had been during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but hereafter the king should determine, in each case, whether he would be satisfied with the fine of twenty pounds per month, or would rather appropriate all the personal and two-thirds of the real estate of the victim. VII. Any person, whether Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or of any other or of no faith, who received a Catholic visitor or kept a Catholic servant in his service, was to pay ten pounds per month for each visitor and each servant (1).

(1) This must have been a terrific burden if, as La Boderie, the French ambassador, tells us, nearly every Protestant gentleman had a number of Catholic servants, regarding such as of superior fidelity.

But little consideration was necessary before Paul V. sent a Brief to the English Catholics, declaring that they could not subscribe to the Test without shipwreck of their religion. This document produced a profound impression in the minds even of those English Catholics who were disposed to look askance on the "temporal pretensions" of Rome; and the king caused the circulation of a report that the Brief was not authentic, but an invention of his ultra-Catholic rebellious subjects. When our Pontiff heard of this royal artifice, he expedited a more formal Brief of the same tenor as the other; and this document was conveyed to Blackwall, the arch-priest (1), accompanied by a strong and touching letter from Bellarmine tending to reanimate the failing courage of the venerable ecclesiastic. Whether Blackwall had been terrified by the execution of the missionary Drury (2), or really believed (which is scarcely credible) that the command of the Pontiff could be disregarded as the private *dictum* of Camillo Borghese (3), he had publicly announced that the Test Oath might be taken conscientiously by all English Catholics. Soon after this declaration, and before the arrival of the second Brief, the poor man had been arrested, and although he took the oath, had been cast into prison, the king refusing to grant the septuagenarian any other indulgence than an exemption from the execution which he had merited by his reception of Holy Orders on the continent. Blackwall had been bound to Bellarmine by the ties of friendship for more than forty years; and it is not improbable that the influence of the cardinal, supported by several objurgatory letters from Robert Parsons, finally procured his retraction, as some

(1) Such was the title given by Clement VIII. to the priest who, in the absence of the regular hierarchy, then exercised a quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over the English Catholics.

(2) As soon as James had heard of the Brief of the Pontiff, he ordered his bishops to tender the oath to all the Catholics in their dioceses; and the barbarous penalties due to high-treason were at once pronounced against all who refused to subscribe. Three priests, one of them Drury, who had all been already sentenced to death for presuming to celebrate Mass, were among the condemned. The prince de Joinville and the French ambassador succeeded in obtaining a commutation for two of these; but Drury was disemboweled. Drury had declared that while his private opinion favored the licity of taking the oath, he could not presume to prefer that opinion in face of the papal decision. La Boderie says that the real reason for Drury's execution was the discovery of a letter from Father Parsons, condemning the Test, on his person. LA BODERIE, *Despatches*, III., 102, 256.—HOWELL; *State Trials*, II., 358.

(3) Lingard thinks that this was the opinion of Blackwall, and says that he refused to notify his flock officially of the reception of the Brief.

writers assert. Whether or not this disavowal was made, a new arch-priest, Berkhead, was substituted for him; but the evil example of his defection produced sad effects during many years after death had freed him from his prison. The great majority of the faithful obeyed the injunctions of Berkhead, sustained by the exhortations of the Jesuit missionaries, and regarded the oath as tantamount to apostasy; but very many fell back on the opinion of Blackwall as a justification of a course which, even according to their own sophisms, was rank cowardice and a grievous scandal. It is sad to note that while the immense mass of the Catholic commoners braved every sacrifice rather than refuse obedience to a Pontifical decree, all the proud Catholic peers (twenty in number), with but one exception, Lord Teynham, took the oath on several occasions during the reign of James (1).

The letter of Bellarmine to Blackwall very soon became public property, and of course fell into the hands of James. The modern Solomon, as his courtiers styled him when he was present, resolved to defend the propriety and necessity of the Test, and to thereby enhance his presumed great reputation as polemic and theologian. After much labor he issued a work which bore the title: *A Triple Wedge for a Triple Knot*; the triple knot being formed, as he presented the case, by the two Briefs of Paul V. and the letter of Bellarmine to Blackwall, and the triple wedge being the combination of his fancied refutations of the Roman claims. So assured was James of the profundity of his argumentation, and of the consequent success of his treatise, that on the frontispiece he quoted the passage of *Esdras*, "Truth is great, and it shall prevail." Bellarmine soon published a demonstration of the falsity of the royal premises, and of the absurdity of the conclusions; indicating how the three wedges handled by James had not even touched the three knots in question. The king perceived no other way of vindicating the dignity of his ermine, soiled, as he told all the sovereigns of Europe in a second edition of his *Wedge*, by one who was not even of illustrious birth, than by appealing to all those princes to witness how this Roman cardinal had undertaken to sub-

(1) Teynham evaded the difficulty by never entering the House of Lords.

vert every throne in Christendom, by a doctrine which forbade a subject to swear fidelity to his liege lord and master. The kings of France and Denmark had already urged the crowned pedant to desist from his controversy ; and while James could not well avoid receiving the remonstrance of Henry IV. with signs of respect, he had rebuked the Dane for presuming to give advice to a prince so very much wiser than himself. When the new edition was presented by special messengers to the sovereigns, the emperor and the king of Spain declined peremptorily to receive it ; the others affected to be pleased with the compliment. Matthews, the incumbent of York, threw himself on his knees when the volume was brought to him, kissed it most tenderly, and declared that his Majesty's production should be cherished by him as the apple of his eye (1).

CHAPTER II.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

When the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, mounted the English throne in 1603, at least half of the nation was still Catholic (2), and the faithful looked forward to a speedy undoing of a work which had been consummated only by fraud, rapine, and judicial murder. James I. had assured them of toleration at the least, while he was as yet merely king of Scotland ; and in the early days of his English reign he seemed to remember his promise to relieve the best portion of his subjects of the burden of the Penal Laws—a code which was, as one of the greatest legal luminaries of our day has said : “ as savage as any that can be conceived since the foundation of the world ” (3). In those days of hope the Jesuit Garnet felt justified in writing to his equally celebrated companion, Robert Parsons : “ There hath happened a great al-

(1) *Dunrymple's Memorials*; Letter of Young to James, June 19, 1609.

(2) JARDINE, *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 5. Strype says of the time of Elizabeth : “ The faction of the Catholics in England is great, and able, if the kingdom were divided into three parts, to make two of them.” (*Annals*, iii. 313.) At the execution of Father Oldcorne, 1606, a proof was given of their numbers. When the martyr invited all Catholics to pray with him, almost all present uncovered.

(3) Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, to *Lord Mayor Knill*, Nov. 9, 1895.

teration by the death of the queen. Great fears were, but all are turned into greatest security, and a golden time we have of unexpected freedom abroad. The Catholics have great cause to hope for great respect, in that the nobility all almost labour for it, and have good promise thereof from his Majesty" (1). This confidence of Garnet is confirmed by the contemporary Protestant bishop of Gloucester, Goodman, who says of the Catholics of that time: "Certainly they had great promises from him" (2). And, in fact, one of the first royal acts of James was a remission of many of the fines which the Catholics had incurred for not having attended the Protestant service; he said that he would not make merchandise of conscience. He bade to the royal presence many prominent Catholics, and assured them that he was favorably disposed toward those of their religion (3). He even bestowed titles and lucrative offices on some Catholics; he appointed Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, to the Privy Council (4); and in his first speech to Parliament he declared that he would not persecute the Papists, if they would but keep quiet. As a consequence of this mildness, thousands of perverts returned to the faith; in the diocese of Chester alone, more than a thousand abjured the heresy which they had feigned to embrace. But these conversions caused a panic among the fanatical and interested partisans of the Establishment; and in 1604 an Act of Parliament confirmed the bloody statutes of "good Queen Bess." Soon an order banishing all priests was promulgated, and Goodman could then write: "A gentlewoman was hanged only for relieving and harbouring a priest; a citizen was hanged only for being reconciled to the Church of Rome; besides the Penal Laws were such and so executed that they could not subsist." Terrible, indeed, had been the sufferings of the faithful during the reign of the daughter of Anne Boleyn; but during the reign of her successor, Catholics were wont to say that "although the times of Elizabeth were most cruel, they were the mildest and happiest in comparison to those of James I." (5). In 1605, Luisa de Carvajal, a noble Spanish lady who

(1) *Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia*, iii., 32.(2) *Court of King James*, i., 85.(3) *JARDINE, loc. cit.*, p. 18.(4) *Ibi.*, p. 20.(5) *Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia*, vol. iii., p. 103.

had come to England for the purpose of encouraging and aiding the persecuted Catholics, wrote : " We can hardly go out to walk without seeing the heads and limbs of some of our dear and holy ones stuck upon the gates that divide the streets, and the birds of the air perching upon them " (1). Some few, indeed, of the captured priests died in loathsome dungeons after repeated and horrible tortures ; but most of them suffered the death of " traitors " (2), in accordance with that horrible sentence, that each should " be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there be hung by the neck, whilst still alive be laid upon the ground, his members be amputated, his entrails be drawn out of his belly, *he being still alive*, and be burned, his head cut off, and his body divided into four parts, and his head and quarters be placed where the king has been pleased to appoint." The lot of the lay Catholic of that day may be imagined by him who reads the *Jesuit Records*, gathered from the archives of the Society and from the annals of many old English Catholic families by Henry Foley, S. J. (3). Father Robert Parsons tells us that " not only in the shires and provinces, but in London itself, and under the eyes of the Court, the violence and insolency of continual searches grew to be intolerable ; no night passing, commonly, but that soldiers and catchpoles broke into quiet men's houses when they were asleep, and not only

(1) *Life of Luisa de Carvajal*, by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, p. 226.

(2) In reference to the absurd claim of Protestant writers that priests were not executed because they presumed to say Mass and otherwise officiate as priests, but rather because of " treason," it is to be noted that in many cases the victim is described as a " traitor " precisely because he was " ordained a priest in parts beyond the sea by authority from the See of Rome, in contempt of the said queen's (or king's) crown and dignity, and also against the form of the statutes in this case published and provided." In fact, he was put to death simply for being a priest and saying Mass. On this subject, Hallam, who cannot be suspected of favoring Catholics, makes these remarks : " Treason, by the law of England and according to the common use of language, is the crime of rebellion or conspiracy against the Government. If a statute is made by which the celebration of certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties as rebellion, or conspiracy, would any man free from prejudice, and not desirous to impose upon the uninformed, speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the words ? . . . A man is punished for religion, when he incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise to which he was not liable on any other account. This is applicable to the great majority of capital convictions on this score under Elizabeth," (and under her immediate successors.) " The persons convicted could not be traitors in any fair sense of the word, because they were not chargeable with anything properly denominated treason." *Constitutional History*, ch. 3, p. 164, London, 1850.

(3) The *Clifton Tracts*, No. 50, may also be consulted with profit.

carried their persons into prisons at their pleasure, unless they would bribe excessively, but whatsoever liked them best (1). Doña Luisa de Carvajal writes that Catholics “never have a moment of peace and security, or hear a noise at the door without a beating of the heart, especially if they have a priest residing with them. Numbers of people answer me when I speak to them of religion, ‘We have not the least doubt that the Catholic religion is the true one, but how is it possible to exist in such continual fear and trembling; not to be able, whether in bed or at meals, in the house or out of it, to enjoy the least tranquillity?’ And thus, driven to despair, they risk, or rather forfeit, their hopes of salvation.” In one year alone, 1605, six thousand recusants were cited before the courts for having neglected to attend the services of the Establishment, and each was fined £20 a month for himself, and £10 a month for each member of his family. When we consider the value of money at that time, we may imagine the burden which was thus inflicted upon even the wealthiest among the Catholics. In this same year, 1605, James I. invented the scheme of farming out his monied Catholic subjects to his needy and greedy Scotch favorites. Instead of availing himself of his privilege of refusing to receive the £20 per month for recusancy (2), and of taking in its place two-thirds of the victim’s entire property; he turned the unfortunates over to his canny Scots, who received the right to exact, each one from his chosen prey, either all the accrued penalties or an annuity for himself. Innumerable families were thus ruined. Atrocities such as these were the cause, if not a justification, of the Gunpowder Plot. Commenting on the horrible persecution, the maddening oppression and refinements of cruelty, which drove a few despairing men to plan the sudden destruction of a king and of a parliament which were heaping upon Catholics the direst sufferings, and imperilling the souls of their children by the prohibition of Catholic worship and education, Lady Fullerton says:

(1) *Judgment of a Catholic Englishman.*

(2) Gardiner (*Hist.* i. 229 note) says that arrears were never demanded in the case of the fine of £20 per lunar month for non-attendance at the parish church. Father Gerard, however, a contemporary witness, distinctly states that they were. (*Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, ed. Morris, p. 62.)

"The sight of continual outrages, perpetrated under the name of law, worked like madness in their minds, and, oblivious of the Divine command not to do evil that good may come, they deemed it justifiable to use any means, however terrible, to deliver their brethren from a king who publicly drank 'damnation to the Papists'—one whose mother had died on the scaffold, consoled and strengthened in her mortal agony by the Catholic Faith—and from law-givers who placed them and their co-religionists beyond the pale of the law (1), tortured and slew their priests, seduced their children from the Faith, insulted and imprisoned their wives, invaded their homes, ruined their fortunes, confiscated their lands, and trod their rights under foot, and that for no other offence than worshipping God as every Christian had worshipped God for fifteen hundred years. No wonder that, yielding to human passion, they conceived the thought of swiftly and suddenly destroying the destroyers, forgetting Who has said, '*Vengeance is Mine, and I will repay.*'" If extenuating circumstances can ever be pleaded for a great crime, the Gunpowder Plot may claim the benefit. Who shall dare to say that it exceeded the sin of the rulers who provoked it, or that the maddened victim does not deserve more mercy than the cold-blooded tyrant and ruthless oppressor? Be that as it may, they sinned, and they suffered, and all the Catholics of England suffered redoubled persecution through their guilty act. Fear made their enemies savage. The most sanguinary laws were passed, and all the fury of popular passion was let loose against them." It was while his blood was boiling with indignation because of these sanguinary laws and of this unbridled popular passion, that Sir Everard Digby wrote to Cecil this warning: "If your Lordship and the State think fit to deal severely with the Catholics, within brief space

(1) Sir Edward Hoby, a Protestant gentleman then residing in London, writes to Sir Thomas Esmonde: "My lord Salisbury showed me a paper in the king's own hand, under the name of his *Meditations*, which you would have said was an Act of Parliament, the form only wanting: 'All recusants, convict, and not communicating [i. e., not taking the so-called sacrament in a Protestant church] shall stand in the case of excommunicate persons, whereby they are clean out of the king's protection, subject to many dangers, and, upon any injury offered, not plead in any of the king's courts. The king to choose whether he will take £20 a month or two parts of their living. All women to be incapable of their dowers or jointures.'"

there will be massacres, rebellions, and desperate attempts against the king and the State. For it is a general received reason among Catholics, that there is not that expecting and suffering course now to be run that was in the queen's time, who was the last of her line, and last in expectance to run violent courses against Catholics; for then it was hoped that the king that now is, would have been at least free from persecuting, as his promise was before his coming into this realm, and as divers his promises have been since his coming. All these promises every man sees broken" (1).

According to the generally accepted history of the Gunpowder Plot, the conspiracy originated in the mind of Robert Catesby; and was proposed to and acclaimed by John Wright, Thomas Winter, Guy Faukes (2), Thomas Percy, Christopher Wright, and Robert Keyes. These seven "gentlemen of blood and name," as Faukes described them, made the preparations for the explosion; and then they associated with themselves Francis Tresham and five other gentlemen whose wealth would be of help in sustaining the revolt which was expected to follow. The conspirators at first tried to lay a mine under the House of Lords; but they soon hired a cellar beneath the Peers' Chamber, and placed in it a quantity of gunpowder which Faukes was to fire by means of a train, when the king and parliament had assembled. It was the intention of the desperate men, in the midst of the excitement necessarily produced, to secure the person of one of the royal children, and to proclaim him or her as sover-

(1) In a valuable work which we shall soon notice, a namesake of Father John Gerard, the companion of Father Garnet, thus speaks of this famous letter: "It seems to have been always assumed that this celebrated letter, which is undated, was written after the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, and the consequent arrest of Sir Everard, and doubtless to some extent internal evidence supports this view, as the writer speaks of himself as deserving punishment, and of 'our offence.' It is, moreover, clear that the letter, which is undated, cannot have been written before May 4th, 1605, the date of Cecil's earldom. On the other hand, the whole tone of the document appears utterly inconsistent with the supposition that it was written by one branded with the stigma of such a crime as the Powder Plot. Some of the expressions used, especially in the opening sentence, appear, likewise, incompatible with such a supposition, and the letter bears the usual form of address for those sent in ordinary course of post, 'To the Right Hon. the Earl of Salisbury give these'; it has moreover been sealed with a crest or coat-of-arms; all of which is quite unlike a document prepared by a prisoner for those who had him under lock and key. It is noteworthy, too, that at the trial, according to the testimony of the official account itself, on the very subject of the treatment of Catholics, Salisbury acknowledged 'that Sir E. Digby was his ally.'"

(2) He always wrote his name "Guido Faukes."

eign under their guardianship. In order to provide for the nucleus of an army, they arranged a "hunting match" near Rugby, which was to be held at the time set for the explosion. But fortune favored the destined victims. On Oct. 26, 1605, ten days before the meeting of the parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic peer, received an anonymous warning not to be present at the ceremony. He took the letter to the prime minister, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, who (wonderful man) at once divined the nature of the threatening danger, although he took no apparent steps to obviate it until the morning of the eventful Fifth of November. Then it was that beneath the Peers' Chamber was found a quantity of powder, and with it Guy Faukes, who was waiting for the arrival of the king in order to fire his train. It was afterward discovered that the cellar and an adjacent house had been rented by Thomas Percy, a Catholic gentleman; and that on Nov. 4 he had left London, having learned that news of the Plot had probably reached the government. In a few hours the Londoners heard that the fugitive conspirators had made forcible seizures of arms and horses in Warwickshire; and in a few days it was learned that Catesby, the two Wrights, and Percy had been either killed or mortally wounded in a fight with the sheriff of Worcestershire, all the others but one (Robert Winter) having been taken prisoners. Two months afterward, Winter also was captured. After many examinations and torturings of the prisoners (1), Cecil,

(1) There is no room for doubt that torture was freely applied. Cecil, in his letter to Favat, of December 4, 1605, clearly intimates that this was the case, when he complains "most of the prisoners have wilfully forsworn that the priests knew anything in particular, and obstinately refuse to be accusers of them, *yca, what torture soever they be put to.*" About the middle of November, Lord Dunfermline wrote to Salisbury [*Dom. James I.* xvi. 81] recommending that the prisoners should be confined apart and in darkness, that they should be examined by torchlight, and that the tortures should be slow and at intervals, as being thus most effectual. There is good reason to believe that the Jesuit lay-brother, Nicholas Owen, *alias* Littlejohn, actually died upon the rack. [See Father Gerard's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, p. 189.] Finally we have the king's instructions as to Faukes [*Gunpowder Plot Book*, No. 17.] "The gentler tortours are to be first usid unto him, *et sic per gradus ad ima tendatur*; (and then gradually the heaviest) and so God speede your goode worke." Guy's signature of November 9th would seem to prove that it was none of the 'gentler tortours' which he had endured. In the Protestant account of the execution (*The Arraignment and Execution of the Late Traitors, etc.*, London, 1606) we read: "Last of all came the great Devil of all, Faukes, who should have put fire to the powder. His body being weak with torture and sickness, he was scarce able to go up the ladder, but with ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to brake his neck with the fall."

writing on Dec. 4, had to admit that "Most of the prisoners have wilfully forsworn that the priests knew anything in particular, and obstinately refuse to be accusers of them, yea, what torture soever they be put to " (1). And nevertheless, the king had just written to Sir John Harrington that "the whole legion of Catholics were consulted," and that "the priests were to pacify their consciences, and the Pope confirm a general absolution for this glorious deed " (2). On Jan. 15, 1606, a reward was offered for the "peculiar practisers " of treason, the Jesuits Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway ; and on Jan. 25, an Act of Parliament decreed the perpetual solemnization of the anniversary of the discovery of the plot which had been designed by "Many malignant and devilish Papists, Jesuits, and seminary priests, much envying the true and free possession of the Gospel by the nation under the greatest, most learned, and most religious monarch who had ever occupied the throne " (3). Then the English Church Establishment began to mark in its Calendar the Fifth of November as the anniversary of the "Papists' Conspiracy " ; and then was instituted the Collect which represents the king, clergy, and people of England as having been, on that day, "by Popish treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbarous and savage manner, beyond the examples of former ages." The trial of the surviving conspirators began on Jan. 27, and their indictment charged them with having yielded to the persuasions of Garnet and other Jesuits. They were executed, some on Jan. 30, and others on the following day. Garnet was captured, in company with another Jesuit, Oldcorne, on Jan. 30 ; and the latter, though not charged with any complicity in the Plot, suffered the usual disembowelling, etc., for having aided the former in his attempt to escape. Garnet was "examined " twenty-three times by the royal Council ; and not only torture, but every kind of artifice, was used in vain to prove that he had been the instigator of the conspiracy. Finally he was brought to trial on March 28 ; and on May 3 the punishment of a traitor was inflicted upon him.

(1) To Favat. Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 6,178, fol. 625.

(2) See Harrington's account in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i., 374.

(3) Statutes, 3d Year of James, ch. 1.

This account of the Gunpowder Plot, which for more than two centuries has been generally received as substantially correct, is mainly based upon the official narrative, which has reached us in four forms, each of which was intended for a special set of readers, and each of which varies from the others in essential matters. At once, therefore, we are justified in challenging its accuracy. The first version, meant for the general public, was the *King's Book*, or, as it was originally styled, a *Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot* (1). The second was sent by Cecil to the English ambassadors at Madrid and Brussels, and to the lord-deputy in Ireland. The third was sent to Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador to Henry IV. of France. The fourth was the minute of Nov. 7, probably intended for the Privy Council, and which seems to have served the compilers of the *King's Book*, although it frequently differs from that narrative. "In the *King's Book*," says the judicious publicist who has most recently investigated the Plot, a second Father John Gerard, S. J., "a work which was not only to be disseminated broadcast at home, but to be translated and spread abroad, and, moreover, to be suited to the taste of its supposed author, the preternatural acuteness of the monarch is extolled in terms of most preposterous flattery, and his secretary is represented as altogether incredulous of danger, and unwilling to be convinced even by his royal master's wonderful interpretation of the mysterious warning. Nevertheless, not only is mention parenthetically introduced of the minister's 'customable and watchful care of the king and State, boiling within him,' of his laying up these things in his heart, 'like the Blessed Virgin Mary,' and being unable to rest till he had followed the matter farther,—but it is dexterously intimated that, for all his hardness of belief, he was sufficiently well informed before the warning came to hand, and that 'this accident did put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted as well the king himself, as divers of his Privy Councillors, concerning some business the Papists were in,

(1) Printed in the *Collected Works of King James* by Mountague, by Barlow, in the *Gunpowder Treason*, and in *Cobbett's State Trials* as an appendix to the *Trial of Faukes and his companions*.

both at home and abroad, making combination amongst them for some combination against this Parliament time,' their object being to approach the king with a petition for toleration, 'which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the king should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdy beggars craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal' " (1).

Although the now generally accepted account of the Gunpowder Plot, a synopsis of which we have given, enjoys more than two centuries of possession; we cannot forget that not only at the time of the occurrence, but also during many years after the attendant excitement had subsided to some extent, there were very many zealous Protestants of more than ordinary intelligence who believed that Faukes and his companions were mere unwitting instruments of the policy of Cecil. The ministers of James I. themselves tacitly recognized the refusal of many to accept their version of the conspiracy, when they issued their *True and Perfect Relation* and the *Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot*, avowing as their reason the fact that "there do pass from hand to hand divers uncertain, untrue, and incoherent reports and relations," wherefore they wish to enable "men to understand the birth and growth of the said abominable and detestable conspiracy" (2). Among the Protestants who suspected the complicity of Cecil we may cite Osborne, a Puritan of whom Lord Castlemaine said that "he was born before this Plot, and was also an inquisitive man, a frequenter of company, of a noted wit, of an excellent family, and as Protestant a one as any in the whole nation." This Osborne thinks that the conspiracy was "a neat device of the treasurer's, he being very plentiful in such plots" (3).

(1) *What Was the Gunpowder Plot? The Traditional Story Tested by Original Evidence.* London, 1897.

(2) "The *True and Perfect Relation* is certainly not deserving of the character which its title imports. It is not *true*, because many occurrences on the trial are wilfully misrepresented; and it is not *perfect*, because the whole evidence, and many facts and circumstances which must have happened, are omitted, and incidents are inserted which could not by possibility have taken place on the occasion. It is obviously a false and imperfect relation of the proceedings; a tale artfully garbled and misrepresented, like many others of the same age, to serve a State purpose, and intended and calculated to mislead the judgment of the world upon the facts of the case." JARDINE; *Criminal Trials*, ii., p. 235.

(3) *Traditional Memoirs*, 36. Edition 1811.

Goodman, the contemporary Protestant bishop of Gloucester, speaking of the indignation of the Catholics because of the king's refusal to keep his promises in the matter of toleration of their religion, says of Cecil: "The great statesman had intelligence of all this, and because he would show his service to the State, he would first contrive and then discover a treason, and the more odious and hateful the treason were, his service would be the greater and the more acceptable" (1). Usher, the contemporary Protestant archbishop of Armagh, was often heard to say that "if the Papists knew what he knew, the blame of the Gunpowder Treason would not lie on them" (2). Even King James, says Lord Cobham, used to speak of the Fifth of November as "Cecil's holiday" (3). And this belief in the complicity of Cecil is at least recorded, if not positively favored, by many historians during the next three or four generations. When Sanderson notes the charge (4), he has no word to repel it. Welwood says that Cecil knew of the Plot long before the "discovery," and that the letter to Monteagle was "a contrivance of his own" (5). Oldmixon writes that "there were some who insinuated that the Plot was of the king's own making, or that he was privy to it from first to last" (6). Carte does not believe that James knew anything of it, but considers it "not improbable" that Cecil was better informed (7). Burnet complains of the impudence of the papists who pretended that the conspiracy was an artifice of the minister's "to engage some desperate men into a plot, which he managed so that he could discover it when he pleased" (8). Fuller bears witness to the general belief, but considers it inconsistent with the well-known piety of King James (9). The Puritan Prynne is inclined to suspect Bancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury, of having

1. *The Court of King James*, i, 102. Edition 1839.

2. So writes the Jesuit, Martin Grene, to his brother Christopher on Jan. 1, 1665. Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, v., 67.

3. *Advocate of Conscience Liberty*, p. 225. London, 1665.

4. *History of Mary, Queen of Scots, and James I.*, p. 394. London, 1715.

5. *Memoirs*, p. 72. Edinburgh, 1829.

6. *History of England, Royal House of Stuart*, p. 27. London, 1730.

7. *Treacher's History of England*, iii., p. 255. London, 1745.

8. *History of His Own Times*, i, 11. Edinburgh, 1700.

9. *Church History*, bk. x, § 29. London, 1665.

been engaged in the conspiracy (1). These testimonies lead us to regard the Gunpowder Plot as it was regarded by an anonymous Catholic writer of the eighteenth century, when he said: "I am far from denying the Gunpowder Plot. Nay, I believe as firmly that Catesby, with twelve more Popish associates, had a design to blow up King James, as I believe that the father of that same king was effectually blown up by the Earls of Murray, Morton, Bothwell, and others of the Reformed Church of Scotland. However. . . I humbly conceive I may say the king and parliament were in no danger of being hurt by it, and my reason is because they had not less a man than the prime minister of state for their tutelar angel; a person deeply read in politics; who had inherited the double spirit of his predecessor Walsingham, knew all his tricks of legerdemain, and could as reasonably discover plots as contrive them. . . This much at least is certain, that the letter written to Lord Monteagle, by which the Plot was discovered, had not a fool, but a very wise sophister for its author: for it was so craftily worded, that though it was mysterious enough on the one hand to prevent a full evidence that it was written on purpose to discover the Plot, yet it was clear enough on the other to be understood, with the help of a little consideration, as the event soon showed. Indeed, when it was brought to Secretary Cecil, he, poor gentleman, had not penetration enough to understand the meaning of it, and said it was certainly written by a madman. But there, I fear, he wronged himself. For the secretary was no madman. On the contrary, he had too much wit to explain it himself, and was too refined a politician to let slip so favorable an occasion of making his court to the king, who was to have the compliment made him of being the only Solomon wise enough to unfold this dark mystery. Which, while his Majesty was doing with a great deal of ease, the secretary was all the while at his elbow admiring and applauding his wonderful sagacity. . . So that, in all probability, the same man was the chief underhand contriver and discoverer of the Plot; and the greatest part of the bubbles

(1) *Antipathic of the English Lordly Prelacie to the Regall Monarchie and Civill Unity*, p. 151. London, 1669.

concerned in it were trapped into it by one who took sure care that none but themselves should be hurt by it. . . . But be that as it will, there is no doubt but that they who suffer themselves to be drawn into a plot like fools, deserve to be hanged for it like knaves" (1).

That long before its "discovery," the Gunpowder Plot was known to the ministers of James II., or at least to Cecil; that this knowledge was dissimulated, in order to make political capital out of it; and that there are good reasons for suspecting that Cecil manipulated the enterprise from its beginning for state purposes; has been recently very nearly demonstrated by the already cited patient and judicious polemic, the Jesuit, John Gerard. This author does not wish to ignore or to extenuate the objections which may seem to militate against his conclusions. "Why, it may reasonably be asked, if the government of the day were ready to go so far as is alleged, did they not go further? Why, being supremely anxious to incriminate the priests, did they not fabricate unequivocal evidence against them, instead of satisfying themselves with what appears to us far from conclusive? Why did they encumber their tale with incidents, which, if they did not really occur, could serve only to damage it, inasmuch as we, at this distance of time, can argue that they are impossible and absurd? How is it, moreover, that the absurdity was not patent to contemporaries, and was not urged by those who had every reason to dislike and mistrust the party in power? Considerations such as these undoubtedly deserve all attention, and must be fully weighed, but while they avail to establish a certain presumption in favour of the official story, I cannot but think that the sum of probabilities tells strongly the other way. It must be remembered that three centuries ago the intrinsic likelihood or unlikelihood of a tale did not go for much, and the accounts of plots in particular appear to have obtained general credence in proportion as they were incredible, as the case of Squires a few years earlier, and of Titus Oates somewhat later, sufficiently testify. It is moreover as difficult for us to enter into the crooked and complex methods of action which commended themselves

(1) *A Plain and Rational Account of the Catholic Faith*, p. 397. Rouen, 1721.

to the statesmen of the period, as to appreciate the force of the cumbrous and abusive harangues which earned for Sir Edward Coke the character of an incomparable pleader. On the other hand, it appears certain that they who had so long played the game must have understood it best, and, whatever else may be said of them, they always contrived to win. In regard of Father Garnet, for example, we may think the evidence adduced by the prosecution quite insufficient, but none the less it in fact availed not only to send him to the gallows, but to brand him in popular estimation for generations, and even for centuries, as the arch-traitor to whose machinations the whole enterprise was due. In the case of some individuals abnoxious to the government, it seems evident that downright forgery was actually practised." Gerard thinks that "the real history of the Plot, in all its stages, we shall, in all probability, never know"; but he has at least established the falsity of the commonly received version. We would here draw the attention of the reader to what is probably the principal point in this author's argument; namely, the moral certainty that the government of James I. had one or more agents among the conspirators, in accordance with the suggestion of Bancroft, the incumbent of Canterbury, when he insisted that the sole means of discovering the schemes of the Catholics was "to put some Judas amongst them" (1).

While there are not wanting reasons for the supposition that both Monteagle and Tresham were wilful betrayers of the Plot, it would seem that Thomas Percy had stronger claims to that equivocal distinction. Three years or so before the catastrophe, Percy was a Protestant and a very dissolute man; and when he became a Catholic, he showed himself zealous even unto turbulence, although at that very time he had two wives, one in London and one in the country. That some Catholics distrusted him is evident from the protestation of one Cary when, being interrogated concerning the Plot, he declared that "Percy was no Papist, but a Puritan." We also must distrust his sincerity, when we learn from the Protestant bishop, Goodman (2), on the authority of the great

(1) Thus in the Star Chamber, at the trial of Mr. Pound in 1604.

(2) *Court of James*, i., 105.

lawyer, Sir Francis Moore ("beyond all exception," says Goodman), that Moore, during the progress of the Plot, being often out on business at a late hour, "several times met Mr. Percy coming out of the great statesman's house, and wondered what his business should be there." Who of us will not also wonder that this chief conspirator should be holding stealthy converse with his ostensible future victim, unless it be supposed that the parties understood each other full well? Gerard draws attention to another suspicious circumstance. Three days before the "discovery," Percy returned from the north to the capital; and on Nov. 9, Cecil, writing to the foreign ambassadors, declared that the fact of this return had been learned only from Faukes after many denials. Now among the State Papers of England (1) there is a pass dated Oct. 25, and issued by the Commissioners of the North, stating that the bearer, Thomas Percy, *is posting to Court upon the king's special service, and calling on all mayors, sheriffs, and postmasters, to provide him with three good horses all along the road.* Was there any stealth in the movements of so open a traveller? As Gerard naturally concludes, "protestations of ignorance serve only to show that to seem ignorant was thought desirable." But Percy was killed when the conspirators were brought to bay. This fact may seem to militate against Percy's connection with Cecil; but at the time it was regarded as strange that any of the guilty men should have been slain, for they had no fire-arms, killed none of their assailants, and might all have been taken alive. Nevertheless, reflects Gerard, "the attacking party were not only allowed to shoot, but selected just the wrong men as their mark, precisely those who, being chiefly implicated in the beginnings of the Plot, could have afforded the most valuable information; for besides Percy, were shot down Catesby and the two Wrights, all deeply implicated from the first." Certainly Goodman had some reason to note that "Some will not stick to report that the great statesman, sending to apprehend these traitors, gave special charge and direction for Percy and Catesby, 'Let me never see them alive'; who it may be would have revealed some evil counsel given" (2). And we should

(1) *Dom. James I.*, xv., 106.(2) *Loc. cit.*, l., 106.

not forget that the government thought it necessary to explain how it had happened that Percy was not secured alive, and to protest that they had been anxious for his capture, but had been frustrated by the zeal of their subordinates. In the *King's Book* we read: "Although divers of the king's Proclamations were posted down after those traitors with all speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, and the necessity to have Percy preserved alive, if it had been possible, . . . yet the far distance of the way, which was above an hundred miles, together with the extreme deepness thereof, joined also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affection of the king's good subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his Proclamations." This explanation does not satisfy Gerard, who remarks that the same couriers who were said to have been unable to hinder Percy's death by travelling from London to Holbeche in three days, contrived to ride in one day from Holbeche to London with the news of that death. There is another circumstance which appears to Gerard difficult of explanation. John Streete, who killed Percy and Catesby, received for that service a pension of two shillings per day, at least a pound of our money—"a large reward for having done the very thing that the government most desired to avoid, and for an action, moreover, involving no sort of personal risk, killing two practically unarmed men from behind a tree. If, however, he had silenced a dangerous witness, it is easy to understand the munificence of his recompense."

There is excellent reason for believing that Catesby also was in the pay of Cecil. Firstly, his character would accord with such insincerity; and secondly, there is evidence that he was in secret communication with Cecil immediately before the arrest of Faukes. That he was not an honest man is shown by his having slandered Father Garnet at the very time when he appeared to be devoted to that Jesuit. Garnet wrote: "Master Catesby did me much wrong, and hath confessed that he told them he asked me a question in Queen Elizabeth's time of the powder action, and that I said it was lawful. All which is most untrue. He did it to draw in oth-

ers" (1). That he was in communication with Cecil is proved by the confession of George Bartlett, one of his servants, who, on his death-bed, declared that "his master went to Salisbury House several nights before the discovery, and was always brought privately in at a back door" (2). The mystery surrounding Tresham, the conspirator who is generally supposed to have written the letter to Monteagle, impels us to class him with Percy and Catesby as a tool of Cecil. The author of the *Politician's Catechism* speaks of Tresham as entering Cecil's mansion at midnight. But what is certain, observes Gerard, is that "Tresham did not fly like the rest when the 'discovery' had taken place, not only remaining in London, and showing himself openly in the streets, but actually presenting himself to the council, and offering them his services. Moreover, though his name was known to the government, at least on November 7th, as one of the accomplices, it was for several days omitted from their published proclamations, and not till the 12th was he taken into custody. Being confined in the tower, he was shortly attacked by a painful malady, and on December 23d he died, as was officially announced, of a 'strangury,' as Salisbury assures Cornwallis 'by a natural sickness, such as he hath been a long time subject to' (3). Throughout his sickness he himself and his friends loudly declared that should he survive it 'they feared not the course of justice' (4). Such confidence could be grounded only on his possession of knowledge which the authorities would not venture to reveal, and it is not surprising that his death should have been attributed, by the enemies of the government, to poison."

It is morally certain that Cecil knew of the proposed Plot nearly two years before he submitted Monteagle's letter to King James, thus enabling "the wisest fool in Europe" to exhibit his royal perspicacity, "like an angel of God." According to the developments on the trial of the surviving conspirators, the Plot was first devised in April, 1604. Now, in the Gunpowder Book (no. 236) we find that Sir Thomas Chal-

(1) *Gunpowder Plot Book*, 242.

(2) Notes of an anonymous correspondent of Anthony à Wood, preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

(3) Windwood, *Memorials*, ii., 189.

(4) Wood to Salisbury, December 23d, 1605.

loner, one of Cecil's "intelligencers," received the following letter from one of his agents, Henry Wright (1): "Good Sir Thomas, I am as eager for setting of the lodgings as you can be, and in truth whereas we desired but twenty, the discoverer had set and (if we accept it) can set above three score, but I told him that *the State would take it for good service if he set twenty of the most principal Jesuits and seminary priests*, and therewithal I gave him thirteen or fourteen names picked out of his own notes, among the which five of them were sworn to the secrecy. He saith absolutely that by God's grace (!) he will do it ere long, but he stayeth some few days purposely for the coming to town of Tesmond [Greenway] and Kempe, two principals; their lodgings are prepared, and they will be here, as he saith for certain, within these two days. *For the treason, Davies neither hath nor will unfold himself for the discovery of it till he hath his pardon for it under seal*, as I told you, which is now in great forwardness, and ready to be sealed so that you shall know all. Your worship's most devoted,

HEN. WRIGHT."

This letter was certainly written before April 25, 1605; for in the *Pardon Roll*, under that date, we read that the pardon mentioned in it as ready for Davies had just been expedited. And we must believe that the "treason," which Davies would not unfold "until he had his pardon under the great seal," was no other than the Gunpowder Plot. To believe otherwise would be an admission that Cecil was then engaged in the fabrication of a conspiracy which as yet the Catholics had not projected. "It was not the way of statesmen of the period," remarks Gerard, "when on the track of sedition, to relinquish the pursuit till they had sifted it to the bottom, and at this juncture, especially, every shred of evidence regarding Catholics and their conduct was threshed out to the uttermost. In consequence, we are able to say with certainty, that besides the enterprise of Catesby and his associates, there was no other conspiracy of any kind on foot. We have, moreover, already seen that the very same point thus by anticipation represented as all important, is that which after the 'discovery' every nerve was strained to establish, name-

(1) There is no evidence connecting this Wright with the two conspirators of that name.

ly, the complicity of the Catholic clergy. If we had no more than this internal evidence, it would abundantly suffice to assure us that the conspiracy thus sedulously watched was the same as that miraculously 'discovered' a year and a half later." But we have explicit evidence as to the time when Wright and Davies were engineering what was in reality Cecil's Gunpowder Plot. In the *Gunpowder Plot Book* (no. 237) we find an application to the king, made in April, 1606, and endorsed, "Touching Wright and his services performed in the damnable plot of the Powder Treason," couched in these terms: "If it may please your Majesty, can you remember that the Lord Chief Justice Popham and Sir Thomas Challoner, Kt., had a hand in the discovery of the practices of the Jesuits in the powder, and did from time to time reveal the same to your Majesty, *for two years' space almost, before the said treason burst forth by an obscure letter to the Lord Monteagle*, which your Majesty, like an angel of God, interpreted, touching the blow, then intended to have been given by powder? The man that informed Sir Thomas Challoner and the Lord Popham of the said Jesuitical practices, their meetings and traitorous designs in that matter, whereof from time to time they informed your Majesty, *was one Wright*, who hath your Majesty's hand for his so doing, and never received any reward for his pains and charges laid out concerning the same. This Wright, if the occasion serve, can do more service." Again, among the "Cecil Papers" preserved at Hatfield, and which the present marquis of Salisbury allowed Gerard to consult, there is a letter addressed to Cecil by a certain Thomas Coe, who claims to have previously forwarded to his Majesty "the primary intelligence of these late dangerous treasons," upon which communication the historian Lodge observes (1): "It should seem then that the famous letter transmitted to James by Lord Monteagle, for the right construction of which that prince's penetration hath been so highly extolled by some historians, was not the only previous intelligence communicated to him of the Gunpowder Treason."

If the reader's acquaintance with the England of Elizabeth

and of James I. is merely casual, he may think that Cecil could have had no object in furthering, aye, perhaps in originating, so fearful a conspiracy as that of the Gunpowder Plot. Cecil was as ambitious as he was unscrupulous; he was a worthy heir of his father—William Cecil, Lord Burghley—and of Walsingham. He realized that his tenure of office was by no means secure; for, as Goodman assures us, “it is certain that the king did not love him” (1). James could have no exalted idea of the integrity of him who, while enjoying the entire confidence of Elizabeth, had held what she would have regarded as treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland; nor could James have forgotten that the earl of Essex, when on his trial, had insisted that Cecil preferred that the English crown should pass to the Spanish Infanta, rather than to James, whom the wily secretary then ostentatiously repudiated. James was aware that Cecil was a secret pensioner of the king of Spain, even though he regarded as traitors all others who held any communication with that monarch (2). The king must have known that the Spanish ambassador pronounced Cecil a venal traitor, ready to sell his soul for money (3); and that the French envoy, La Boderie, declared that the secretary was an inveterate liar, even to his intimate friends (4). Again, James knew that the English people detested his minister. Osborne says: “He had forfeited the love of the people by the hate he expressed to their darling Essex, and the desire he had to render justice and prerogative arbitrary” (5). Sir Anthony Weldon says that “he was very much hated in England by reason of the fresh bleeding of that universally beloved earl of Essex, and for that clouded also in the king’s favour” (6). Even the apologist of Cecil, Sir Walter Cope, admits that “When living, the world observed with all admiration and applause; no sooner dead, but it seeketh finally to suppress his excellent parts, and load his memory with all imputations of corruption” (7). Here were reasons for an exercise of

(1) *Court of King James*, I., 44.

(2) Digby to the King, S. P., *Spain*, Aug. 8. GARDINER; *Hist.*, II., 216.

(3) GARDINER; II., 215.

(4) LE FEVRE de la BODERIE; *Embassy*, I., 170.

(5) *Traditional Memoirs*, 181.

(6) *Court and Character of King James*, § 10.

(7) *Apology*, in the *Collectanea* of Gutch, I., 10.

Cecil's energy and craft, if he wished to remain the practical ruler of England. He should make it appear that he was necessary to James. Add to this desire his profound hatred of Catholicism, a sentiment which manifested itself in every possible contingency, and you have a reason for Cecil's furtherance, if not his contrivance, of the Gunpowder Plot. Nor should we forget that Cecil had been alarmed by an apparent tendency, on the part of James, to return to his early moderation in regard to the Catholics. In 1604 a Scotch Catholic gentleman, Sir James Lindsay, had brought from Rome a letter written by Pope Clement VIII. to his English Majesty, which was very friendly in its tone; and the notes on the royal reply, still preserved in the English Record Office (1), show that James had charged Lindsay, "by tongue," with a message to the Pontiff which the royal hand dared not to record in the notes. Cecil might well feel concerned because of this oral message, especially as the instructions which James did record were friendly in their tone: "You shall assure him that I shall never be forgetful of the continual proof I have had of his courtesy and long inclination towards me, and especially by this his so courteous and unexpected message, which I shall be careful to requite thankfully by all civil courtesies that shall be in my power, the particulars whereof I remit likewise to your declaration." And then he protests that he will ever inviolably observe two points: first, never to dissemble what he thinks, especially in matters of conscience; secondly, never to reject reason when he hears it urged on the other side. We may easily suppose that when Cecil learned that the head of the English Establishment had addressed the Roman Pontiff so courteously, he resolved to force upon his Majesty a policy of severity.

No person of sane mind now asserts that the Roman court had any connection with the Gunpowder Plot; or that the lay Catholics of England, outside the circle of less than a score of conspirators, were even cognizant of the desperate design. No reputable publicist accuses the English priesthood, as a body, of any complicity, direct or indirect, in the

(1) "Instructions to my trusty servant, Sir James Lindsay, for answer to the letter and commission brought by him from the Pope unto me." (P. R. O., *France*, b. 132).

matter; and very few moderns manifest any inclination to credit the charges which Cecil brought against the Jesuits, Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway. Among the alleged indications of guilt on the part of Father Gerard, the principal one was the reception of the Holy Eucharist by Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Faukes, and Winter, at the hands of Gerard, in confirmation of their oath of secrecy. This reception of the Holy Sacrament was attested at the trial by Faukes and Winter, the sole survivors of the five; but both of them swore that Gerard knew nothing of the oath, of which his sacerdotal action was supposed, by the infatuated communicants, to be a sanction. Winter testified that "they five administered the oath to each other in a chamber, *in which no other body was,*" and that then they proceeded to another room to receive the Holy Eucharist. And Faukes deposed that "the five did meet at a house in the fields beyond St. Clement's Inn, where they did confer and agree upon the Plot, and there they took a solemn oath and vows by all their force and power to execute the same, and of secrecy not to reveal it to any of their fellows, but to such as should be thought fit persons to enter into that action; and in the same house they did receive the Sacrament of Gerard the Jesuit, to perform their vow and oath of secrecy aforesaid. *But that Gerard was not acquainted with their purpose.*" An indication of guilt on the part of Garnet has been found by some in the presumed fact that he answered in the affirmative a question put to him by Catesby as to "whether, *for the good and promotion of the Catholic cause against heretics*, it be lawful or not among many *nocents* to destroy some *innocents* also?" Such were the terms in which the question was adduced by the prosecutor, Sir Edward Coke (1); but the virulent zealot exhibited no shadow of proof that the clause which we have underlined was contained, even implicitly, in the original question. Garnet insisted, and he is corroborated by Greenway (who was present at the time), that Catesby had proposed the adduced case of conscience as one which might be presented in the service of Austria, in which, he said, he was about to engage. It would seem that shortly after the initiation of the conspiracy, Cates-

(1) *Gunpowder Treason*, p. 165.

by had discovered that some of his associates had scruples as to their right to involve innocent persons in what they considered a justifiable action of war; and in order to quiet their consciences, he availed himself of the known fact that the king had allowed him to accept a captaincy in the service of the archduke, and asked Garnet whether, in the imminent contest, he could share in actions in which innocent parties would necessarily perish with the guilty. Garnet replied that both Catholic and Protestant theologians held that obedience in the premises was lawful, since in the contrary supposition an unjust aggressor could always prevent the aggrieved party from attaining his rights. This solution was presented by Catesby to his associates as satisfying their objections, and he gained his point. The manuscript relation by Father Greenway must be consulted by any one who desires details concerning the relations between Garnet and Catesby, from this time until the discovery of the Plot; none of the assertions or insinuations of Coke, during the trial, as to those relations, were sustained by even an apology for proof. According to Greenway, Garnet began to suspect, in the spring of 1605, that Catesby was engaged in preparations for some desperate enterprise against the government; and on May 8 he wrote to the Jesuit superiors at Rome a letter, from which, as it appears in Father Gerard's MSS. (ch. 5), we take this passage: "All are desperate. Diverse Catholics are offended with Jesuits; *they say that Jesuits doe impugne and hinder all forcible enterprizes.* I dare not informe myself of their affaires, because of prohibition of F. Generall for meddling in such affaires. So I cannot give you exact accompt. This I knowe by meare chance." In reply to this letter Garnet received one written in the name of the Holy Father, and one from the general of the Jesuits; both commanding him to abstain absolutely from political intrigue, and to exercise his authority as provincial of his order in England to discourage anything savoring of rebellion. One day, after a spirited insistence of his opinion that the terrible wrongs of the Catholics clearly justified the most violent measures for obtaining relief, Catesby avowed to Garnet that he had started a formidable conspiracy, and that he was will-

ing to impart the particulars to one whom he so revered. Instantly the provincial checked him ; the revelation was not made ; and when Garnet showed to Catesby the letters he had received from Rome, the ardent man insisted that the writers had been influenced by false information. Finally Catesby promised to hold his project in abeyance until the reception of another letter from the Pontiff, to whom both would send a special messenger, bearing an exact account of the condition of the English Catholics. The envoy departed, carrying also an entreaty, on the part of the provincial, that his Holiness would threaten to excommunicate such Catholics as would recur to violent measures in the existing circumstances. Garnet now flattered himself that he had allayed the tempest ; and he wrote to Father Parsons, who was then in Rome : " For anythinge wee can see, Catholicks are quiet, and likely to continew their ould patience, and to truste to the kynge and his sone for to rimidie al in tyme " (1). In October, however, Garnet found that his hopes were ill-founded. Catesby had revealed the entire Plot to Father Greenway in confession ; and when conjured to abandon his design, he had begged the confessor to procure the opinion of his provincial, also under the seal of confession. We transcribe Lingard's account of what now followed. " With this view the Jesuit applied to Garnet, and received in return a severe reprimand. He had done wrong (said Garnet) to entertain any mention of so dangerous a project ; he had done worse in imparting it to his superior. Nothing now remained but to divert the conspirator from his sanguinary purpose. Let him therefore employ every argument, every expedient in his power ; but at the same time, let him be careful to keep the present conversation secret from every man living, even from Catesby himself (2). This communication, however, plunged the unfortunate provincial into the deepest anxiety. Against his will, and in defiance of the precautions which he had taken, he was become privy to the particulars of the plot ; and that plot he found to exceed in

(1) In MS. of Gerard, dated Oct. 4, 1605.

(2) Lingard took these particulars from Greenway, who testifies to their truth, " on his salvation." See also Greenway's oral account in the *Apology of Eudæmon Joannes*, 259, 260, 290.

atrocities whatever the most fearful mind could have anticipated. The explosion, with its consequences, perpetually presented itself to his imagination; it disabled him from performing his missionary duties by day, it haunted his slumbers by night" (1).

When Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway were apprised of the "discovery" of the Plot, the provincial immediately sent to the royal council a declaration of his abhorrence of such schemes; and all three took measures for their safety. After many vicissitudes, Gerard and Greenway escaped to the continent (2). Garnet secreted himself at Hendlip, near Worcester, in the house of a brother-in-law of Lord Monteagle. His hiding-place was betrayed by one of the prisoners taken at Holbeach, who hoped to merit pardon by the treachery; and together with Oldcorne, another Jesuit who had also been secreted at Hendlip, he was lodged in the Tower on Feb. 14, 1606. Hallam speaks of this capture of Garnet as "the damning circumstance against him, that he was taken at Hendlip in concealment along with the other conspirators" (3); and Lingard would have us believe that he regards this assertion of Hallam as "an unintentional mistake" (4). Hallam never made "mistakes" of this nature; his very merits as a publicist stamp his calumny as a conscious one. Only one of the "other" conspirators was taken in concealment—Robert Winter; and he was captured, not at Hendlip, but at Hagley Hall. It was three months after the taking of the "other" conspirators that Garnet was arrested in company with Oldcorne, who was never charged with complicity

(1) *History of England*, London edit. 1883, vol. vii., p. 60.

(2) While the baffled conspirators, on Nov. 6, were at Huddington House, the seat of Robert Winter, Greenway was summoned by Catesby, through his servant, Bates, to visit the unfortunates, hear their confessions, etc.; for they were in imminent danger of either death in battle or the slower death which their capture would entail. In his *Narrative*, which is generally a translation of Gerard's English one into Italian, he sometimes gives his own experiences; and in one of these instances, he says that he "went to assist these gentlemen with the Sacraments of the Church, understanding their danger and their need, and this with evident danger to his own person and life: and all those gentlemen could have borne witness that he publicly told them how he grieved not so much because of their wretched and shameful plight, and the extremity of their peril, as that by their headlong course they had given the heretics occasion to slander the whole body of Catholics in the kingdom, and that he flatly refused to stay in their company, lest the heretics should be able to calumniate himself and the other Fathers of the Society."

(3) *Const. Hist.*, i., 554.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, p. 72, in note.

in the Plot, but with having abetted his provincial in his attempt to escape. When Garnet was threatened with torture, if he did not avow his guilt, he replied: "*Minare ista pueris*—use such threats to boys." But his enemies thought that guile might effect what force could not; and they instructed his warder to affect veneration for him as for a martyr, and to offer himself as a medium wherewith the prisoner might correspond with his friends. Garnet credited the protestations of the warder, and entered on a course of epistolary communication, every item of which was carried by the lieutenant of the Tower to the royal commissioners, and which furnished not one scintilla of evidence against any of the writers (1). Then the warder offered to introduce him into a passage-way, at the end of which was a door of Oldcorne's cell. The two friends, he said, could easily converse through this thin partition. Overjoyed, Garnet held five conversations with Oldcorne, not knowing that in a recess formed in the passage-way two of Cecil's emissaries were secreted for the purpose of reporting to their master all that was said. Nothing incriminatory of the Jesuits was gleaned by this artifice; and when Oldcorne, soon afterward, was tortured, little more than an admission of these furtive conversations was extorted from him. On March 5, Garnet was again brought before the commissioners, and asked whether he had talked with Oldcorne in the Tower. If we are to believe the official reports of the trial, he replied in the negative; and when he was told of his friend's avowal, he insisted that if Oldcorne had been so weak as to accuse himself falsely, he would not prove so weak. Then, says the report, the testimony of the two hidden auditors of the conversations were read to him, and he admitted the fact. Several more examinations of Garnet were held before the trial; and when that ensued, on March 28, the sole admission yet made by him was to the effect that he had known that Catesby was planning something against the government; that he had urged the conspirator to desist; and afterward he had learned from Greenway the object of the conspiracy, but could not reveal it, since it had been communicated to him under

(1) Some of these letters are still preserved in the English State Paper Office.

the seal of confession. The reader must remember that Castesby himself had authorized Greenway, in case of the discovery of the Plot, to break the seal of secrecy; else Garnet would have been unable to make even this admission. The result of the trial was a verdict of guilty; although any overt act of treason was neither proved nor attempted to be proved. Two months elapsed before his execution; and during this interval he found, as he imagined, sure means of corresponding with Greenway, whom he believed to be a prisoner in the Tower. His letter was laid before Cecil; but nothing criminating him was found in it. Three weeks after he had written it, he was taken before the commissioners, and asked whether he had corresponded with the "traitor" Greenway. He denied, on his priesthood, says the official narrative, that he had sent letter or message to him, since their parting at Coughton. When the intercepted letter was shown to him, continues the record, he acknowledged it, but contended that he had done nothing wrong. Lingard speaks strangely on this matter: "In this instance, as in several others since his imprisonment, he had acted on the principle that no man is bound to betray himself; whence he ingeniously inferred that where the acknowledgment of a fact might endanger his life, it was lawful to deny it with the aid of equivocation, till it should be proved against him by direct evidence. Three days later he was interrogated a second time respecting the doctrine of equivocation, and boldly declared that the practice of requiring men to accuse themselves was barbarous and unjust; that in all such cases it was lawful to employ equivocation, and to confirm, if it were necessary, that equivocation with an oath; and that if Tresham, as had been pretended, had equivocated on his deathbed, he might have had reasons which would justify him in the sight of God (1). To these and similar avowals I ascribe his execution. By seeking shelter under equivocation, he had deprived himself of the protection which the truth might have afforded him; nor

(1) "This I acknowledge to be according to my opinion and the opinion of the schoolmen. And our reason is, for that, in cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lye, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the Sacrament, if just necessity so require." The original is in the State Paper Office in Garnet's handwriting.

could he in such circumstances reasonably complain if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." How Lingard could ascribe Garnet's execution to his avowal of certain opinions concerning the doctrine of equivocation, passes comprehension. Laying aside the question of the tenability of those opinions, it is certain that he advanced them only in the matter of his conversation with Oldcorne, and of his correspondence with Greenway. When pressed concerning the charge because of which alone he was being tried, namely, complicity in the Plot, he never equivocated; he boldly and consistently took his stand on the inviolability of the seal of sacramental confession. Therefore he had not "deprived himself of the protection which the truth might have afforded him." And Lingard may be asked to tell the occasions when, in the long course of Henrician, Edwardine, Elizabethan, and Stuart persecution, a stern adherence to pure and simple truth availed to save the accused from the scaffold. As to Garnet's alleged equivocations, some of them are rather downright falsehoods, and therefore we may well suspect that he never uttered them. Concerning what really happened at Garnet's trial we have no reliable information; as Jardine observes, there is no trial since the time of Henry VIII., about which we are so ignorant as we are of this one (1).

(1) The confession of Faukes, as published by Cecil, reads as follows: "I confesse that a practise in generall was first broken unto me against his Majestie, for releife of the Catholique cause, and not invented or propounded by myself. And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was twelvemonth, beyond the Seas, in the Low countries of the Archdukes obeysance by Thomas Wynter, who came thereupon with me into England, and there wee imparted our purpose to three other Englishmen more, namely Robt Catesby, Thos Percy, and John Wright, who all five consulting together of the meanes how to execute the same, and taking a vowe among our selves for secrecie Catesby propounded to have it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a myne under the upper house of Parliament, which place wee made choice of the rather, because Religion having been uniously suppressed there, it was fittest that Justice and punishment should be executed there. This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Percy hired a howse at Westminster for that purpose, neare adjoining the Parlt howse, and there wee beganne to make a myne about the xi of December 1604. The fyve that entered into the woork were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Wynter, John Wright, and my self, and soon after wee tooke another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecie. When wee came to the verie foundation of the Wall of the house, which was about 3 yeards thick, and found it a matter of great difficultie, we took to us another gentleman Robert [Wynter] Keys in like manner with our oathe and Sacrament as aforesaid. It was about Christmas when wee brought our myne unto the Wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the Wall half through. And whilst they were a working, I stood as sentinell, to deserie any man that came neare, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased until I gave them notice

CHAPTER III.

POPE URBAN VIII.; THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The youth of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini was more marked by poetical, than by any other special talent; and under the guidance of the famous Aurelius Ursus, he greatly developed this gift. Some of his paraphrases of the Psalms, and many of his hymns, are admired to this day. Having ascended the many steps of the Curia Romana, he was made cardinal by Paul V. When, on the death of Gregory XV. in 1623, he was elevated to the Papal throne, Barberini was fifty-five years of age; but he was destined to spend twenty-one in a most eventful and stormy pontificate. He saw the commencements of the vexatious controversies to which Jansenism gave birth; it was during his reign that occurred the affair of Galileo. He founded the venerable College of the Propaganda, styled, after him, the Urban; he revised and corrected the *Roman Breviary*: he gave its present form to the celebrated Bull, *Cœna Domini* (1); he approved the

agayne to proceede. All wee seaven lay in the house, and had shott and powder, being resolved to dye in that place before we should yeild or be taken. As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar of removing of coles; whereupon wee feared wee had been discovered, and they sent me to go to the cellar, who fynding that the coles were a selling, and that the Cellar was to be lett, viewing the commoditie thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly Rent. Wee had before this provyded and brought into the house 20 barrells of Powder, which wee removed into the Cellar, and covered the same with billets and fagots, which we provided for that purpose. "About Easter, the Parliament being proroged tyll October next, wee dispersed our self and I retired into the Low countreyes, *by advice and direction of the rest, as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also lest by my longer staye I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question.* In the meane tyme Percy, having the key of the Cellar, layd in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next and then receyving the key againe of Percy, we brought in more powder and billets to cover the same againe. And so I went for a tyme into the country, till the 30. of October. It was farther resolved amongst us that the same day that this action should have been performed some other of our confederates should have surprised the person of the Lady Elizabeth the Kings eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the L.o. Harringtons house, and presently have proclaimed her for Queene, having a project of a Proclamation ready for the purpose, wherein we made no mention of altering of Religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours untill we should have had power enough to make our partle good, and then we would have avowed both. Concerning Duke Charles, the Kings second son, we hadd sundrie consultations how to sense on his person, but because wee found no meannes how to compasse it,—the Duke being kept near London,—where we had not forces enough, wee resolved to serve ourselves with the Lady Elizabeth."

(1) It may interest the reader to note that one of this Pontiff's decrees forbade the use of snuff in the churches.

Order of the Visitation; and raised to the honors of the altar Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Louis de Gonzaga, Philip Neri, Francis Borgia, the Theatine Gaetano, and Felix of Cantalicio. During the whole of his reign, his lot, so far as human eyes could discern, was but a succession of chagrins, entailed by the unfortunate Thirty Years' War, the audacious conduct of his nephews, and the miserable intrigues of the Jansenists. His temporal subjects were fond of saying, alluding to the evil effects of his nepotism, that what the barbarians had not done to the detriment of their city, the Barberini effected (1). However, Urban VIII. was pious and learned, and he made the Eternal City a rendezvous for all who were artistic or studious.

The liturgist and ecclesiastical archaeologist will remember this Pontiff as having been the last to revise the text of the *Roman Breviary*, giving to it, in comparison with the olden *Offices*, a position analogous to that occupied by the *Vulgate* among all versions of the Scriptures. Leo X., Clement VII., Paul IV., Pius V., and Clement VIII., had already effected much toward what was not unaptly styled a "reformation" of the *Breviary*: but his own good judgment, supported by the avowals of many virtuous and learned men, convinced Urban VIII. that the work of "reformation" had not been completed (2). The punctuation in the *Psalter* was too often incorrect; therefore the punctuation of the *Vulgate* was substituted. In many of the hymns there were sins against prosody and against good metre; these errors were to be corrected, even though an entire hymn had to be rewritten. And too frequently, the text of the Homilies and Sermons was defective; therefore it was to be compared critically with the text in the most reliable of the editions or manuscripts of each Father's works. To remedy these defects of the *Breviary*, Urban VIII. instituted a special Con-

(1) "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini.*" This saying was originated when the Pontiff ordered certain bronze beams to be removed from the atrium of the Pantheon, that their material might be devoted to the far nobler purpose of adorning the tomb of the Apostles in the Vatican Basilica. They were melted down, and partly served for the construction of the magnificent *Baldachino*.

(2) "*Piorum doctorumque virorum judicia et vota conquirentium in eo contineri non pauca, quæ sive a nitore institutionis excidissent, sive inchoata potius quam perfecta forent ab aliis, certe a nobis supremam manum imponi desiderarent.*" In Bull *Divinam psalmodiam*.

gregation of nine members, many of whom are admired to this day : Alciati (Terence), the Jesuit author who had begun the *History of the Council of Trent* which Pallavicino prosecuted and completed ; Rancato, the arranger of the Sessorian Library ; Luke Wadding, the Franciscan annalist ; Gavanto, a Barnabite, and the best liturgist at a time when good liturgists abounded ; Tegrini, secretary of the Congregation of Rites ; Sacchi, the pontifical sacristan ; Riccardi, Master of the Apostolic Palace ; Vulponi, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri ; and Lanni, a prelate of the Segnatura. In reference to certain legends of the saints, which good historians pronounce inexact and perhaps baseless, and therefore unworthy of place in the *Breviary*, Gavanto says that they were generally retained, because of the possibility that they might be true (1). Urban VIII. reserved to his own poetical ability, supported by the opinions of four Jesuit litterateurs, Strada, Galluzzi, Sarbiewski, and Petrucci, the correction of the hymns in the *Breviary* (2). But the labors of this scholarly quintette have not pleased modern critics. The Abbé Batifol, author of the best history of the *Breviary* as yet issued (Paris, 1893), thinks that this reformation of the *Hymnal* was rather "a deformation of the work of Christian antiquity" ; and he compares it to the modern restorations of certain old pieces of sculpture—restorations which make one wish that the mutilated works had been left in their disfigured condition. Such also is the opinion of the Abbé U. Chevalier, a competent judge in liturgico-archaeological matters, who ascribes the failure to an ignorance of the rules of rhythmic poetry, "a poetry which was absolutely unknown in the time of Urban VIII., when men dared to assert

(1) "*Quæ controversa erant, alicujus tamen gravis auctoris testimonio suffulta, aliquam haberent probabilitatem, retenta sunt eo modo quo erant, cum falsitatis argui non possint, quamvis fortasse altera sententia sit a pluribus recepta.*" Thus in his *Treasury of Sacred Rites*. This work, with the additions made by the Theatine, Merato, in 1736, by request of Card. Lambertini (afterward Pope Benedict XIV.), is the most widely-used and most reliable of all liturgical guides. To honor the memory of Gavanto, Benedict XIII. decreed that a Barnabite should always be found among the Consultors of the Congregation of Rites ; and Benedict XIV. conferred the same distinction upon the Theatines, because of the merits of Merato.

(2) Urban VIII., like Richelieu, took care that his court should ever present the appearance of an Academy. Two of his hymns, that on St. Martina, and that on St. Elizabeth of Portugal, are in the *Breviary*.

that the hymns of St. Thomas of Aquino were written in '*Etrusco rhythmo*'" (1).

In the year 1633 Urban VIII., in response to certain overtures from Queen Henrietta, the Catholic wife of Charles I., resolved to send an accredited agent to England. The memory of this quasi-legation has been revived in our day by the tentative efforts for a "corporate-reunion" put forth by certain well-meaning Anglicans; and the matter is worthy of more than a passing notice. At this time, of course, there was no Catholic bishop resident in England; but many of the faithful believed that virulent and open persecution would soon slacken sufficiently to warrant the Holy See in making the first step toward a revival of the English hierarchy. They were encouraged in this anticipation of relief by an expressed wish of King Charles that the Catholics might be allowed to take a modified oath of allegiance, instead of the Oath of Supremacy; and by an occasional display, on the part of Charles I. and the Anglican prelates, of a velleity to be satisfied with the Catholic blood which had already been shed. The Catholics had no solid reasons for their anticipations; indeed, they could not shut their eyes to the fact that whenever the king wanted money from the parliament, he promptly conciliated that body by unleashing the dogs of persecution, and that whenever the Anglican prelates observed any prospect of parliamentary interference with their temporalities, they warded off the evil by imitating the monarch. However, Pope Urban sent to England an Oratorian named Gregory Panzani, who was instructed to carefully examine into the state of affairs, but not to hold any communications with the incumbent of Canterbury (2). One of

(1) *L'Université Catholique* for 1891, p. 122, Paris, 1892.

(2) Lingard asks why this prohibition was given. It seems that Queen Henrietta had conceived the notion that if the Pontiff would raise some Englishman to the cardinalate, the conversion of the king would be facilitated. Lingard thinks that Laud may have been in the queen's mind when she formed this project. "Douglas left England to make the request about the middle of July, and reached Rome about a month later. Now the offer of that dignity was made to Laud in England on the 4th, and repeated on the 17th of August (Laud's *Diary*). This coincidence in point of time furnishes a strong presumption; and to it may be added that in December, Du Perron, the chief clergyman in the queen's household, proceeded to Paris, and to Bichi, the nuncio, spoke highly in favor of Laud, with regard to his religious principles, and his willingness to show favor to the Catholics (Dispatch of Bichi to Barberini, Dec., 1633). Hence I am inclined to think that the proposal of the cardinal's *dat* came to the new archbishop from Queen Henrietta, under the notion that there might

the first steps of Panzano was to consult Sir Francis Windebank, a secretary of state, concerning the special oath of allegiance which King Charles would like to tender to the Catholics; but Rome reproved the diplomat for alluding to the subject. Panzano strangely derived encouragement from the fact that the English Protestants had begun to apply the term "Saint" to the Apostle Peter; that the Psalms were once more chanted in the olden style; and that the Holy Name was often saluted with a bent head. But it need cause no surprise that he should have derived hope from the resumption of a study of the Fathers in the Universities, from an appearance of renewed respect for altars, and from a frequently expressed desire for "reunion," on the part of many Anglicans. These signs were reported to Rome, together with the saying of Windebank that reunion might be effected, if the Holy See were to abandon Communion under one species and the celibacy of the clergy. Barberini replied to this suggestion that such ideas would never be entertained by Rome; and that the English had better "look back upon the breach they had made, and attend to the motives which had actuated them. As to the points mentioned, the whole world was against them."

be some truth in the reports, which had been so long current, of Laud's secret attachment to the Catholic creed." This view of the matter is quite plausible; but there is no reason for believing that the project, conceived in the mind of a fond and credulous woman, was ever laid before the Pope. Such a proceeding would have been utterly preposterous. Rome well knew, and Lingard admits, that just before the supposed royal tender of a red hat to Laud as the price of his conversion, he had strained every nerve to convince the doubting Puritans of his uncompromising Protestantism. For instance, we learn from the *Strafford Papers* (II., 74) that the prelate had lately dragged before the Council, and procured the conviction of a schoolmaster and an innkeeper of Winchester, accused of bringing up Catholic scholars; and that he had procured an order for the public burning of a Catholic book, entitled *An Introduction to a Devout Life* (was it the beautiful work of St. Francis de Sales?). He had also procured the conviction of a Catholic priest named Morse, who had exerted himself for the relief of the plague-stricken in St. Giles's, and had received many of them into the Church. Lingard does not believe that Laud cherished any Catholic tendencies, so long as he was in the enjoyment of the good things of the Establishment; the historian deems such presumed tendencies fully disproved by the whole tenor of the prelate's conduct and writings. "There is, however, some reason to believe that, in the solitude of his cell, and with the prospect of the block before his eyes, he began to think more favorably of the Catholic Church. At least, I find Rosetti inquiring of Cardinal Barberini whether, if Laud should escape from the Tower, the Pope would afford him an asylum and a pension in Rome. He would be content with one thousand crowns (a very large sum in Italy for a bishop of that day). Barberini answered that Laud was in such bad repute in Rome, being looked upon as the cause of all the troubles in England, that it would previously be necessary that he should give good proof of his repentance; in which case he should receive assistance, though such assistance would give a color to the imputation that there had always been an understanding between him and Rome."

This reply was conveyed by Panzano to Lord Cottington, another secretary of state who had joined Windebank in his conferences with the Roman agent; but Cottington merely retorted that the events of the Reformation were still fresh in the minds of men. It soon became evident that although the king consented to the opening of a species of official intercourse with the court of Rome, sending thither Sir William Hamilton in a semi-official capacity, the royal object was purely political. Charles hoped to secure the good offices of the Pontiff in procuring a restoration of the Palatinate to his nephew (1), and in arranging a marriage between one of the sisters of that nephew and the king of Poland. If the Pope complied with the requests of Charles, a Catholic bishop would be allowed to reside in England. The scheme was futile; for the Pope would not use his influence in favor of a Protestant to the detriment of a Catholic prince, and the Polish monarch would not marry a Protestant. While the royal desires were being pressed in the Eternal City, two Anglican prelates, the incumbents of Chichester and Gloucester, had many conferences with Panzano. The former, Montagu, avowed that he was convinced that a central ecclesiastical authority was necessary, and that he was willing to admit the Pontiff's supreme authority in spirituals; but there the matter rested. Goodman of Gloucester, however, was attended in his last hours by the Franciscan friar, Francisus a Sancta Clara (2); and in his last will, he said: "I dye most constant in all the articles of our Christian faith, and in all the doctrines of God's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; whereof I do acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the Mother Church, as I do verily believe that no other Church hath any salvation in it, but only so far as it concurs with the Church of Rome" (3).

(1) Frederick V., the elector-palatine, had married the princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The nephew here mentioned was their son.

(2) This friar had written a book, in which, among certain concessions of minor moment, he had admitted the validity of Anglican Orders. The work was heartily condemned at Rome; but it was not officially reprobated perhaps, as Rivington says (*Anglican Fallacies*, p. 53), because of "kindly policy." However, the too conciliatory author afterward published an apology for his rashness.

(3) The account of the mission of Panzano which is found in Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden* (II., App. A.), and which was taken from the *Civil Wars* of Bisaccioni, is regarded.

On Jan. 13, 1630, Pope Urban VIII. issued an Apostolic Constitution whereby he condemned and abolished a Religious Congregation of females bearing the name of Jesuitesses, who, although now almost forgotten, and utterly ignored by most historians, were then quite numerous in Italy and Flanders. A well-meaning English woman, named Ward, under the guidance of Gerard, superior of the Jesuit College of Antwerp, had founded a society the members of which, entirely directed by Jesuits, were to devote their lives to the instruction of their countrywomen. Very soon their training-school in Flanders had prepared more than two hundred of these female missionaries, bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and following the Jesuit rule. They did not live in community, for that system was then impracticable in England, the chief scene of their labors. Ere long it became evident that zeal, rather than prudence, had presided at the birth of the organization; and it vainly sought the approbation of the Holy See. The Jesuitesses became worse than ridiculous when, not satisfied with terming their training-schools "Colleges" and "Novitiates," and with such a general imitation of their patrons as their sex permitted, they arrogated to themselves the office of public preaching. The condemnatory Constitution is as follows: "Although the General Councils of the Lateran and of Lyons strictly prohibited the institution of new Religious Congregations by private authority; and although our predecessors of happy memory, the Pontiffs John XXII. and Clement V., by their wise Constitutions condemned and abolished, as baneful, the Congregations of women which had been so instituted; nevertheless (as we have learned with great sorrow), in some places of Italy and of the countries beyond the Alps, certain women or girls have assumed the name of 'Jesuitesses,' and without the permission of the Holy See, have for several years united together under the pretext of following a religious life, adopting a dress different from that of other women, erecting Houses of Probation and buildings in the form of Colleges, establishing a superior-general of their

by Lingard as unreliable, but this historian praises as authentic the *Memoirs of Gregorio Anzani* which were edited by Berrington (Birmingham, 1795.).

pretended Congregation, and even pronouncing supposedly solemn vows (*ad instar solemnium*) in the hands of that superior, observing no laws of cloister and wandering at their pleasure, and under the pretense of promoting the salvation of souls they have undertaken many works which are unbecoming to the weakness of their sex and derogatory to virginal modesty—works which are with great diffidence undertaken by men of great experience, solid knowledge of the Word of God, and eminent innocence of life. Therefore We, wishing to free the field of the Church Militant from brambles, recently wrote to our venerable brother, the nuncio of this Apostolic See in the Netherlands, and also to certain ordinaries of that region, ordering them to admonish seriously the aforesaid women or girls, and to procure their abandonment of their audacious enterprise, and their return to a healthy state of mind. But those unfortunates had no fear of God, and paid no attention to the warning of the Apostolic See, thus risking their salvation and scandalizing all good persons by their arrogant contumacy. They continued in their course, and did not hesitate to utter many sentiments contrary to orthodox doctrine ; therefore we have resolved to coerce their temerity with the heaviest censure, and to uproot these weeds lest they spread further in the Church of God. Therefore . . . We now suppress altogether, perpetually abolish, and expel from the Church of God the pretended Congregation of women or girls styled Jesuitesses ; we wish and command all the faithful of Christ, to regard that Congregation as suppressed, abolished, and extinct ; and we decree that the aforesaid women or girls are not held to the observation of their aforesaid vows.”

The reader will find in the pages of Ranke a sufficiently faithful picture of the character of Pope Urban VIII., and of the rôle he played in the politics of his day ; but the German historian is unjust to this Pontiff when he says : “I find no Pope who possessed so strong a sentiment of his own individual importance. One day an objection, based on some ancient papal Constitutions, was made to him ; and he replied : ‘The decision of a living Pope is worth more than those of a hundred dead ones.’ ” We must remember that circumstan-

ces alter cases; and while the judgment of any one Pope can never differ from those of a hundred of his predecessors in matters of faith or morals, it may happen that in affairs of discipline or politics, a Pontiff may come to a decision very different from that which the circumstances of their days entailed upon all previous Popes. But it is not true that Urban VIII. made little of the decisions of his predecessors, when he wished to attain some end of his own. Ranke gives no authority for the remark he places on the lips of Urban; but we do know that often this Pontiff displayed a scrupulous regard for the decrees of other Popes, and sometimes under circumstances when a man of the temper of Ranke would have expected him to abrogate them, at least in practice. Thus, although Urban VIII. was one of the most nepotistic of Popes, he refused to confer the duchy of Urbino upon his nephew, the duke of Palestrina: and he refused, precisely because Pius V. had interdicted any future investiture of the fiefs of the Church.

We shall have occasion to give many details concerning this Pontiff's conduct in the affair of Galileo and in the Jansenistic controversy, when we pay special attention to those subjects; but here we must speak at some length about a contest in which Urban VIII. was one of the most prominent figures (1). The hideously grand period of the Thirty Years' War, that era of crimes which were more horrible than any which had visited earth since the days of pagan antiquity, was prolific of prodigious beings—a kind of moral Centaurs—half brigands and half great men. The heroes of this struggle were portentously original; and some of them, man-eaters and gold-consumers—for instance, Maunstedt, Halbertædt, and Wallenstein—were sovereignly detestable. Shakespeare would certainly have discerned a fit subject for his pen in Wallenstein; that colossal satrap who would have been more at home in dark and violent Asia than in Europe; that taciturn fighter who was never known to laugh, and whose soldiers declared that he communed with demons; that ostensible Catholic who believed only in judicial astrol-

(1) Nearly all of the rest of this chapter appeared as an article in *The Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, vol. xx.

ogy, and who was neither Christian nor pagan nor human ; that inscrutable sphynx and abyss of ambition, who is still as much of an enigma as he was during his life and in his death. And how well the divine William would have depicted him who was, in all probability, the sole disinterested, as he was certainly one of the most admirable military men of his day : Tilly, who was a virgin when he died, and had heard two Masses every day of his life. Shakespeare unrolled many panoramas of history, but he never gazed on one so striking as that which began with the campaigns of Tilly and closed with those of Condé and Turenne, and which resulted in the eclipse of the Spanish policy of Charles V. by that of Richelieu and Mazarin. The Thirty Years' War was the real end of the Middle Age, the end of that death agony which began with the crime of Philip the Fair at Anagni, and the consequence of which was to be the dissolution of the political and social organization which the Catholic Church had imposed upon the *Populus Christianus*—the Christian Republic. This war, strongly but penetratingly observes one of the most brilliant writers of modern France, and a judicious polemic, "which issued from the cowl which Luther had trampled under his feet, was a deliverance of the world from the conditions in which it had been placed by the Catholic Church and the Christian royalties ; and, of course, such a gain warrants its glorification. This war was the Last Judgment, the valley of Jehosaphat, of the Middle Age ; it was the resurrection of man, who had been suffocated by God for centuries, as though buried in a sepulchre ; and at last man rose out of the ruins of God to put himself in the place of God. It was, in fine, a beginning of a realization of the frightful dream of Jean Paul (Richter), which we have seen actuated : 'There is no God ; there is no Christ' ; with this difference, however, that the souls in the dream of Jean Paul are desolate—eternally desolate—while modern souls are content, happy in their joys of hell" (1). Such a war will ever be interesting to the student of humanity, and its interest increases in presence of those contests which have lately convulsed Europe, and in presence of those changes which

1. BARBEY D'AUREVILLE ; *Deeds and Men*, vol. viii., p. 108, Paris, 1887.

have been recently experienced by the states which formed the Holy Roman Empire of the seventeenth century. But in presenting a succinct sketch of the Thirty Years' War, and a few apposite reflections, to the consideration of the student, we are chiefly actuated by a desire to investigate the legitimacy of the claims to apotheosis which many zealous Protestants advance in favor of Gustavus Adolphus (1).

The Latin and Teutonic races, united for an instant by Charlemagne, separated when that emperor died; the Latin following its destiny in Italy, France, and Spain, while the Teutonic retained, together with the imperial crown, about two-thirds of the Carolingian Empire. In the sixteenth century Germany was a federative empire, composed of both hereditary and elective monarchies and of free imperial cities, the latter veritable republics. The hereditary monarchies were governed by lay sovereigns; the elective by ecclesiastical princes, generally issued from powerful noble families. Over all these states, and uniting them together, reigned the Holy Roman Emperor, an elective sovereign who was not a lawful emperor until his election was confirmed by the founder of the empire, the Pope; and who, during the three previous centuries, had nearly always been chosen from among the members of the House of Hapsburg. Just as the prince-bishops were elected by the cathedral-chapters, so the emperor was chosen by seven electors. Three of these electors

(1) The student who desires detailed information concerning the Thirty Years' War should consult the works of Gindely, Ranke, Opel, Hurter, and Schreiber for the Palatine and Danish periods; those of Gfrörer and Droysen for the Swedish period; and those of Bougeant, Barthold, and Koch for the French period. He will also consult with profit the *History of Louis XIII.*, by Levassor; and the *Memoirs of Richelieu*. Valuable aid will be obtained in the biography of Tilly, by Klopp; in that of Wallenstein, by Ranke; in that of Mansfeld, by Villermont; and in that of Turenne, by Ramsay. The *Universal History of Cantu* gives probably the most impartial and satisfactory of all the succinct narratives. Among the more voluminous works treating especially of this subject, none can be compared with the *History of the Thirty Years' War*, by Charveriat (Paris, 1878), for erudition, grasp of subject, and historical acumen. As to the work of Schiller, so much lauded by Protestant writers on this subject, we need merely say that when Schiller, the poet, undertook to write his *History of the Thirty Years' War*, he ceased to be a poet, without becoming a historian. Nor would we expect that a subject of that nature would receive justice from one who could write, as Schiller did to Goethe: "You are right: healthy nature has no need of *morality* or of a *natural law*, and you might add that she needs not to rely on a *divinity* or on an *immortality of the soul*." When Schiller approached this chaos of brigandage and butchery, evidently he hoped to find literary capital in its prodigious and thrillingly dramatic personages. He certainly found the material for a grand work; but he brought forth an incoherent mass of platitudinous declamations.

were ecclesiastics, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves ; and the lay electors were the count-palatine, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. The so-called Reformation produced in Germany political as well as religious convulsions. When a lay prince became a Protestant, no change occurred in the government of his states ; since the power continued to be transmitted by way of heredity. But when the sovereign was an ecclesiastic, his perversion to Protestantism necessarily entailed a radical modification of the political constitution of his states ; for the first act of a priest, when he had discovered the errors of popery, was an abandonment of celibacy, and therefore a transformation of his elective into a hereditary principality. A striking instance of the consequences of the apostasy of an ecclesiastical ruler may be discerned in the case of Albert of Brandenburg, a soldier-monk and grand-master of the Teutonic Knights, who became a "reformer," and by stealing the property of his Order, laid the foundation of the Protestant kingdom of Prussia. When the pervert was also an imperial elector, the constitution of the empire was affected ; for then, since three of the electors had embraced Protestantism, the majority in the electoral college passed to the innovators, and there was a danger of an elevation of a heretic to the imperial throne—an anomaly for which humanity was not prepared, and the actuation of which would have sapped the very foundation of the venerated institution. After thirty years of discord, Germany, exhausted by the wars of Charles V., was desirous of peace, even at the cost of an abandonment of religious controversy. On February 5, 1555, a Diet assembled at Augsburg, and a kind of truce was concluded between the Catholics and Lutherans ; the Calvinists, Zwinglians, and other sectarians being excluded, and declared unable to profit by any of the concessions made by the Catholics. Those princes who had adopted the *Confession of Augsburg*, as well as the Catholic princes and free states, were to enjoy a species of freedom of conscience ; that is, they could be either Catholics or Lutherans. The Evangelicals—so termed, after the fashion of *lucus a non lucendo*, because they paid more attention to the Old Testament than to the Gospel—were utterly

ignored in this transaction. The Lutheran princes and states were to retain possession of all the ecclesiastical domains which they had stolen before the Treaty of Passau in 1552. The reader will observe that liberty of conscience, or what passed for such, was here granted to princes and to the administrators of the free cities ; that is, to sovereigns, and not to subjects, of whom there was no thought in the premises. Each sovereign was to impose on his people whatever religion accorded with his conviction or suited his caprice, in actuation of the detestable and pre-eminently Protestant principle—in reality, a pagan canon—that the master of a country was, of right, master also of that country's religion ; *Cujus regio, ejus religio* (1). The aggrieved subjects, however, had one resource ; they could sell their property, and if they were then able to pay for the privilege, they could emigrate. After the Peace of Augsburg, Protestantism made great progress in Germany. Hitherto it had been confined to Saxony, Franconia, and Suabia ; but now it penetrated into Westphalia, Bavaria, and the duchy of Austria. Among the princely families, only three remained Catholic ; those of Austria, Bavaria, and Juliers-Cleves-Berg. And even these made many concessions to such of their subjects as became Protestants. Even the ecclesiastical princes gave full toleration to their heretical subjects. At the request of the emperor Ferdinand I., in hopes of preventing further apostasies, Pope Pius IV. accorded, in 1564, the use of the chalice to lay communicants in the duchy of Austria. Of course this concession encouraged the demand of others ; and Maximilian II. requested Pope Pius V. to sanction the marriage of the clergy. The Pontiff most energetically refused (2). Such was the condition of Germany in 1612, when Mathias became emperor. Feeling that his advanced age would not allow him to confront satis-

(1) This principle was promulgated by nearly all the Protestant juriconsults of that day. The celebrated Hugo Grotius contended : " In arbitrio est summi imperii quanam religio publice exerceatur ; idque precipuum inter majestatis jura ponunt omnes qui politica scripserunt." Certainly this was the most complete of tyrannies, if applied in the fullness of its consequences, and not restrained by the written constitutions which men were obliged to devise as makeshifts, when they had abolished the supreme guardian of justice and of right.

(2) PEISTER ; *German History*, vol. vii., p. 463.—RANKE ; *On German History*, p. 25.—BARRE, *History of Germany*, vol. ix., p. 90.

factorily the difficulties of his position, Mathias procured the recognition of his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, as king of Bohemia in 1617, and as king of Hungary in 1618. This action was equivalent to a proclamation that Ferdinand was to be the next emperor ; and as that prince was a zealous Catholic, the Protestants anticipated danger for themselves, and resolved to forestall it. An occasion for action was furnished by a prohibition to erect Protestant temples in his domains, issued by the archbishop of Prague, in accordance with that very Protestant maxim that each ruler should be the guide of his people in religious matters. Led by Count Mathias of Thurn, the Protestants of Bohemia arose in revolt ; and the "defenestration" of Prague—the pitching of several royal councillors out of a window, sixty feet from the ground, so that blood might not be shed in the council-chamber—was the signal for the Thirty Years' War.

The first period of this war, or series of wars, is generally styled the Palatine Period, because of the prominent part taken in it by the elector-palatine Frederick V., a weak and yet ambitious prince whom the Bohemian rebels acclaimed as their king ; and who was recommended to their appreciation by his triple position of head of the Protestant League, nephew of the stadtholder of Holland, and son-in-law of the royal theologian, James I. of England. In the ensuing contest, Ferdinand was succored by the duke of Bavaria, a zealous Catholic ; and by the elector of Saxony, a Lutheran, but therefore an enemy of the Calvinists, who were the mainstay of the early rebels. The palatine was conquered ; the defeat of Calvinism was complete ; but although the emperor triumphed, he excited the ire of the Lutherans by occupying the palatinate, and above all, by conferring the electoral dignity on a Catholic prince. The palatine, because of his revolt and usurpation, had undoubtedly merited to be placed under the ban of the empire, and had certainly forfeited his estates ; but the emperor should not have disposed of the electoral dignity without the concurrence of the electoral college. This seizure of the hereditary states of the palatine, and the transfer of the electorate to the Bavarian, became the chief pretexts for the continuance of the war ; for although the elect-

ors ratified the Bavarian's elevation to their circle, their action was more or less compulsory.

During the first period of the war, which lasted from 1618 to 1623, England and Holland gave some aid to the palatine; Spain naturally supported Austria, for their crowns were worn by near kinsmen, and their interests were supposed to be identical; France was neutral, but was then more favorable to the Hapsburgs than to their adversaries. When the palatine period of the war terminated with an apparent triumph of the emperor and of Catholicism, the Protestants everywhere took the alarm; and German Calvinists especially feared for the tenure of the dominions and estates which they had stolen from Catholic ecclesiastics. They renewed the contest; and the Danish monarch, who also coveted the goods of the Church, placed himself at their head, incited and supported by France and England. But like the palatine, the Dane was beaten; and although the Treaty of Lubeck restored to him his hereditary dominions, he was forced to abandon his German allies. The emperor, foreseeing no obstacles, now published, on March 6, 1629, his famous Edict of Restitution. As we have observed, the Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, had allowed the Lutherans to retain the ecclesiastical domains and properties which they had "annexed" before the Peace of Passau, in 1552. But while sanctioning these usurpations, the Peace of Augsburg had pronounced that thereafter when a bishop, abbot, or beneficed clergyman apostatized, he should, by the fact, lose his bishopric, abbey, or benefice; and this clause was called the "ecclesiastical reservation." However, in spite of this reservation, the usurpations had continued; and the ecclesiastical princes often called upon the emperor to enforce its observation. The immediate successors of Ferdinand I., not very hostile to Protestantism, had paid no attention to these demands; but things changed with the advent of Ferdinand II., and by the Edict of Restitution the Protestants were forced to restore the domains of two archbishoprics, Magdeburg and Bremen, and of twelve bishoprics, to say nothing of an immense number of expropriated abbeys and convents. In Saxony alone, the reformers were obliged to relinquish their sacrilegious

grasp on 120 abbeys and convents, besides many houses of mendicant friars (1). This measure, so irritating to hundreds of Protestant nobles and upstarts who had begun to assume some prominence, owing to their acquisition of the goods of the sanctuary, was destined to figure among the pretexts alleged by Gustavus Adolphus in justification of his interference in German affairs (2). It is painful to have to notice, in this connection, that a large number of these recovered properties, instead of being restored to their rightful owners, or of being used for religious or educational purposes, fell into the hands of Catholic laymen; and in 1632 Pope Urban VIII. declared that the torments inflicted on Germany by the Swedes were in punishment of this scandal (3). After the enforcement of the Edict of Restitution, the growing power of the emperor, and the tyrannies of Wallenstein, frightened even the Catholics; and, therefore, they joined the Protestants in demanding the dismissal of the noble *condottiere*. Ferdinand relied on the Catholics for the election of his son as "king of the Romans" (and, therefore, future emperor); and he unwillingly ordered his arrogant commander to retire to his estates (4).

(1) HURTER; *History of the Emperor Ferdinand II.*, vol. iii., p. 30.

(2) HURTER; *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 41.—RANKE; *History of Wallenstein*, p. 167.

(3) HURTER; *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 74.

(4) Albert Wenceslaus Ralsko was born in Bohemia on the little estate or farm of Hermanic, the sole possession of one of the branches of the Ralskos of Wallenstein. He made his first campaign in a war against the Turks, and under the command of Basta, a pupil of Alexander Farnese. Through the good offices of the archbishop of Prague, he obtained the hand of a wealthy Moravian widow who, dying soon afterward, left him some very valuable estates. Meanwhile he had amassed considerable wealth of his own by such means as nearly all *condottieri* then used; and in 1617 he was able to recruit a large number of soldiers of fortune, and led them to the service of the archduke Ferdinand of Styria in the campaign against Venice. When Bohemia revolted, Wallenstein, then colonel of a Moravian regiment, declared for Ferdinand. Although he took no part in the battle of the White Mountain, he profited by its results; and devoted a large portion of his hoarded spoils of war to the purchase of the lordship of Friedland, and many other confiscated estates, at a low figure. Hence in a short time the poor Czech Slav found himself wealthy in lands, and obtained from Ferdinand the title of duke of Friedland. Shortly afterward, he offered to raise and support, at no expense to the imperial treasury, 20,000 soldiers; if he were allowed to head them against Italy, Hungary, or German rebels. Accordingly, in 1625 he was made general-in-chief of all the armies of the Holy Roman Empire, and received carte blanche for his recruiting schemes. (HURTER, *History of the Emperor Ferdinand II.*, vol. ii., p. 418). After the campaign of 1627, that of Silesia, he was made prince of Sagan, which dignity gave him the right of sitting in the College of Princes of Silesia; but the ambitious Bohemian aimed at an equality with the princes of the empire, and demanded the duchy of Mecklenburg. He received it as security for his war expenses, and in 1629 its full sovereignty was conferred on him. From this time Wallenstein was in continual strife with the electors. The struggle was, in reality, a continuation of that which had subsisted

Many writers attribute the fall of Wallenstein, and also the refusal of the electors to accommodate Ferdinand in the promotion of his son, to the influence of the agent of Richelieu, the celebrated "grey cardinal," the Capuchin, Joseph (François Le Clerc du Tremblay). But it is certain that the electors had decided on asking for the dismissal of Wallenstein, and on refusing the election of the "king of the Romans," before Father Joseph arrived at Ratisbon, where the discussions were held. The rôle of the Capuchin at the Diet of Ratisbon was simply that of a peacemaker. Ranke affects to regard the *alter ego* of Richelieu as a cunning schemer; he says that "deceitful subtlety never was so active" as it was in the diplomatic successes of Friar Joseph in Germany (1). Such being the estimation in which the famous Capuchin is generally held, the reader may welcome a few words concerning his career. Few historians have devoted much time to Friar Joseph. His constant devotion to the great Minister, his invariable connection with every political act of that prelate, gave him the designation of the Grey Cardinal, and he was the red cardinal's "familiar demon." This is about all which is told us by Bazin and by Henri Martin, who have dwelt more on this subject than other writers. The impressive play of Bulwer is the source of the ideas which very many hold concerning both Richelieu and his Capuchin secretary, and these ideas are as just as would be an estimate of Joan of Arc derived from the absurd play of Schiller or the obscene poem of Voltaire. According to Bulwer, the friar-secretary was a man of low cunning—a sneak, but at the same time ambitious, and he was as ready to betray the secrets of the confessional

since the transfer of the empire, by Pope John XII., from the Franks to the Germans, in 962; the emperors ever striving to extend their power, and the electors determined on limiting it. Wallenstein always regarded the electors as his adversaries. He purposely confounded the different titles to authority which the emperor enjoyed; the sovereignty in whatever hereditary states he might have, and the suzerainty in the Holy Roman Empire. This confusion effected to some extent, Wallenstein insisted that Ferdinand should be master in Germany, just as he was in his hereditary states, and just as the kings of France and Spain were in their kingdoms; there should be no electors, the empire should pass from father to son by right. Ferdinand II. was too faithful to duty to enter upon such a violation of the obligations imposed on him by the constitution of the empire; and the Bohemian adventurer, flattering himself that he could eventually dispose of the emperor as he already did of the court and the army, entered the fatal path which was to lead him to treason and to death. See HURTER; *loc. cit.* SCHREIBER; *Maximilian I.*—RANKE; *History of Wallenstein*.—CHARVÉLAT; *Thirty Years' War*.

(1) *The Papacy in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, bk. vii., ch. 4.

as his master was to use them. Although less famous, because the subject of less attention, than the two Abbots Suger, than St. John Capistrano, than the Franciscans Calatagirone and Ximenes, his career must be interesting, if only because of its connection with that of the great Richelieu. François le Clerc du Tremblay was born of noble parents in 1577. From his sixteenth year he desired to become a religious, but to please his family he entered the army, and at the siege of Amiens was noticed for his bravery by the constable de Montmorency. When his relative, M. de Mesle de Berzean, was sent as extraordinary ambassador to Elizabeth of England, the young François accompanied him, and the woes of the English Catholics and the many devastations of heresy so excited the zeal of the apostolate in his heart, that on his return to France in 1599 he joined the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan Order. He soon acquired fame as a preacher and controversialist, and it was while engaged in a mission at Poitou, in 1619, that he formed his first relations with Armand du Plessis de Richelieu, then bishop of Luçon. Friar Joseph (for such was the name adopted by Du Tremblay in religion) soon became cognizant of the sublime genius and extraordinary administrative talent of the provincial prelate, and he drew the attention of the queen, Marie dei Medici, to his discovery. This was the starting point of Richelieu's glorious career. But Friar Joseph had been known as a zealous churchman and as an accomplished diplomatist several years before he became connected with Richelieu. In 1615 Rome had appreciated his apostolic spirit, when, bearing letters of approbation from Louis XIII., he laid before the Holy See three grand projects—viz., the establishment of permanent missions to combat heresy in France; a new crusade against the Crescent; and the foundation of the Daughters of Calvary, a society destined to perpetual meditation on the woes of Mary at the feet of her crucified Son. Joseph's first diplomatic achievement was the effecting of the Treaty of Loudun, in 1615, between the court and the faction of the prince de Condé, without that schismatic clause which the Third Estate—then composed chiefly of heretics and bad Catholics—wished to insert: *i. e.*, that the king, being

sovereign in his realm, could recognize in it no superior, *spiritual* or temporal. To compass the withdrawal of this clause, the royal minister Villeroi sought the aid of our friar, then making his provincial visitation to the houses of his Order in Poitou. The nuncio Ubadani also added his entreaties, and Joseph, who had long ago gained the esteem of Condé, began a series of negotiations which finally succeeded; and thus was obviated a danger which threatened France with the same horrors as those experienced by England at the hands of Henry VIII. That this blessing was due to the exertions of the Capuchin provincial, was openly acknowledged by Villeroi, who entering Tours after the signature of the treaty, cried out to the applauding citizens: "Thank not me, but Friar Joseph!" Marie dei Medici did not forget the warm recommendation of the bishop of Luçon proffered by the humble Capuchin. It was through her influence that Richelieu was raised to the cardinalate in 1622, and two years afterward was made prime minister of France. One of his first acts was to send the following letter to Friar Joseph: "As you have been the chief agent used by God in according me my present honors, I feel it a duty to inform you, before all others, that the king has hearkened to the queen's prayer to appoint me his prime minister. I also beg you to make all possible haste to come and share with me the management of affairs, some of which are of such a nature that I can confide them to no other person. Come, then, at once to receive the proof of the esteem in which you are held by the Cardinal de Richelieu." Friar Joseph has been called ambitious, and yet he constantly refused many dignities offered him. The See of Albi was tendered him in vain, as well as the projected diocese of La Rochelle. Certainly King Louis XIII. again and again named him to the Holy See (firstly in 1635) for a cardinal's hat, but we know not whether, if accorded him, he would have accepted the honor voluntarily; he always protested to Richelieu that the habit of St. Francis was the dearest thing to him on earth. In view of the prevalent idea that the friar-secretary was an unscrupulous intriguer and an associate of roysterers, it is curious to note that, according to the records of the time, he was as

faithful to his monastic duties as any friar in the cloister. Friar Joseph was sixty-one years of age when, a stroke of apoplexy warning him to prepare for death, he retired to a house of his Order in the Rue Saint-Honoré, despite the solicitations of Richelieu. But the cardinal availed himself of an important business conference with Cardinal de Bichi to insist on Joseph's return. The friar acquiesced, attended the conference, but was seized the same day by a second stroke, and died three days afterward, December 18, 1638. He was buried with all the honors due to a cardinal, and was followed to the tomb by the Parliament and all that was noble in Paris. Richelieu composed the following epitaph, which was engraved on the tomb: "In everlasting memory of the Rev. Father Joseph le Clerc, Capuchin.—Here lies one whose virtues will never be forgotten; one who, in order to bear the yoke of the Lord, abandoned in his youth parents, titles, and wealth, and lived very poor in a very poor Order. Made Provincial in that Order, he benefited the Church by his writings and his discourses. He filled many public offices, to which he was providentially called by the Most Christian King Louis, in a holy and a prudent manner; carefully serving God, his prince, and his country, with seraphic devotion and wonderful tranquillity of spirit. He observed, to the last day of his life, the entire rule to which he had dedicated himself; although, for the good of the Church, he had been dispensed from it by three successive Pontiffs. By his missions and his advice he resisted heresy in France and in England, and he sustained the courage of the Christians in the East. Amid the wealth and the allurements of the court he led a life of poverty and austerity, and before his death had been named to the cardinalate."

The House of Austria was now called to confront a new adversary, the king of Sweden; and France was to support him more actively than she had the Danish monarch. This period of the Thirty Years' War claims more attention than we have considered necessary to devote to the Palatine and Danish periods; for the Lion of the North, the "king of snows," is almost venerated by the average Protestant. Were Protestantism capable of making saints, and having made

them, of conscientiously praying to them, Gustavus Adolphus would have been canonized. On December 9, 1594, in the castle of Stockholm, a son was born to Charles, duke of Sudermania, the third son of that king, Gustavus Wasa, who had introduced Protestantism into Sweden (1). In remembrance of this monarch, and of his maternal grandfather, Adolphus of Holstein, the babe was christened as Gustavus Adolphus. Ten years before this event, the famous Danish astronomer (and astrologist), Tycho-Brahe, had discovered a new star in the constellation of Cassiopea; and it was said, when Gustavus Adolphus appeared, that the scientist had declared that the heavenly birth prognosticated the coming of a northern prince who was to be the saviour of the then nascent and persecuted "Protestant Church." Charles of Sudermania mounted the Swedish throne in 1604; and one of his chief cares was the careful education of his heir. Besides his paternal language, the young prince learned to use fluently the Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch tongues; and when he had attained to the age of eleven, his father made him assist at the sessions of the Council of State and at the reception of ambassadors. In 1611 the death of Charles IX. made Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden; and one of his first acts was the appointment of his former tutor, Axel Oxenstierna, to the royal chancellorship. To the day of his death he showed the utmost confidence in this faithful servant. Gustavus Adolphus was an intense absolutist. Until he ascended the throne the Swedish Diets had assembled regularly, and had shared the initiative with the monarch. But the young king ordained that thereafter he alone should enjoy this prerogative; the Diet having merely the privilege of

(1) The Treaty of Calmar, 1397, had united Sweden, Norway, and Denmark under one crown, although each of these Scandinavian kingdoms retained its own liberties and privileges. But the Swedes refused to be bound by the agreement, and during the fifteenth century they were governed by administrators chosen from the family of the Sture. Christian II. of Denmark endeavored to restore the union of the three kingdoms; and as Pope Leo X. supported his claims, the Swedes became hostile to the Holy See. When Christian returned to Denmark, after his conquest of Sweden, Gustavus Ericson, one of the noble family of the Wasa, headed a revolt, was proclaimed administrator, and finally became king of Sweden, in 1523, under the name of Gustavus Wasa. The discontent of the Swedes with Pope Leo X. encouraged Wasa to seize the property of the Church in order to replete his exhausted treasury; and as an excuse, he found that the true gospel had just been announced at Wittenberg.—GEORGER; *Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and His Times*, Stuttgart, 1863.—DROSEN; *Gustavus Adolphus*, Leipsic, 1869.

respectfully presenting a remonstrance at the close of the session. Again, hitherto the royal power had been limited not only by the Diet, but by the Reichsrath or Council of the Kingdom, which was composed of the leading nobles, and had always been accustomed to deliberate with the sovereign on all important matters. Gustavus allowed this body to subsist in name; but he consulted, when he cared to do so, and only then, five special Councils—those of justice, war, marine, foreign affairs, and finance—every member of which was designated by himself. Gustavus Wasa had already deprived the clergy of much of their authority and influence; but Gustavus Adolphus resolved to render his ministers docile creatures of his royal will. He instituted a consistory, so composed that he might always rely upon the subservience of the majority to any desire or whim of his Majesty. This sycophantic body appointed all the pastors, exercised over printed matter a rigid censorship which the Roman Index would have admired rather than imitated, and presided over all literary and eleemosynary institutions. As to religious liberty, the mind of Gustavus Adolphus, like that of every Protestant prince of his day, harbored but one idea on the subject; it was the duty and the privilege of his subjects to profess the creed which their royal master might chance to adopt as his own. Immediately on his accession, the Diet of Nyköping agreed with its lord that Lutheranism was to be maintained in Sweden, even though extreme measures were necessary for that end; and in 1617 the Diet of Oebro obeyed the royal will by decreeing that the penalty for high treason should be visited upon every Swede who, even in the privacy of his own house, and only in the bosom of his family, would be guilty of any Catholic practices. In fact, many persons, and in 1623 three public functionaries, mounted the scaffold in accordance with this law (1). In fine, with the advent of Gustavus Adolphus, all the institutions of the Middle Ages vanished from Sweden, and the government became an absolute monarchy, without a vestige of either civil or religious liberty.

The sole object of Gustavus Adolphus was to augment his kingdom, and to dominate. The Swedes were for him merely

(1) GFRORER; *loc. cit.*, pp. 70, 109, 125.

so many instruments for the advancement of his glory. He continued the policy of his family, the acquisition of the Baltic regions, and a consequent conversion of that sea into a Swedish lake. In 1629, after long and cruel wars, he possessed all the Baltic shores, excepting those of Denmark, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. The greater part of the still coveted territory was a dependency of the Holy Roman Empire, at the head of which was the House of Austria, then the most powerful in Christendom. But Germany was divided by the greed for ecclesiastical property and domains; and the emperor had alienated the Protestants by his Edict of Restitution—a measure which was perfectly legal and otherwise legitimate, since it simply ordered the observance of the Peace of Augsburg, when it enjoined upon the Protestants a surrender of goods which they had seized in violation of that treaty. However, this edict was an act of bad policy on the part of Ferdinand; for it lost for him the support of many of the German princes, especially that of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the former of whom had ever been warmly attached to the House of Hapsburg. While this fever agitated Germany, Gustavus Adolphus determined to actuate his dream of Baltic conquest.

At this period, France had resolved to perfect, to “round out” her frontiers by the annexation of Alsace, and to diminish the power of Austria by procuring the transfer of the imperial crown to the House of Bavaria. Therefore, since France and Sweden had a common adversary, it was natural for them to unite; and Richelieu thought that when Gustavus had served his purpose, he could easily withdraw from the alliance. By the influence of the cardinal, the war between Sweden and Poland was terminated by the armistice of Altmark; and Gustavus was then free to attend to Germany. The ambitious monarch had no justification for interfering in German affairs; and he was so well convinced of this fact, that he did not dare to assemble the Swedish Diet in order to go through the farce of asking its opinion as to the advisability of declaring war. He simply informed some of the most docile members of his sufficiently docile council that a state of war “already subsisted” between the empire and

Sweden, and that the sole question for consideration was, as to which of the parties should make the attack (1). Nothing was more certain than that the emperor Ferdinand had in no way menaced Sweden; if he had thought of creating an imperial fleet in the Baltic, it was merely for the defeat of Denmark. Gustavus vaunted himself as the defender of the German princes, but none of these had asked his aid; the duke of Pomerania had even begged him to stay away from Germany. It is interesting to note that Frederick II. of Prussia, who was not at all scrupulous about the ethics of conquest, after detailing the complaints of Gustavus against the emperor, declared that "none of these reasons could justify the arming of nations against each other, the ruination of the most flourishing provinces, and a prodigal effusion of human blood, in order to satisfy the ambition and caprice of one man" (2). That he might the more successfully pose as the offended and innocent party, Gustavus affected to consider Germany and Sweden as having been placed already in a state of hostility by the emperor's interference in Poland; and therefore he did not deign to declare war—a course which was unprecedented in those days. At that time, statesmen were more punctilious, to say the least, than they are in our day; then, the world would have been astounded had a king of Sardinia invaded the territories of the Pope and of the king of the Two Sicilies, without the formality of a declaration of war. Whether or not Gustavus Adolphus, like many of the *condottieri* of his time, preserved something of the gentleman even amid the ruffianliness of the brigand, he seems to have felt the necessity of excusing his filibustering conduct; for he caused trusty agents to scatter throughout Europe copies of a manifesto written in Latin, entitled, "Reasons why the king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, has been forced to disembark on German soil with an army." They who would fain regard the royal adventurer as an angel of the Most High, bearing the flaming sword of a Macchabee in defence of the persecuted children of God, will perforce observe that the sentiments of this justificatory document are

(1) RICHELIEU: *Memoirs*, vol. v., p. 147.—GFRÖRER: *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 134.

(2) *Works of Frederick II.*, edition 1789, vol. i., p. 55.—KOCH: *loc. cit.*, in Introduction, p. 7.

of the earth, earthy. "The king of Sweden has done all that he could to prevent this war (an absolute falsehood). He has long closed his ears to the urgent appeals (which did not exist) of his relatives and his co-religionists in Germany, because he still hoped that the emperor would cease to persecute these innocents (Ferdinand had persecuted no one). But he finds himself obliged by the strongest of reasons (greed of territory), to obtain by the sword that satisfaction which has been refused to his prayers. The imperialists have intercepted his letters (which was their right) to the prince of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor (a sworn vassal of the Turk, and usurper of the crown of Hungary), and maltreated the messenger. The emperor has fomented discord between Sweden and Poland, and has furnished two armies to King Sigismund (to aid this prince against an iniquitous invasion). . . . He has tried to dominate the Baltic, which is a violation of the rights of Sweden, to which country, in common with Denmark, that sea has always belonged (a new clause in the law of nations). . . . under the pretence of punishing rebels, and of causing a restitution of ecclesiastical property, the emperor has oppressed all the princes of Germany, and has tried to force them under his yoke (Ferdinand merely upheld the German constitution). The emperor has rejected all my propositions of peace (which were purposely so couched that no German patriot could accept them); and nothing remains for the king of Sweden but war in order to obtain justice (a Scandinaldo-German empire)." In this manifesto, the alleged Macchabee scarcely alludes to religious questions. Indeed, he caused the Genevan professor, Spanheim, to compose a work in proof of the fact that his Swedish majesty was not undertaking a religious war.

Gustavus Adolphus owed his first successes in Germany to the excellence of his troops, inured to hardship and thoroughly drilled in his Polish campaigns. Nor should it be forgotten that the Swede alone directed his army, as he did his policy; whereas Ferdinand could effect nothing without the concurrence of the electors. Complete unity fought for the former; perpetual discord harassed the latter. But in spite of these advantages, Gustavus remained for six months with-

out doing anything but occupy the mouths of the Oder ; then the Treaty of Berwald, concluded with France, enabled him to capture Frankfort, and thus to master the entire river. Compelling his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg, to a less than half-hearted alliance, he obtained control of the basin of the Elbe. The elector of Saxony, frightened by the Edict of Restitution, was as yet neutral ; but when Tilly summoned him, in the name of the emperor, to lay down his arms, he perforce joined the Swede. This alliance was decisive for Gustavus. Having no longer any fear for his rear, he pushed forward and vanquished Tilly at Leipsic, thanks to the disobedience of Pappenheim more than to the unwieldiness of the imperial army, still hampered by the now antiquated Spanish tactics. Gustavus could now have advanced to Vienna, but he preferred to wait for reinforcements ; meanwhile invading Franconia and the ecclesiastical electorates of the Rhine. Had he been animated, as is asserted *usque ad nauseam*, by the sole desire of saving German Protestantism, he would have marched on the Austrian capital immediately after his victory at Leipsic ; for, in order to checkmate him, the emperor would have abrogated the Edict of Restitution, which, indeed, had been renounced so far as Saxony was concerned. But then Gustavus would have returned to his kingdom of snow with naught but glory for his profit. There would have remained no further need for his presence in Germany ; and if he attempted to annex any German soil, the now contented Protestants would have joined the Catholics in driving him beyond the Baltic. Gustavus entertained no idea of being content with the reputation of a Protestant Macchabee ; and since he was not yet sufficiently powerful to wrest any concession of territory from the emperor, he seized upon what was at his mercy, the ecclesiastical states on the Main and the Rhine. At this juncture he illustrated his views on the matter of religious toleration. Erfurt, then a populous city, was a dependency of the archbishop-electors of Mayence ; but this prelate had always allowed it to govern itself in an independence similar to that of the imperial free cities. Under the protection of the archbishop-electors, the Protestant maxim of *Cujus regio, etc.*, had never been actual-

ed. The Lutherans had been allowed to live in peace with their fellow-citizens. But when this alleged champion of religious liberty entered Erfurt, he issued a pronunciamiento declaring that all Catholics were excluded from his favor; and he heeded the prayers of the municipal council not to expel all the priests, only on condition that these should swear lasting fidelity to the king of Sweden. Then he decreed that all the Protestant ministers and University professors should be exempted from war taxes; but he levied a double quota on the Catholic clergy (1).

The successes of Gustavus Adolphus alarmed Richelieu, who had wished to lessen the power of Austria, but in favor of France and Bavaria, Catholic powers, rather than for the aggrandizement of Protestant Sweden. Therefore, the sagacious cardinal-minister insisted that Gustavus should spare the Catholic League—that is, the Catholic princes of Germany. But the Swedish monarch would make no distinction between the emperor and the Catholic princes; and his good fortune rendered him impatient of Richelieu's dictation. He even threatened to attack France. Then Richelieu withdrew his subsidies; but Gustavus felt the loss scarcely at all, having then at his command the resources of the richest parts of Germany. Meanwhile the command of the imperial army had been restored to Wallenstein. Perceiving that his enemy was menacing his communications with the north, Gustavus concentrated his forces near Nuremberg, and finally, on November 16, 1632, he defeated Wallenstein at Lutzen, but perished on the field (2). Had the Lion of the North survived the battle of Lutzen, would he have remained contented with the foundation of a Scandinavian empire entirely enclosing the Baltic? Or would he have mounted the throne of Germany? Certainly there were many in Germany who

(1) KLOPP; *Tilly*, vol. II., p. 343.—GFRÖRER, *loc. cit.*, p. 671.

(2) Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, who was with Gustavus during nearly the whole of the battle, has been accused of assassinating him. But the testimony of the royal page, August Leubelling, and of the royal chamberlain, Truchsess, both of whom were in immediate attendance on Gustavus at the fatal moment, shows that the ball which he received in the back came from the imperial cuirassiers, who had surrounded him and his staff, and out of whose ranks he was trying to cut his way. Unhorsed, he extended his hands for relief to Leubelling, and as the page was trying to raise him from the ground, a cuirassier shot him through the head.—GFRÖRER; *loc. cit.*, p. 786.—MAUVILLON; *History of Gustavus Adolphus*, p. 572.

talked at that time of placing on his brow the imperial crown. But had he attempted the latter project, he would have failed ; for not only would he have encountered a Franco-Hispano-Austrian opposition, but he would have had to withstand the enmity of even the Protestants of Germany, whom Ferdinand would assuredly have conciliated by a revocation of the Edict of Restitution. Already the elector of Saxony had refused to aid him at Lutzen, and had formed the design of heading a third party for the purpose of forcing a peace between Sweden and the empire.

Not for a moment had Gustavus Adolphus any intention to establish in Germany either civil or religious liberty. If he delivered the German princes from the suzerainty of their emperor, it was to impose upon them one which was still more severe, since it had no limit or criterion but his own will. As to religious liberty, no prince of the day clung with such tenacity to the soul-enthralling maxim of *Cujus regio ;* and if he did not apply the principle in Germany with as much zeal as he had exhibited in Sweden, it was because of his need of the friendship of Richelieu. His admirers are probably correct in their estimate of the sincerity of their hero as a Lutheran ; but precisely because of that sincerity, he could have favored no system of religious equality. Whenever he did manifest some show of justice to German Catholics, it was because the politician momentarily dominated the fanatic. Gustavus Adolphus used religion as a means for the increase of his earthly power—for the foundation of a Scandinavian empire ; and in actuating his design, he certainly displayed great craft as a statesman, and consummate ability as a general. As a general, he introduced a revolution in military tactics ; he rendered his army more manageable than any other ; his artillery was lighter in the handling, and more numerous ; his genius on the field was great. Probably he was really pious ; but his fondness for preaching and psalm-singing savored of cant. It was a good stroke of policy for Gustavus, when about to leave his icy regions in order to seek his fortune with the aid of the millions of Richelieu, to vaunt himself the envoy of the Most High. Alaric, Attila, Mohammed, Cromwell, and other formidable mystics, have al-

ways insisted upon a divine vocation when about to appropriate the things of earth ; and as Gustavus was of the same mould, he did well in posing as a Judas Macchabeus. But we can scarcely suppose a Macchabeus guilty of such mendacious hypocrisy as that manifested by Gustavus Adolphus when he bade farewell to the Estates of Sweden : " Let no one believe that I precipitate myself into this war without good reason. I call the Omnipotent God, in whose presence I speak, to witness that I do not fight for my own pleasure. I am forced to the combat. The emperor has offended me in the gravest manner. He aids my enemies ; he persecutes my co-religionists, the Protestants of Germany, who are groaning under the yoke of the Pope, and who extend toward me their suppliant hands. . . . Before separating from you, I invoke upon you the protection of the Almighty ; and you especially, valiant nobles, I recommend to the divine protection. *Be worthy descendants of the ancient Goths!*" But whether the piety of Gustavus Adolphus was sincere or feigned, it is certain that his impartial contemporaries regarded him as a politician rather than as a devotee. Pope Urban VIII. would never discern in him the declared adversary of the Catholic Church ; he persisted in regarding the Swedish monarch as merely the foe of the House of Austria ; and it was said that when the news of the king's death reached the Vatican, the Pontiff offered Mass for the departed soul (1). The private life of Gustavus Adolphus, if compared with that of most Protestant princes of his day, was exemplary ; he seems to have cherished but one immoral intimacy, and that one did not last for a long time. Glory was the chief love of his inmost heart ; but it is certain that in order to satisfy his passion, he could forget his solemn promises, and that his interests were often considered before the dictates of justice (2).

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedes and German Protestants lost ground ; they were beaten at Nord-

(1) DROYSEN ; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 965. Richelieu, in his *Memoirs*, merely says : " When the Pope heard this news, he went to the national church of the Germans, and celebrated a low mass."

(2) For instance, his treatment of the palatine, his invasion of Pomerania, and his compulsion of the elector of Brandenburg to the alliance.

lingen, and the House of Austria recovered its power. By the Treaty of Prague, May 30, 1635, the emperor drew to his side many of the Protestants; and his authority became as great as it had been after the defeats of the palatine and of the Danish king. But at the moment when nothing seemed to thwart his triumph, France called upon him to halt. Hitherto, Richelieu had combated Austria in merely an indirect manner; now he declared open war. Then ensued the most brilliant period of the Thirty Years' War, illustrated on the part of France by Condé and Turenne; and on the part of Austria and Spain, by the Italians, Montecuculli and Piccolomini. The struggle was an alternation of successes and reverses on both sides. For an instant the Austrians and Spaniards invaded France; but were repelled before they could reach Paris. Then the French and Swedes transferred the war to Germany; but they could not penetrate to Vienna. Little by little, exhaustion was entailed by the gigantic efforts put forth by both parties, and despite the stubborn opposition of Spain, Austria resolved to make peace. Like nearly all the treaties of modern times, the Peace of Westphalia was not inspired by principle. Convenience, not justice, was the thing sought. "Accomplished facts," which some innocents deem the discovery of Napoleon III. and Lord Palmerston, had been already consecrated by the Peace of Augsburg, in the permission accorded to the Protestants to retain the goods of the Church which they had stolen before the year 1552; and the Peace of Westphalia repeated the consecration by allowing the thieves to retain what they had annexed before 1624. Whatever could be obtained was demanded; nothing was ceded that could be withheld or recovered. The unity of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany was weakened, inasmuch as the emperor lost much of his power, to the profit of the German sovereigns. The treaty pleased no one. The Catholics lamented the loss of much ecclesiastical dominion and property; and the Protestants were irritated by the prohibition to purloin any more. The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged in 1649, in spite of the efforts of Chigi, the papal nuncio at Vienna. In January, 1651, Pope Innocent X., in his Bull *Zelus Domus Dei*, pro-

tested against the usurpation of ecclesiastical goods, and declared the treaty null. In fact, the signatories had exceeded their powers in suppressing bishoprics without the consent of the Holy See, and in disposing of goods which did not belong to them. The Pope alone regarded the rights of things; the signers looked upon everything from a point of view, the basis of which was brute force (1). One of the chief results of the Peace of Westphalia was the loss by Germany of that primacy which she had enjoyed in the Middle Ages. The Germans had feared the supremacy of the Latin race, and hence, if for no other reason, many of them had espoused the cause of the Reformation: and hence, also, they combated Spain, and Spain being Catholic, they warred also on Catholicism. But they succeeded only in consolidating the House of Austria, which thenceforward until our days retained a supremacy in Germany, and an overwhelming share in the dominion of Italy. As Cantù observes: "Instead of abolishing the empire, the Germans abolished the Pope; instead of acquiring civil and municipal liberty, they obtained the privilege of not going to Mass or to confession, and of singing the Psalms in German. Italy suffered still more; her fruitful division into little states disappearing before the Austro-Spanish domination which was no longer counterbalanced by France, although this domination was compelled to some degree of restraint by the republics of Venice and Genoa" (2).

The Peace of Westphalia was the first compact entered into by the European powers in accordance with the new *jus publicum*, based upon the idea of a material balance of power. Thirty years of unprofitable slaughter, and of indiscriminate destruction of nearly all civilizing agencies (3), had convinced sovereigns that for some time, neither Catholicism nor heresy would attain a securely dominant position, and by the famous

(1) BOUGEANT; *History of the Treaty of Westphalia*, vol. iii., p. 631.—RANKE; *The Roman Popes*, vol. ii., p. 566.

(2) *Heretics of Italy*. Discourse 47.

(3) The Holy See succeeded in saving from amid the devastations of the Thirty Years' War the great Palatine Library of Heidelberg, which was transported to Rome, and afterward, in 1815, restored. We may here note that although Rome fulfilled her part of the agreement of the Congress of Vienna concerning the restoration of objects of art, etc., to their rightful owners, many of her own artistic and literary properties were retained in various capitals.

treaty they agreed on mutual toleration. Then Protestantism acquired a legal existence in a large part of Europe, and Rome began to fear that the days of heresy were to be long in those regions. But the chief reason for which Pope Innocent X. reprobated the Peace of Westphalia was found in its sanction of that absolutely pagan canon that the sovereign of a country is, of right, the master and sole *ratio essendi* of that country's religion. With this principle legally sanctioned and enforced, it is no wonder that an end was put for a time to the Catholic renaissance which had followed the celebration of the Council of Trent. But the temporal dominion of the Roman Pontiff in the States of the Church obtained some advantages at this time. Urban VIII. recovered Montefeltro, Urbino, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia; and he firmly resisted the efforts of his nephews to obtain these territories in fief.

And now a word about the position occupied during the Thirty Years' War by two prominent churchmen, Pope Urban VIII. and Cardinal Richelieu. Urban VIII. deemed it his duty, both as Pontiff and as temporal sovereign, to take an active part in the politics of his time. In considering the questions which then divided Germany into two hostile parties, and which entailed a bloody rivalry between France and the House of Hapsburg, the Pope thought it proper to pronounce against Austria and Spain. Like nearly all of his predecessors in the papal chair, Urban VIII. dreaded any increase of the imperial power in Italy. In pursuance of a policy which was both natural and proper in a Pope, he allied himself with France in the question of the Valtelline, an Italian valley parallel with the Engaddine, through which flows the Adda as far as the Lake of Como, between two mountain ranges, which separate it from Venice on the south and from the Grisons on the north. All Europe was at this time convulsed because of this little valley; for its position gave to its occupier immense strategic advantages. The Hapsburgs were dominant in Germany; a branch of the family reigned in Spain, in the Milanese, in Naples, and also in most of the New World. Was the Valtelline to become a Spanish possession? Then it would be a road for an army from Germany into Italy; let the Swiss and the Grisons

espouse which side they would. France, quite naturally, coveted the Valtelline, if for no other reason than to check the power of Austria. Then there were the Grisons, sustained by Switzerland, Holland, and more or less openly by England. No wonder, therefore, that Urban VIII. sided with France in this phase of the Thirty Years' War. The great Richelieu was then at the head of affairs in the land of the Lilies; and he so shaped his anti-Austrian policy, that many of his best friends reproved him for acting contrary to the interests of the Church. It is not for us to apologize for his action in allying the Eldest Daughter of the Church with a monarch whose triumph could not but be detrimental to Catholicism. He certainly felt ashamed of his policy, and shed tears of compunction when deciding upon it in full council. He thought to cover his shame under the papal mantle, by trying to obtain at least an indirect sanction for his diplomacy from the Pontiff. The imperial arms had triumphed in Germany, an army was about to act in Poland against the Swedes, and the Spaniards had furnished another for service against the Netherlanders; another force was to attack the duke of Mantua, then under the protection of France. Wallenstein, the man who gives history so many surprises, was so enraged at Pope Urban for his non-approval of the Edict of Restitution, that he urged the emperor to send an expedition against Rome—another one of the many undertaken by a German imperial army—saying that as a century had passed since the emperor Charles V. had sacked the papal capital, the booty would now be of immense value. At this juncture Richelieu concluded his alliance with Gustavus Adolphus; providing, however, that the Swedes should promise to tolerate the Catholic religion wherever he found it. The emperor loudly complained of the pontifical refusal to condemn directly the contract between the cardinal and the Swedish king, and of the hesitancy of the Holy See in pronouncing the war a religious war. The reclamations of Ferdinand II. were presented to the Pontiff by Pazmany, archbishop of Gran; and were supported in full consistory by the Spanish envoy, Cardinal Borgia, who went so far as to reproach the Pope with a culpable indifference toward the

true interests of the Catholic Church (1). The Sacred College was divided as to the course to be pursued; and prompted by Cardinal Ludovisi, some of their Eminences even advised the convocation of a General Council to consider the matter. It is evident that, unlike all Protestant historians, Urban VIII. did not regard the Thirty Years' War as one of religion, but rather as one of worldly interests. The same may be said of Richelieu, who intended to cast Gustavus Adolphus aside, so soon as he had served the purposes of France.

CHAPTER IV.

GALILEO.

Not merely because he was a prince among astronomers does Galileo Galilei deserve the homage of true scientists. His greatest glory was that of a consummate mechanician; and nevertheless, he was immediately admired as an astronomer, while his appreciation as a mechanician was of slow growth. Popular enthusiasm acclaimed his indagations of the stellar mysteries; but they who were termed wise derided his mechanical inventions. It is a very ordinary experience for great minds not to be appreciated by their compatriots; but Galileo did not quickly receive the praise of foreigners. Even the keen-minded Descartes, when travelling in order to find truth in conferences with the learned outside of France, arrived in Florence during the period of Galileo's highest renown; and blinded mathematician as he was, he did not care to meet the glory of Italy. It is amusing to us of the nineteenth century to read the letter of the father of modern philosophy to Mersenne, innocently proclaiming that he does not deem the writings of Galileo worthy of serious examination. The brilliant Frenchman seems to have missed the fact

(1) A few years after this reproof of Urban VIII. by the imperialists, the Gallicans, more loyal to their king than to the Holy See, upbraided Innocent XI. because of his resistance to the pretensions of Louis XIV., with being not only a protector of Protestants, but a Protestant himself. It was then that Lafontaine wrote his verses to the effect that the entire Protestant party was "well pleased with the Pope; and that the Chevalier de Silfery prayed that the Pontiff might be converted to Catholicism."

that the reasonings of the Italian scientist were far more valuable than his inventions; and that the Italian's methods, bringing speculation into the field of unprejudiced experience, gave to him, equally with himself, the right to be considered as the restorer of modern philosophy. Harken to the judgment of the impartial Cantù: "Not to rely entirely on authority; to neglect investigations into the essence of things, demonstrations *a priori*, abstractions assumed as realities, hypotheses adopted as theories; to regard doubt as the father of inventions and the path to truth; to wish only for truth, and to search for it with scrupulous watchfulness, with calculation, with geometrical precision, rather than with reliance upon dialectics, which can indeed demonstrate what is found, but can find nothing; not to oppose authorities to authorities, but to oppose to the assertions of philosophers the great book of nature 'which does much with little, and whose operations are equally wonderful'; such was the method with which Galileo put in practice what Bacon reduced to theory. Hence the title of restorer of science belongs to Galileo rather than to Bacon: the former had made his discoveries before 1620, when the *Organon* appeared. Bacon pretended to furnish an *Organon*, that is, a method of making inventions, but he invented nothing; Galileo, who invented so many things, thought that he had derived them all from intuition, from inspiration. . . . If Bacon put forth a programme of future discoveries, he possessed no inventive genius, and therefore made no discoveries; his method was admirable, but although he described with precision, celebrated with enthusiasm, preached with eloquence, he used that method for no great end. Notwithstanding all this, our philosopher had less influence than Descartes or Bacon; because he thought less of convincing others and of inducing them to research, than he did of enlightening himself, and of applying. In fact, the isochronism of the pendulum was used by him for the measurement of time, and of the pulsations of the arteries; he established the laws of consonance, of dissonance, and of colors, in the lost treatise on *Sight and Colors*; he wrote a book on fortifications, as yet unedited; knowing that longitude could be determined by the Satellites of Jupiter, he

offered to Spain a plan, the importance of which was not appreciated " (1).

School-children are frequently told that in a time of most dense ignorance Galileo, an Italian astronomer, discovered that the earth moves around the sun; that this doctrine was contrary to that of the Catholic Church, and that therefore the unfortunate scientist was seized by the Inquisition, thrown into a dungeon, and tortured; that finally he retracted his teaching, but that, nevertheless, even while ostensibly yielding, he muttered: "And yet the earth does move." Very few Protestants even suspect any exaggeration in these assertions; still fewer appear to know that Galileo did *not* discover that the earth moves around the sun; that this doctrine was *not* contrary to that of the Catholic Church; that the imprisonment of Galileo was merely nominal, and that he was subjected to no torture whatever; that the famous remark "*E pur si muove*" is a work of imagination. Galileo did not discover that the earth moves around the sun. The ancient Greeks certainly knew that the earth is round, that it is isolated in space, and that it moves. Aristotle and Ptolemy undertook to refute the last theory. According to Cicero, Nicetas asserted the motion of the earth. Philolaus, says Eusebius, thought that the earth moved around the region of fire, in an oblique circle. Aristarchus of Samos, says Archimedes, sustained the immobility of the sun, and that the earth turned around it as around a centre. Seneca thinks it "well to inquire whether the rest of the universe moves around a stationary earth, or whether the earth moves in a stationary universe" (2). The Irish Ferghil (Virgilius), bishop of Salzburg in the eighth century, taught the existence of the antipodes. Dante certainly believed in the antipodes and in central attraction (3). Copernicus himself never pretended to be the author of the system which bears his name; although to this humble Polish priest belongs the glory of having precisely formulated that system, and at a time when a knowledge of it had almost vanished from among men.

The heliocentric system was not contrary to the doctrine

(1) CANTU; *Illustrious Italians*, Milan, 1877. (2) *Natural Questions*, VII., 2.

(3) "Il punto a cui son tratti tutti i pesi." *Hell*, canto 34.

of the Catholic Church. She never has proposed and she can not propose to her children any system of merely physical science as a matter of faith. Certainly, if any system contradicts her teachings, she exercises her right to condemn it. Most churchmen of the early seventeenth century, quite naturally followers of the generally received scientific theories of their day, rejected the idea of a motion of the earth around the sun; but the Church did not force them to such rejection. Had such been the mind of the Church, Copernicus and his many forerunners would not have been regarded as good Catholics; and Copernicus himself would not have dedicated his *Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs* to Pope Paul III., saying, "If men who are ignorant in mathematics pretend to condemn my book because of certain passages of Scripture which they distort to suit themselves, I despise their vain attacks." Calcagnini, who died in 1540, would not have publicly taught at Ferrara that "the heavens stand, but the earth moves." But if the Church was not hostile to purely scientific innovations, Luther and Melancthon were not so liberal. In his *Table Talk* Luther says: "Men pay heed to an astrologer who contends that it is the earth that moves, and not the heavens or the firmament, the sun and the moon. If a man yearns for a reputation as a profound scientist, he should invent some new system. This madman would subvert the whole science of astronomy; but Scripture tells us that Joshua bade the sun, and not the earth to stand still." In his *Principles of the Science of Physics*, Melancthon says: "The eyes testify that the heavens revolve every twenty-four hours; and nevertheless some men, either from love of novelty or to parade their genius, insist that the earth moves, and that the eighth sphere and the sun do not revolve. Every true believer is obliged to accept the truth as revealed by God, and to be contented with it."

It is certain that for many years Galileo was admired and cherished by the most learned ecclesiastics of Rome; that three successive pontiffs gave him many tokens of esteem; that he was one of the most honored members of the celebrated Academy of the *Lincci*. The cardinal del Monte, writing to the grand-duke of Tuscany, says: "During his

sojourn at Rome Galileo has given much satisfaction, and I believe that he has received the same; for he has enjoyed good opportunities to exhibit his inventions, and the best-informed men of the Eternal City regard them as most wonderful and accurate. If we were living in the olden days of Rome, the worth of Galileo, I think, would be recognized by a statue on the Capitoline." A famous scientist, the Carmelite Foscarini, published in 1615—only a year before Galileo's first trouble with the Inquisition—a theological apology for the philosopher and the Copernican system, which was dedicated to Fantoni, general of the Carmelites, and approved by the ecclesiastical authorities of Naples. On May 15 of the same year, Mgr. Dini, a Roman prelate and an old pupil of Galileo, writes that there is no fear that the Copernican system will be condemned; and that as to Galileo himself, "he should fortify his position with arguments well-founded both in Scripture and mathematics"; and that in the meantime he may be assured of the writer's own influence with the Sacred College in his favor, and of the protection of Prince Cesi, the founder and president of the Lincei. Indeed, as late as February 16, 1616, Galileo wrote to Picchena that he found among the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries much displeasure because of "the diabolic opposition of his persecutors." How happened it then, that Galileo found himself cited before an ecclesiastical tribunal? In accounting for this fact little weight need be attached to the sentiments and conduct of those who, in his day as at all times, appear to be tolerated by God for the trial of genius. Men who argued against the movement of the earth because the earth has no limbs, muscles, and sinews (1); men who would decry the heliocentric system with the words, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up to heaven?" (2)—such persons could have had no influence upon the Roman Congregations. Nor would these tribunals have exercised their power merely because Galileo was contradicted by Tassoni, Vieta, Mon-

(1) Thus Chiaramonti of Cesena.

(2) Thus the Dominican Caccini, preaching the Advent course in S. Maria Novella in Florence. But Maraffi, General of the Dominicans, writing to Galileo on January 10, 1615, deplored the extravagance of Caccini, who, he said, had previously been forced to apologize in Bologna for other absurdities in the pulpit.

taigne, Bacon, Pascal, and other great thinkers of the time (1). The fault of Galileo consisted in his confusing revealed truths with physical discoveries; and in teaching in what sense Scripture passages were to be taken, explaining them by demonstrations of calculation and experience. Everyone admits with Dante (2) that the Scriptures adopt popular ideas for the sake of perspicuity. But Galileo said that in the Scriptures "are found propositions which, taken literally, are false; that Holy Writ, out of regard for the incapacity of the people, expresses itself inexactly, even when treating of solemn dogmas; that in questions concerning natural things, philosophical argument should avail more than sacred." These assertions unsettled all science, founded as it then was on revelation; "the earth," says Cantù, "ceased to be regarded as the largest, warmest, and most illuminated of the planetary bodies. It no longer enjoyed a pre-eminence in creation as the home of a privileged being, but became one of many in the group of unexplored planets and in no way distinguished from the others. Fearing that science was aggrandizing itself only to war on God, the timid repudiated it. Only later did the better minds understand that the faith fears no learning; that historic criticism can be independent and impartial without becoming irreligious. Then good sense estimated at their true value the accusations launched against the Church because of the affair of Galileo; it distinguished simple assertions from articles of faith, positive and necessary prohibitions from prudential and disciplinary provisions, the oracles of the Church from the deliberations of a particular tribunal. To such a tribunal a denunciation was made that Galileo or his disciples had asserted that God is

(1) Tassoni, a very independent thinker, thus reasoned: "Stand still in the middle of a room, and look at the sun through a window opening toward the south. Now, if the sun stands still and the window moves so quickly, the sun will instantly disappear from your vision." Vieta, a consummate algebraist, thought the Copernican system derived from a fallacious geometry. Montaigne said that probably before a thousand years a third system would supplant the two others. Descartes sometimes denied the Copernican theory. Bacon derided it as repugnant to natural philosophy. Pascal, in his *Thoughts* deemed it "wise not to sound the depths of the Copernican opinion." As late as 1806 the Milanese Pini, in his *Incredibility of the Movement of the Earth*, sustained the Ptolemaic idea.

(2) "*Per questo la Scrittura condescende
A nostra facoltate; e piedi è mano
A Dio attribuitisce, ed altro intende.*"

—*Paradise*, iv., 43-45.

an accident and not a substance, a personal being; that miracles are not miracles at all. Then the Pontiff declared that, for the termination of scandal, Galileo should be cited and admonished by the Sacred Congregation" (1).

In 1615 Galileo addressed to the grand-duchess Christina, grandmother of the reigning Cosmo II., an exhaustive defence of his doctrine, in which, after adducing the scientific arguments for his system, he turns to the dangerous part of the defence, protesting, however, his sincere adhesion "to all that the Church teaches in matters of faith." Citing in his favor St. Augustine, Baronio (2), and the decrees of Trent, which order us to follow the unanimous teaching of the Fathers when there is question of faith and morals (not of cosmogony) Galileo denies that the Bible teaches astronomy and physics. He holds with St. Augustine (3) that those who quote Scripture in questions of physics, explain it according to their preconceived opinions. He inveighs with St. Jerome (4) against the rash interpreters who make the Bible say what they will. He says with St. Jerome (5) and St. Thomas of Aquin (6) that in order that it may be understood by the Hebrews, the Old Testament expresses itself, in matters indifferent to salvation, according to the opinions and parlance of the nation and the time. As to things of nature, insists Galileo, the sacred text is less clear than the visible work of the Creator, which "He has given up to their consideration" (7). When Galileo had finished this interesting *Apology*, he set out for Rome, ostensibly in order to make converts to his system, in reality because he had received a

(1) In an excellent biography of Galileo, published in the *Correspondant* of 1847, p. 481-520, Alfred de Falloux says: "The gauntlet was flung to the theologians, and unfortunately those who lifted it fancied that their task was a defense of religion. The Inquisition took charge of the affair. . . . A religious denounces a scientist, other religious denounce him, and from this it is concluded that there is an antagonism between the Church and science. But the case was the very contrary. Here religious merely entered into academic animosities, prejudices, and retaliations. Monks, friars, etc., are prominent in the history of Galileo, not as systematic opponents of his doctrines, but because religious houses were then hotbeds of scientific preoccupation and controversy; and the same Galileo who was accused by certain Dominicans and Jesuits was defended, at the very same time, by other Dominicans and Jesuits."

(2) Baronio had remarked to Galileo that "the Scriptures teach how to go to heaven, but not how heaven is made."

(3) *Genesis*, *ad litt.*, II., 18, 19; § 37-40; II. 17, § 38.

(4) *To Paulinus*.

(5) *On Jeremiah* xxviii.

(6) *On Job* xxvii.

(7) *Eccles.*, iii., 11.

secret summons from the Inquisition. So we are informed by Mgr. Queringhi, who writes to Cardinal Alexander d'Este on Jan. 1, 1616: "The coming of Galileo to Rome was not, as is believed, altogether voluntary. They wish him to explain how he can reconcile the movement of the earth with the contrary teaching of Scripture." And in a despatch to his government dated Sept. 11, 1632, the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini, announces the discovery, in the records of the Holy Office, of a document proving that Galileo "was sent to Rome" because of his attachment to the theory of the rotation of the earth. In the letter to Picchena already cited, Galileo's allusion to his personal safety shows that it had been in some danger; therefore his going to Rome was scarcely voluntary. He reached the Eternal City in Dec., 1615, and was honorably received and entertained by the most distinguished people. But the Inquisition had already interfered in his affairs, and had examined his *Letters on the Solar Spots*. Two propositions, one on the immobility of the sun, and another on the movement of the earth, were extracted from this work, and by order of Pope Paul V., eleven consulting theologians of the Holy Office undertook to "qualify" them. On Feb. 24, these qualifiers gave their opinion that the first proposition was "absurd and false in theology, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to Sacred Scripture." The second proposition was qualified as "absurd and false in philosophy, and from a theological point of view, at least erroneous in faith." On Feb. 26, by virtue of a papal order, issued because of these qualifications, Galileo was conducted to the palace of the Holy Office, where he was introduced to Cardinal Bellarmine, who was attended by the commissary, Segnizio de Lauda, a notary, and two witnesses. Bellarmine represented to the philosopher the "errors of his opinion," and then the commissary commanded him, in the name of the Holy Office, "to abandon entirely the said opinion that the sun is the centre of the universe and immovable, and that the earth moves; also to abstain from upholding, teaching, or defending said opinion in any way whatever, by word or by writing."

The text of the notification of the qualifier's report, made

on Feb. 25 to the assessor and commissary of the Holy Office by the cardinal-inquisitor, Mellini, and published in 1867 by Henry de l' Epinois (1), shows that the Pontiff had ordered the imprisonment of Galileo, if he proved recalcitrant. However, on May 26, the philosopher having requested of Bellarmine an attestation that he had, on the above occasion, made no abjuration of his opinions, the cardinal gave him the following certificate: "We, Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine, having learned that Galileo has been calumniated, and that it has been said that he abjured in our presence, and that he was condemned to salutary penance; since we have been requested to do so, we declare, in accordance with truth, that the aforesaid Galileo made no abjuration of any kind, in our hands or in those of any other person—so far as we know—either in Rome or anywhere else, of his opinions and teachings; that he was subjected to no penance of any sort; that he was simply informed of the declaration of the Holy Father published by the Congregation of the Index, to the effect that the teaching attributed to Copernicus that the earth moves around the sun and that the sun occupies the centre of the universe without moving from east to west, is contrary to Sacred Scripture, and that consequently it is not permitted to defend or uphold it. In testimony, etc., this May 26, 1616. Robert, Card. Bellarmine." Galileo's own interpretation of the condemnation of the two propositions is found in one of his letters written on the very day he heard it in the palace of the Holy Office: "The Church has merely decided that the Copernican teaching does not agree with Scripture; and hence those books alone are condemned, in which it is sought to prove, *ex professo*, that said teaching does not disagree with the Bible."

On March 5, the Congregation of the Index issued a decree in which the opinion affirming the double movement of the earth and the immobility of the sun was declared "false and entirely contrary to Sacred Scripture," and it was proclaimed that said opinion "could not be professed or defended." The work of Copernicus, *Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs* (2), and

(1) *Process and Condemnation of Galileo, according to Unedited Documents.*

(2) The Copernican system was again condemned in 1619 by the same Congregation, in the condemnation of Kepler's *Abridgment of the Astronomy of Copernicus*; and in 1620

that of Diego de Zuniga, a *Commentary on Job*, in which this Spanish philosopher had only incidentally adduced the Copernican theory, were condemned "until corrected"; the writings of Foscarini were absolutely condemned; Galileo and Kepler were not named, but the former's work on the Solar Spots, and many of the latter's writings were implicitly condemned, as the sentence included "all the writings in which said teaching is inculcated." In his letter to Picchena dated March 6, Galileo says nothing of the episode of Feb. 26, for that affair was regarded as personal between himself and the Congregation; the world was supposed to be ignorant of it. But he alludes to the fact that the decree of March 5 does not mention his name, and he insists that he runs no danger in Rome. On March 12, Pope Paul V. accorded him an audience of three-quarters of an hour, and at his farewell his Holiness assured the philosopher that his security was certain, so long as Paul V. occupied the Papal throne. Informing the grand-duke Cosmo of the departure of Galileo from Rome, the Cardinal del Monte says: "He departs with an unstained reputation, and with the praise of all who have met him. He has realized how futile have been the calumnies of his enemies, who, as he himself affirms, have had no other intention than to make him lose the favor of your Serene Highness. I, who have often conversed with him, and with those who are acquainted with late events, assure your Highness that Galileo can personally be charged with nothing."

During the next few years Galileo observed the silence imposed upon him by Rome; but his correspondence shows that he always hoped that if the obnoxious prohibition was not expressly removed, it would be at least ignored through a toleration of the condemned opinion. After a time he seems

appeared a *Note* of the Congregation, indicating the corrections which would have to be made before the work of Copernicus could appear in Italy. In this *Note* it was again declared that the double movement of the earth "is contrary to Scripture and its true and Catholic interpretation." The names and works of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Zuniga, and Foscarini remained on the Index for two centuries. In 1835 by order of Gregory XVI., a new *Catalogue* of condemned works was issued by Friar Thomas Anthony Degola, secretary of the Congregation of the Index, and an order was promulgated for the destruction of all copies of the *Catalogue* of 1819, which had been the last issued. In the new *Catalogue* the above names do not occur.

to have resolved to try how far Rome would allow him to go. In 1618 he distributed a few copies of his *Discourse on the Flow and Reflow of the Sea*, written two years before, and in which he defended the Copernican system. From Aug., 1618, to Jan., 1619, three comets claimed the attention of the scientific. Galileo expressed to a few friends his partly-true opinion that comets were not, as was commonly thought, bodies analogous to the planets, but that they were optical phenomena, analogous to halos and parheliions, and produced by earthly exhalations of extreme tenuity which had arrived at a height greater than that of the moon. In 1619 the Jesuit professor Grassi pronounced a public discourse in the Roman College, in which he contended that comets are true stars. Galileo knew that comets are not solid masses. "Assimilating, with reason," says Th. Henry Martin (1), "the planets to the earth, he doubtless feared, without daring to say so, that this legitimate assimilation (but condemned by the Roman Congregation) would be compromised before science by an assimilation between the comets and the planets. Instead of restricting this assimilation, opposing the massiveness and solidity of the planets to the lightness and fluidity of the comets, he was led to deny all assimilation between these bodies, by an hypothesis too like that of Aristotle and of the Peripatetician, Chiaramonti. This hypothesis of Galileo, which M. Arago can scarcely pardon, was excusable in that day, as we know from the nearly similar opinion of Kepler (2), and from the doubt which even Cassini entertained until 1653." With the aid and under the name of his disciple, Mario Guiducci, for our philosopher was then an invalid, Galileo published in 1619 a *Discourse on Comets*. Then Grassi issued, under the name of Lotario Sarsi Sigenzano, a violent pamphlet entitled an *Astronomical and Philosophical Balance* in which, before touching the subject of comets, he made a personal attack on Galileo, contesting his principal discoveries, and denouncing his persistent adherence to a condemned system. In spite of this provocation, Galileo remained quiet during the last two years of Paul V. and the two years of the reign of Gregory XV.

(1) *Galileo and the Rights of Science*, Paris, 1868, ch. 4. (2) *Ibi.*, pt. 2, ch. 12.

In 1621, Galileo lost his protector, the grand-duke Cosmo II., but in 1623 he was gratified on beholding the elevation to the Papacy of his friend, Matthew Barberini. A poet himself, Urban VIII. had always favored poets; but he was much given to the more severe studies. In 1612, on June 15, he had written to Galileo that he would read the philosopher's books, "to confirm me in my opinion, which agrees with yours, and to admire with everyone the fruit of your rare intellect." In 1620, he had composed verses in praise of Galileo, and afterward, in 1635, he had them printed and published. Invited by the Pontiff to visit him in Rome, Galileo did so in the spring of 1624, and they held many long interviews, during which they discoursed on astronomy (1). When they separated, Galileo took with him letters of recommendation from the Pontiff to the new grand-duke, Ferdinand II., who, when under the influence of his minister, Cioli, was very unfavorable to new ideas. Urban tells the prince that as long as Jupiter courses in the heavens with his four satellites, so long will the glory of Galileo keep him company; that Galileo is dear to his own Pontifical heart, not only because of his scientific merits, but for others which make a person dear to any Pope; that he cannot allow Galileo to depart from Rome without recommending him to the generous patronage of the Medici, whose name he has located among the stars.

From the date of Urban's election, Galileo trusted to behold an early dissipation of the cloud which hung over him. We have remarked that he was already disposed to discover the limits of the Roman indulgence in his regard. He had written, in 1620, his masterpiece of polemics, the *Essayist* (*Il Saggiatore*), in reply to the *Balance* of the Jesuit Grassi; and his brethren of the Roman Lincei had obtained its approbation by the official examiner, the Dominican Riccardi. In regard to this work, we shall only note that Galileo contend-

(1) During this visit of Galileo to Urban VIII., the Pontiff evinced no disposition to allow the teaching of the new system *as true*; but he told Cardinal Hohenzoller that the Church had not condemned the Copernican hypothesis as *heretical*; she had condemned it only as *rash*. See the *Works of Galileo Galilei, First Complete Edition, Prepared from the Authentic Palatine MSS. by the Director-Professor, Eugène Alberti*; Florence, 1842-56; vol. vi., p. 296.

ed that even if the Copernican system was condemned, scientific men were not therefore justified in withholding good reasons for its rejection; they ought to try to defend its condemnation. He also insisted that since this system was condemned, scientists should endeavor to find another, which would not be untenable like the Peripatetic, nor incomplete like that of Tycho Brahe. Pope Urban had the *Essayist* read during his meals, and enjoyed it very much; yet it was denounced to the Inquisition. The cardinal who was delegated to report on it took for consultor the Theatine general, Guevarra; and the result was an unqualified eulogy of the book (1). The author began to hope that although Urban VIII. would not cease to regard his system with displeasure, he would, nevertheless, allow a little evasion of the decree of 1616. Time proved that his hopes were ill-founded; and he therefore commenced a work which would exhaustively detail and examine the arguments for and against the heliocentric system. This work was destined to precipitate the catastrophe of his life.

In his *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems Concerning the World*, published in 1632 with the approbation of the Master of the Apostolic Palace, Galileo assigns the exposition of his opinions to his pupil and friend, some time dead, Salviati of Florence. Galileo himself is not named, but he is often indicated by his title of *Linceo*. The part of an impartial and judicious investigator is filled by the Venetian senator, Sagredo, another deceased friend of the author. The defence of the Peripatetic system is confided to one Simplicius, who uses absurd arguments, and will yield to none; who is, in fine, a fair representative of Galileo's opponents. Whether or not Urban VIII. believed what the foes of Galileo declared, that under the name of Simplicius he himself was held up to ridicule, it is certain that now he manifested less sympathy for our philosopher. Not long before this period he had told Castelli that if it had depended on him, the decree of 1616 would not have been issued (2); but a despatch of the

(1) *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 79.

(2) On March 16, 1630, the Benedictine Castelli wrote to Galileo: "A few days ago Father Campanella, in an interview with his Holiness, told him that he had been trying to convert

ambassador Niccolini, dated Sept. 5, 1632, proves that Urban had been made to believe that Galileo had deceived him as to the nature of the *Dialogue*, and that religion had been compromised by the authorization of that work by the Roman censors. This and the next despatches of Niccolini show that the Pontiff believed that Galileo had cited Scripture as favoring his arguments. It is evident, then, remarks Th. Henry Martin, that Urban had not read the book, "and that there had been represented as cited in it certain passages which were found only in two of Galileo's letters, written before 1616, and never printed." On Sept. 11, Niccolini was informed that in the Archives of the Holy Office there had been discovered a long forgotten minute of the personal injunction made, in the name of the Inquisition, to Galileo and accepted by him on Feb. 26, 1616. The case now assumed a serious aspect. A special commission, after a month of consideration, presented to the Pope a memorial in which several charges were made against the philosopher. Riccardi, the Master of the Apostolic Palace, after having examined the *Dialogue*, and having granted the *imprimatur* for Rome, had consented to the publication of the work in Florence, providing that the author would insert a *Preface* written by himself, Riccardi. Galileo was now blamed for having placed the *imprimatur* at the head of the book without an express permission from Riccardi, and without having submitted the proofs to the same, as would have been done, had the work been issued in Rome. No complaint of course, could be made concerning the *Preface*, but in regard to the body of the work the commission found fault with the presentation of the Copernican system as a certainty; it also blamed the author for depreciating "the opposing writers, of whom the Church habitually makes use," and for presenting as "not decided" a question already "settled by a dogmatic definition." However, the commission did not advise the suppression of the *Dialogue*: it merely suggested some corrections. But finally,

certain Germans to the Catholic faith, and had found them well disposed, but that the condemnation of the Copernican system had scandalized them more than anything else could have done. His Holiness replied in precisely these words: 'We never wished that decree, and if it had depended on us, it would not have been made.'" This letter of Castelli is found in the *Works*, edit. Alberi, vol. ix., p. 196.

the prohibition and promise of Feb. 26, 1616, were set forth (1).

On Sept. 23, 1632, Galileo was cited to appear again before the Inquisition. In endeavoring to discover what followed this second summons (concerning his first trial in 1616 there is no question as to either imprisonment or torture), it would appear to us that no better source of information can be desired than the original *Process*. But since Libri (2), Perchappe (3), Bertrand (4), and others insinuate—according to what principles of criticism the reader must judge—that as this record has been nearly always in the hands of ecclesiastics, they *may* have destroyed evidence of their own cruelty, we shall here adduce the testimony of the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini. This evidence ought to be acceptable to our adversaries; for the writer was an intense partisan of Galileo, and would not have hidden anything likely to excite sympathy for his hero. Add to this the fact that these despatches are directed to Galileo's own sovereign, himself a warm admirer of the philosopher. Galileo arrived in Rome on February 13, 1633, and under date of March 13 Niccolini writes: "The Pope told me that he had shown to Galileo a favor never accorded to another, in allowing him to reside in my house instead of in the Holy Office. . . . His Holiness said that he could not avoid having Galileo brought to the Holy

(1) In reference to this stage of Galileo's troubles, the following extracts from the despatches of Niccolini to the grand-duke are interesting. Under date of Aug. 21, 1632, he writes: "I understand from some friends that there is no thought of prohibiting the book, but only of changing some phrases." On Sept. 5: "His Holiness grew very angry, and suddenly cried out that even his Galileo had meddled where he ought not; that he had entered into questions the most serious and dangerous that could be found in these times. . . . The Pope added that he had shown every kindness to Galileo, and had committed his case, not to the general Inquisition, as he ought to have done, but to a specially instituted Congregation."

(2) *History of Mathematical Science in Italy*, Paris, 1841; vol. iv., pp. 155-294.

(3) *Galileo: His Life and Discoveries*, Paris, 1866.

(4) *Founders of Modern Astronomy*, Paris, 1865.—When Napoleon invaded Rome in 1809, among the literary and historical monuments which he stole was the original *Process* of Galileo. The Holy See vainly demanded it from the government of the Restoration. While it was yet in France the astronomer Delambre consulted it, but very negligently, as is evinced by the inexactness of his quotations when writing to Venturi the letter published in 1821 by the latter. Delambre did not appreciate the *Process* very highly, probably because, like Barbier (*Critical Examination of Historical Dictionaries*, Paris, 1820), he could find no proof of his own assertion that Galileo had been tortured. The volume was finally consigned to Comm. Rossi, to be restored to the Vatican in 1846, and there it still remains.

Office for the examination ; and I replied that my gratitude would be doubled if he would exempt Galileo from this appearance, but he answered that he could not do so. . . . He concluded with the promise to assign Galileo certain rooms which are the most convenient in the Holy Office." On April 16 the ambassador says : " He has a servant and every convenience. The reverend commissary assigned him the apartments of the judge of the tribunal. My own servants carry his meals from my house." . . .

About two months later (June 18) Niccolini continues : " I have again besought for a termination of the cause of Galileo, and His Holiness replied that the affair is ended, and that Galileo will be summoned some morning of next week to the Holy Office, to hear the decision. . . . In regard to the person of Galileo, he ought to be imprisoned for some time, because he disobeyed the orders of 1616 ; but the Pope says that after the publication of the sentence he will consider with me as to what can be done to afflict him as little as possible." On June 26 : " Monday evening Galileo was summoned to the Holy Office, and on Tuesday morning he proceeded thither to learn what was required of him. He was detained, and on Wednesday he was taken to the Minerva, before the lords-cardinals and the prelates of the Congregation, where the sentence was read, and he was forced to abjure his opinion. The sentence includes the prohibition of his book, and his condemnation to the prison of the Holy Office during the pleasure of His Holiness, because, as they declare, he disobeyed the order given him sixteen years ago in this matter (1). But this condemnation was commuted by His Holiness to a residence in the gardens of the Trinità dei Monti." On July 3 : " His Holiness told me that although it was rather early to diminish the penance of Galileo, he had been content to allow him to reside at first in the gardens of the Grand Duke, and that now he could proceed to Siena, there to reside in a convent or with my lord the archbishop " (2).

(1) Of the ten cardinals forming the tribunal, and all of whose names are at the head of the preamble, three did not sign the document. These were Gaspar Borghia, Zaccaria, and Francis Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. One of the signers, Anthony Barberini, a brother of the Pontiff and a Capuchian friar, tried hard to obtain a remission of the entire penance.

(2) July 6 found Galileo at Siena, dwelling with his old friend and disciple, the arch-

According, therefore, to Niccolini, the imprisonment of Galileo was merely nominal, and there is no mention of any infliction of torture. But let us examine further this question of torture. It is said that the *Process* itself furnishes an indication of the infliction of torture; that in the fourth interrogatory, on June 21, torture was menaced; that in the sentence the judges declared that they had "deemed it necessary to proceed to a *rigorous* examination" of the accused. It is true that torture was threatened, but the menace was not executed. In a decree issued by Urban VIII. on June 16, 1633, and first published by L' Epinois, it was ordered that Galileo "should be questioned as to his intention [in publishing the *Dialogue*], and that he should be menaced with torture. If he does not yield to the threat, he must be made to pronounce, in full session of the Holy Office, an abjuration for strong suspicion of heresy." On June 21, in the fourth and last interrogatory, but without any mention of the above decree, Galileo was questioned as to his intention in the *Dialogue* in regard to the Copernican system. In reply he would only admit that, cherishing his hypothesis, and feeling proud of the arguments adduced for it before 1616, he had given in the *Dialogue* more strength to the Copernican than to the other opinion. Refusing, therefore, to avow the imputed intention, he was threatened with torture. Then he replied—with what truth let his ultra-admirers imagine: "I have not held the Copernican system since I was ordered to abandon it [seventeen years before]. But I am in your hands. Do with me what you will." This refusal to acknowledge the imputed intention had been foreseen by Pope Urban, and, as he had provided for the contingency, the tribunal did not fulfil the threat of torture, but proceeded to the act of abjuration. As for the words "*rigorous examination*" used in the sentence, they do not necessarily imply that torture had been inflicted; they can easily refer to the threat pronounced in the fourth interrogatory.

But, according to the code of laws binding upon the inquis-

bishop Ascanio Piccolomini. On December 16, the Cardinal Francis Barberini having obtained this favor, he arrived at his own villa of Arcetri, and here he resided almost constantly until his death on January 8, 1642.

itors, which are fully given in the *Directory* of Eymeric (1), the official guide of the Holy Office, torture could not have been inflicted on Galileo. It is prescribed that when the accused denies the charges, and they have not been substantiated, and he has not yet furnished a good defence, he shall "be put to the question, in order that the truth may be reached,"—provided, however, that the consulters so advise. Now Galileo was not obstinate; he had no inclination to become a martyr for science. In his sentence the judges say: "We deemed it necessary to proceed to a rigorous examination, and thou didst reply like a Catholic—*respondisti Catholicè*." Having thus answered, he could not be tortured. It is sad to hear him uttering what his judges must have known to be a lie: "For some time before the determination of the Holy Office, and before I received that command [the order of 1616], I had been indifferent as to the two opinions of Ptolemy and Copernicus, and had held that both were disputable and that both could be true in nature. But after the above mentioned determination, being assured by the prudence of my superiors, all my doubts ceased, and I held, as I now hold, the theory of Ptolemy as true,—that is, that the earth does not, and the sun does move." If Galileo had undergone torture, he would scarcely have omitted to mention it among his many grievances, when, a few days after his departure from Rome, on July 23, he wrote from Siena to Gioli, minister of the grand duke: "I address you, prompted by a desire to escape from the long weariness of a more than six months' imprisonment, and from the trouble and affliction of mind of a whole year, coupled with many inconveniences and bodily dangers."

And now a few words as to the authenticity of the "*E pur si muove*." In the formula of abjuration, after having avowed that his *Dialogue* favors the "false" doctrine of the movement of the earth around the sun, and having admitted his violation of the prohibition of 1616, Galileo "affirms and swears, with his hand on the holy Gospels," that "with a sincere heart

(1) *Directory for Inquisitors*, by Friar Nicholas Eymeric, of the Order of Preachers; Commentated by Francis Pegna, S. T. D. and J. U. D., Auditor of Causes in the Apostolic Palace. Part III., on the Practice of the Inquisitorial Office, chapter on the Third Way of Ending a Trial for Faith. Venice, 1595.

and unfeigned faith he abjures, anathematizes and detests the aforesaid errors and heresies," for which he has been justly condemned as "strongly suspected of heresy." And he promises not only to abstain hereafter from all heretical doctrine, but also to denounce all heretics to the Inquisition or the ordinary of the locality (1). Motives of both personal and general interest certainly decided an act of apparent submission; but in performing it Galileo could not, without risk of destroying himself, have given himself the questionable satisfaction of a merely childish contradiction. Undoubtedly he thought that the earth moved, and probably the inquisitors knew that he so thought. But had he made the famous remark, he would not have been dismissed two days afterward. If Galileo risked so much by the quoted ebullition at so fatally decisive a moment, how comes it that never after, either by speech or in writing, did he expressly contradict his abjuration by openly professing his system? Certainly, when writing in confidence to some intimates, he would insist upon his innocence from a religious point of view; but in all other instances his reticence was persistent. Every opportunity and temptation to break this imposed silence was presented when he wrote to Diodati, then in Paris, on July 25, 1634, complaining of the violence of his enemies toward himself and his teachings,—a violence which he would answer only by silence. Nor does he contradict his abjuration in his letter written in 1637 to King Ladislaus of Poland, whom he asks to compare his *Dialogue* with the sentence pronounced against its author, and to see if its doctrine is more pernicious than that of Luther and Calvin, as Urban VIII. was said to believe. Nor, again, does he advocate his system in his letter to Pieresc on February 21, 1636, in which he insists on the injustice of his condemnation. When he writes to Rinuccini on March 29, 1641, he evades a direct answer to an attempt to obtain an avowal of his real mind. Cantù says that he has read, in the valuable archives of the Rinuccini family at Florence, an autograph letter of Galileo,

(1) Merely on the faith of an anonymous note, Libri and Parchappe assert that Galileo went through this humiliating ordeal clad only in his shirt. The process says nothing of this; and men who were accustomed to adopt every means to enhance the solemnity of a recantation, would not have failed to mention such a fact, had it an existence.

written during the last days of his life, in which, for some reason or other, he denies the Copernican theory, and advances the physical arguments which combat it. And, in truth, these were of such a nature, that a scientist might well hesitate before condemning them; just as now, after the incontestable arguments which were unknown to the contemporaries of Galileo, it would be impossible for him to doubt the truth of the Copernican system. Galileo himself supposed that the earth revolved in the air, which "does not seem obliged to obey its movement." The judicious Alberi, who inserted this letter in his valuable edition of Galileo's *Works*, at first thought that here Galileo really abandoned his system, thus giving an indication of senile weakness; afterward, however, the sagacious editor regarded the missive as a piece of irony in which the author veiled the real sentiments which the Inquisition would not allow him to avow. This is also the opinion of Th. Henry Martin, who carefully examines and explains the letter. Rinuccini had informed Galileo that Pieroni had found, for certain fixed stars, a small annual parallax of a few seconds—a proof of the annual motion of the earth; but, on the other hand, he said that he had read a new book which seemed to establish the immobility of the earth in the centre of the universe, because the horizon always divides the sphere of the fixed into two exactly equal parts. Rinuccini prayed Galileo to banish from his mind all anxiety concerning the Copernican system.

"But had Rinuccini forgotten," asks Martin, "that in 1633 the Inquisition had forced Galileo to abjure this system, and that the sentence had been lessened only because of his promise to forever renounce that *heresy*, and to denounce all *heretics* and *suspects*? What was Galileo to do, since he still believed in the Copernican system? With a disciple whose convictions were so easily unsettled, and who was, at the same time, so indiscreet in his questions, Galileo had to be even more prudent than with his other correspondents. Was he to reply that, after his condemnation, he could not touch that subject? No; but he dares to refute the objection which puzzles his short-sighted disciple; maintaining, however, for form's sake, the imposed abjuration. It was not a very sin-

cere act; but could Galileo have been sincere in that matter? And at what cost? Abusive severity renders dissimulation excusable. In his reply, on March 29, 1641, Galileo begins with this irony: 'The falsity of the Copernican system ought not to be doubted, especially by us Catholics, who have the irrefragable authority of Holy Writ, interpreted by the greatest masters of theology, whose unanimous consent renders us certain of the stability of the earth placed in the centre, and of the mobility of the sun around it.' Galileo does not say, and he is quite right in not saying, that the question has been decided by *the Church* or by *the Pope*. As to the pretended teachings of the Scriptures in matters of astronomy, and as to the astronomical commentaries of theologians on these texts, Galileo himself had already told us what a sincerely Catholic scientist can, and ought to think of them. He had done this in his letter to the grand-duchess Christina, written in 1615, and published with his consent at Strasbourg in 1636. He greatly desired that copies of this letter should be introduced into Italy for the confusion of his enemies, as he wrote to Friar Micanzio on June 28, 1636. And on May 9, 1637, he wrote to Guerrini that he hoped to soon have some copies of it. Are we to suppose, then, that between May 9, 1637, and March 29, 1641, a period during which his correspondence with Liceti shows in him such strength of character, that Galileo embraced the opinion of his enemies? No; but he feared that Rinuccini would be less discreet than Micanzio; therefore he wrote to Rinuccini a letter which could be shown without danger, but which says what he wished to say. . . . Then he said ironically, as he had said in the *Essayist* in 1623, that the Copernican system having been condemned, and that of Ptolemy and the Peripatetics having become untenable, scientists should endeavor to find a third system in which astronomical science and the theologians could agree. Penetrating to the depth of the matter, he shows that the objection troubling Rinuccini rests only on a begging of the question, and not on a real observation of the perpetual and rigorously exact equality of the visible celestial hemisphere. Concerning the annual parallaxes of the fixed stars, he says that if the observation of Pieroni is true, human

reasoning must lead one to infer that the earth is not immovable in the centre of the sphere. Then he hastens to add that if Pieroni could be deceived in his belief that he has found a parallax of some seconds, then those who pretend that the extent of the visible hemisphere never varies, not even for one or two seconds of a degree, may have been much more easily deceived. Thus the objection against the Copernican system is reduced to nothing. Without any repetition by Galileo, it is clear that this system is favored by human reasoning, and that it is opposed only by the theological arguments drawn from certain sacred texts which some wish to regard as teaching astronomy. This letter, therefore, favors the system which it ironically disavows. This letter of a venerable man of seventy-seven years is another proof of that fine discernment and of that vivacity of spirit which Galileo preserved to the end of his life" (1).

Having shown that the imprisonment of Galileo was merely nominal, and that no torture was inflicted upon him, we must now briefly examine the decisions of the Roman Congregations in his case, with a view to their doctrinal consequences. Protestant polemics gladly proclaim these decisions as destructive of the Catholic doctrine of Infallibility. Certain Catholic writers have enunciated views on the matter which can serve only to confirm the opinion that the Church and science are implacable foes. For instance, the Viscount de Bonald, with that severity which is generally characteristic of lay theologians, insists that the double movement of the earth has never been and never can be proved; that even to-day he who defends the Copernican system is "guilty of rashness" in contradicting the natural sense of the Scriptures; that if the old system was an illusion, the Bible favors said illusion (2). This author would advise, therefore, if he were logical, the Pope and the Roman Inquisition to revoke the decree of toleration issued in favor of the Galilean theory on September 17, 1822; and would have them condemn the many scientific ecclesiasties,

(1) *Loc. cit.*, ch. 9.

(2) Galileo, the Holy Office, and the System of the World, in the *Correspondent of Dec.* 25, 1854. See also this author's *Moses and Modern Geologists*, Avignon, 1835.

like Secchi and Matignon, who "rashly oppose the natural sense" of the Scriptures (1).

Again, there are other Catholic critics whose views, though far more moderate than those of M. de Bonald, are almost equally untenable. Thus it is quite common to hear that Galileo was always allowed to teach his system "as an astronomical supposition"; whereas the official documents show that our philosopher was prohibited, in 1616, to uphold "said opinion in any way whatsoever"; and that in 1633 he was punished for having disobeyed this injunction by publishing a work in which there were no interpretations of sacred texts. Among the critics of this class the most eminent are the astronomer Lalande (2), the Abbé Berault-Bercastel (3), Bergier (4), and Feller (5),—all of whom copy the Protestant Mallet du Pan, whose errors are carefully noted by Th. Martin (6).

Other Catholic polemics, such as Alzog (7) and Höffler (8), hold that the Copernican system, having been advanced too soon, was dangerous to both science and religion, and that this pretended fact justifies the action of the Inquisition. But the official records evince that the new system was condemned "as false and altogether contrary to Scripture," and not as a mere matter imprudently or prematurely advanced. Nay, more: the sentence of 1633 expressly states that even though Galileo had presented his system only as probably true, still he would have offended; for, in the words of the decree, "an opinion cannot be provable when it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Sacred Scripture."

(1) In 1842 a certain Abbé Matalène published in Paris a book entitled *Anti-Copernicus, a New Astronomy*; but his ecclesiastical superiors sharply reminded him that he had no right to compromise the clergy by such extravagancies.

(2) *Voyage in Italy*, 1786.

(3) *Eccl. Hist.*, 1778-85.

(4) *Dict. Theol.*

(5) *Dict. Hist.*, art. *Galileo*.

(6) *Galileo and the Rights of Science*, Paris, 1868.—Among the errors of Mallet du Pan, which Martin with undue severity stigmatizes as "lies," are to be noted his pretence that Bellarmine did not, in 1616, interdict any astronomical hypothesis; the assertion that Galileo caused his apologetic letter to Christendom to be printed before his condemnation; the declaration that no *imprimatur* was really given for the publication of Galileo's *Dialogue*. Pretending to give extracts from a certain despatch of Guicciardini, Mallet du Pan asserts that they show that Galileo wished to force the Pontiff to make a religious dogma of his system; whereas the reading of the despatch causes one to almost justify Martin when he says that Mallet "not only mistakes, but is an impostor."

(7) *Church Hist.*, Fr. transl., Paris, 1855, vol. iii., p. 249.

(8) *Encyc. Dict. Theol. Cath.*, art. *Galileo*.

M. Adolphe Valson (1) contends that the Copernican proposition concerning the movement of the earth was not condemned as "heretical," if taken by itself; and that in condemning the other Copernican theory on the non-movement of the sun, the Inquisition was right, since the sun has a movement of its own. As to the first assertion, it is true that the theory of the earth's movement was not condemned as "heretical," but it was declared "false and altogether contrary to Scripture." As to Valson's second remark, there was no question of any special movement of the sun; this movement, toward the constellation of Hercules, was utterly unknown at that time; but what the Inquisition forbade Galileo to deny was the movement of the sun *around the earth*.

Very different from the opinions of the above critics is that of Tiraboschi (2), who admits that vulgar prejudices caused the prohibition of 1616, and the condemnation of 1633, and declares that these decisions were pronounced by a fallible tribunal, and not by the Church. He shows that at first Galileo found his discoveries favorably received in Rome, but that the angry Peripatetics soon adopted the Bible as a weapon against him. However, being ignorant of the fact that the *Preface* to the condemned *Dialogue* had been written, not by Galileo, but by the examiner Riccardi, Tiraboschi accuses the scientist of bad faith. He declares that the Congregations erred because of a too great devotion to Peripateticism.

About the year 1825 Olivieri, General of the Dominicans and commissary of the Holy Office, wrote a dissertation on the affair of Galileo (3), in which he gave a very curious apology for the Congregations. The teachings of Copernicus and Galileo, said Olivieri, were not condemned because they did not agree with the Bible, but because these two scientists upheld them with bad arguments, which, being

(1) In the *Review of Christian Economy* for Dec., 1865, and Jan. and Feb., 1866.

(2) *First Historical Memoir, on the First Advocates of the Copernican System*, read in the Modenese Academy dei *Dissonanti* in 1792, inserted in the Venetian edition of the *Hist. Ital. Litt.* 1796. *Second Memoir, on the Condemnation of Galileo and the Copernican System*, read in 1793.

(3) Not edited until 1855, in the *Université Catholique*.

contrary to sound philosophy, seemed therefore opposed to Scripture. If Galileo, continued Olivieri, had known the gravity of the air, and had not obstinately attributed the tides to a combination of the diurnal and annual revolutions of the earth, things would have gone differently; for the Church has ever encouraged any real progress—one which is free from errors. Olivieri also contended that the real cause of all the misfortunes of Galileo was his having provoked the “vengeance” of Urban VIII. (1). A decisive refutation of all these assertions was given by Govi (2).

It is manifest that from the beginning of the affair of Galileo, five courses were open to the ecclesiastical authorities. The philosopher and his friends would have been satisfied if, firstly, it were acknowledged that the new system was not contrary to Catholic faith; secondly, if liberty of discussion were allowed in its regard; and, thirdly, if both the Copernicians and Peripatetics were forbidden to adduce Biblical texts in their debates. Certainly ecclesiastical tradition as well as prudence, both ever favorable to toleration in such matters, would seem to have counselled one of these three courses. Cardinal Matthew Barberini, afterward Pope Urban VIII., Cardinal Bellarmine, and other moderate Peripatetics, preferred a fourth course,—namely, to leave liberty only to the Peripatetics, and, while not deciding against the new system, to interdict it as rash and dangerous under the circumstances. In 1632 Urban VIII. adopted a fifth course,—namely, to procure the condemnation of the

(1) We have already observed that Galileo had obtained the approbation of the Master of the Apostolic Palace for his work entitled *A Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems Concerning the World*, published in 1632, and that in this *Dialogue* he had represented one Simplicius, a fool, as defending the Peripatetic system. Cantù seems inclined to credit the assertion that Pope Urban VIII. fancied that Galileo had intended the world to discern the Pontiff in the guise of Simplicius; and he thinks that the approbation of the Master for the work might have been, “if not obtained by fraud, at least drawn from the Master by some of those artifices which are known to those who have had any relations with public censors of books”; and he adds: “While the learned were indicating certain errors in the *Dialogue*, the envious were whispering to Urban VIII. that Galileo, after the Pontiff had treated him so kindly, not only forgot his promise of silence, but ridiculed his Holiness in the character of Simplicius, even causing conversations he had held with Urban to be spoken in the *Dialogue*. Urban, who had the passions of a man and a literateur, resented the real or supposed injury,” etc.

(2) *The Holy Office, Copernicus, and Galileo, Considered in Reference to a Posthumous Dissertation of Father Olivieri*, Turin, 1872.

Copernican system as false in philosophy, erroneous in theology, and contrary to Sacred Scripture.

Now arises the question : *By whom* was the doctrine of the movement of the earth thus condemned? Certainly, it was through the influence of Paul V. and of Urban VIII., respectively, that the decisions of 1616 and 1633 were rendered; but neither *their* authority as Pontiffs nor that of *the Church* was implicated. As men these Popes were opposed to the system of Galileo; but as Popes their names are not signed in the famous decisions. Both are published only in the name of the Congregations. This absence of the Pontifical ratification is remarked by Descartes in three letters to Mersenne, and by Gassendi (1). The Jesuit Riccioli (2) invokes against the teachings of Galileo the authority of "the Congregations delegated by the Pope"; but he does not contend that the Pope can delegate his infallibility. The absence of the Pontifical ratification in the decisions against Galileo is noted by the Benedictine Caramuel (3), who, after declaring that the new system is absurd, asks himself what the Church would do if, "which is impossible," the movement of the earth were ever demonstrated. He replies that the Church would declare that "the Roman Congregations, having decided without the Papal ratification, were mistaken." In fine, let it be remembered that neither in 1616 nor in 1633 did the supreme authority of the Church pronounce a decision concerning the Copernican system. Muratori, writing in Italy a century before the works of Galileo were removed from the Index, says that the Copernican system was condemned "not by an edict of the Supreme Pontiff, but by the Congregation of the Holy Office. . . . To-day this system is everywhere in vogue, and Catholics are not forbidden to hold it" (4). Tiraboschi specially insists on our admiring the "Providence of God in favor of His Church; since, at a time when the majority of theologians firmly believed that the Copernican system was contrary to the Sacred Scriptures, the

(1) *Impressed Motion*, Lyons, 1658, vol. iii., epist. 2.

(2) *Almagestum Novum*, Bologna, 1651, vol. i., pt. 2, p. 489.

(3) *Fundamental Theology*, Lyons, 1676. The passages are cited by Boulx, in his *Condemnation of Galileo*, Arras, 1866, p. 25-29.

(4) *Annals of Italy*, year 1633.

Church was not permitted to give a solemn decision on the matter "(1). No Catholic will assert that the Roman Inquisition has never committed any errors; and in the case of Galileo it was the Inquisition that erred, and not the Pontiff; and even though the Pontiff had erred, the decision was not one concerning faith or morals,—one, that is, which can form the object matter of Infallibility.

"Whenever," says Cantù, "there is opened a new scientific or philosophical horizon, even the most elevated intellects are stricken with fright, as when America was discovered, and when steam and electricity were first applied. What wonder if contradiction befell the Copernican system, which appeared to subvert the order not only of the physical but of the moral world; which seemed to threaten faith and morals, just as it changed the reciprocal position of the heavenly bodies? What wonder if it seemed impious and scandalous to subject man and his habitation to the same laws which regulate the other phenomena of nature? Was it not for this reason that, quite recently, Hegel denied the movement of the earth? When the Reformation had spread, and men were substituting their individual for the canonical interpretation of the Scriptures, churchmen were frightened on seeing certain verses interpreted in a new manner, and they went so far as to condemn Galileo. Nor should we forget that until Faucolt furnished it, in our own days, there was no physical proof of the movement of the earth. Faucolt gave it in the progressive deviation of the oscillating plane of a pendulum suspended from a fixed point. But no serious person will repeat the absurdities of Libri (2), of Arduini (3), and of similar writers, confuted by Biot (4), Alberi, Martin, and by common-sense."

He who would understand the great catastrophe in the life of Galileo must consult the writings of the scientist, and the invaluable documents published by Alberi in his great edition of the *Works* (5). It is *not true*, as Libri and, after him, many Protestants insist, that the officers of the Inquisition

(1) *Memoir II.*, *loc. cit.*

(2) *Loc. cit.*

(3) *The First Born of Galileo*, Florence, 1864.

(4) In Michaud's *Universal Biography*, and in two dissertations in the *Journal des Savants* for March, July and October, 1858.

(5) In sixteen large volumes, Florence, 1842-56.

destroyed or secreted nearly all the papers of Galileo. All his principal works remain, and nearly all the minor ones. A few of his MSS. were destroyed by one of his grandsons, who felt some scruples about preserving any writings of one condemned by the Holy Office. Most of the important works and of the correspondence were collected by Galileo's disciple, Viviani, who bequeathed them to a nephew, Panzanini; the heirs of this nephew sold some of them as waste paper, but nearly all were recovered by Giambattista Nelli, whose son Clement used them and part of Viviani's collection in his *Life of Galileo*, published in 1793. When publishing his edition of the *Works*, Alberi promised to give to the world a *Life* based upon documents in his hands, but he failed to do so. However, this *Life* would not have been complete, as there were many documents which he could not procure. Thanks to Theiner, Prefect of the Vatican Archives, who communicated these papers to M. Henri de l'Épinois, the world received, in 1867, much light on the affairs of the great scientist, in the valuable work of the same L'Épinois (1).

CHAPTER V.

JANSENISM.

No problem has so troubled philosophers and theologians, in every age and of every religion, as that of a conciliation of the two great factors of human destiny, Divine Grace and Free Will. Men seem to have forgotten, or not to have realized, that human reason can never reconcile, in an absolutely satisfactory manner, two terms the exact significance of which it cannot comprehend. It is not surprising that an attempt to explain satisfactorily the reciprocal action of grace and free will should so frequently result in either an annihilation of man under the divine action, or an obscuring of God's entity by the prominence given to man. It has been well said that this enterprise is like that of one who would undertake to solve an equation, the terms of which he does not

(1) GALILEO: *His Trial and Condemnation, According to Unedited Documents.*

know. Certainly man knows not the precise nature of the supernatural. Neither can he figure to himself, with any degree of exactness, the condition in which the fall of Adam left the will of that unfortunate and of his descendants. We cannot determine the real nature of God's action on His creatures. We realize scarcely at all what are the rights of God's justice, or the claims of His love. And how little we know concerning the divine attributes. When we fancy that we have attained to some appreciation of them by a petty comparison of them with the faculties of our own souls, we have temporarily ignored the utter absence of any proportion between the infinite and the finite. It is certain, in fine, that we can apply to the Creator's nature or actions no reasonings which are based on the condition of a creature. Nevertheless, Greek philosophy assumed to speculate on the relation of man's liberty with the concurrent providence of God over all things created ; and Fatalism and Stoicism resulted. Oriental speculation entered the field ; and Pantheism was born. Scarcely had the Christian Church issued from the catacombs, than many of her children began to exercise their recovered breath in debating on a redoubtable mystery concerning which, during the days of their probation, they had been content to know that they were free to apostatize, but that they had the grace to die for their faith. Then the monk Pelagius insisted that we do not inherit the guilt of Adam ; that therefore our free will is what it was in paradise ; that consequently we need no divine grace. Conquered by the decisions of seven Roman Pontiffs, by those of twenty-four synods and by that of the General Council of Ephesus ; its absurdities revealed by St. Augustine, who then came to be known as " the doctor of grace " ; Pelagianism again showed itself in a modified form, so plausibly urging the needlessness of grace for the beginning of faith and for final perseverance, that many learned and saintly men thought that Semi-Pelagianism alone could safeguard free will. Finally defeated by the writings of Sts. Augustine, Fulgentius, and Prosper, the ultra partisans of free will made way for the diametrically opposite school of the Predestinationists, who taught that the Saviour had died for the elect alone, and that the fall of Adam had

destroyed free will. This melancholy belief soon vanished; and when it reappeared under the pen of Goteschalk in the ninth century, it met its fate at the hands of Hincmar of Rheims. Not until the fourteenth century was another attempt made to terminate the supposed conflict between the two great gifts of God to man. Wyckliffe arose; and both divine and human liberty were denied, fatality supplanting them. Then the world heard Luther pronouncing "free will a slave," or rather a non-entity; since, according to the father of Protestantism, grace and concupiscence each necessitate the will of man, of course not violently or by coercion, but nevertheless invincibly. In the face of all these pretenders to the honor of terminating what did not and cannot exist—a struggle for existence between grace and free will, the Church never attempted to explain their necessary harmony in such a way as to give absolute satisfaction to the curiosity of man. Leaving to her schools of theologians all freedom of speculation as to why, how, etc., when her definitions were not called into question, she called upon her children to acknowledge, on the part of God, an absolute and supreme dominion over all His creatures, and an efficacious wish to save all men through a knowledge of His Son and an application of that Son's merits as Redeemer; and on the part of man, a supernatural destiny, guilt of original sin, a need of supernatural grace, and free will. When the reader has finished his study of Jansenism, which was simply an attempt to subvert each and every opinion concerning grace which was tolerated by the Church, he will probably feel that it would have been well for all the followers of the bishop of Ypres, and for many of his opponents, if they had been content with a reception of the truths presented by the representative of Christ on earth; if they had thought with St. Francis de Sales that the difficulties presented by each side of the controversy were terrible, and that to make a good use of grace is better than to dispute concerning its nature.

Michael Baius, born in 1513 in Hainaut, was a professor in the University of Louvain. He taught many errors concerning grace, free will, original sin, charity, the death of Christ, etc., all of which are found in the sixty-six proposi-

tions condemned in 1576 by Pius V. The errors of Baius which regard the state of innocence were a kind of Pelagianism; those concerning fallen nature were a mixture of Lutheranism and Calvinism; and those regarding restored nature were akin to the contradictory errors of the Predestinationists and the Pelagians. In regard to innocent nature, Baius taught that "God was obliged, by justice and because of a right possessed by the creature, to create man for eternal happiness; that sanctifying grace, and the other gifts which the Church calls gratuitous and supernatural, and which God conferred on Adam, were natural and due to him; therefore, man can attain salvation by strength of his own nature." As to fallen nature, Baius held that free will can only sin; all that man wills he freely wills, and hence even "when he necessarily wills he freely wills." Concerning restored nature, Baius contended that "every good work merits eternal life of its own nature, independently of the divine disposition and of the merits of Christ"; but he also insisted that "man escapes the punishment due to sin, only by an imputation of Christ's merits, and this imputation is not accorded to all, but only to the predestined." In fact, as St. Liguori expresses the idea, the entire teaching of Baius on the three states of man's nature is the consequence of his principle that there are but two loves: theological charity, by which God is loved above all else as the last end; and concupiscence, by which one is attached to creatures, also as to a last end. Between these two loves, according to Baius, there is no medium. Baius died in the communion of the Church. His most determined opponents, Cardinal Granvelle and the Jesuit, Toledo, admitted his knowledge, humility, and simplicity.

Cornelius Jansen was born in 1585 at Arcquoï, near Leerdam in Holland. He made his course of Humanities at Utrecht; but his philosophical and theological studies were pursued at Louvain under the tuition of James Baius, a nephew of the famous Michael, and under James Janson, both zealous defenders of Baianism. One of his intimate friends at the University was John du Verger de Haurrane (better known as Saint-Cyran, from the abbey given to him

in 1617, by the bishop of Poitiers, of whom Petau, who had been his fellow-student at the Sorbonne, said that "he was a restless, vain, and presumptuous spirit." Jansenius obtained his degree in 1619; and his learning caused his being sent to Spain, on important business of the University. By his efforts the Spanish government was induced to revoke the permission accorded to the Jesuits, to teach Humanities and philosophy in Louvain. In 1630 he became professor of Scripture, and published his *Commentaries on the Pentateuch, Wisdom and the Gospels*. He was made bishop of Ypres in 1635, chiefly because of a pamphlet entitled the *Gallie Mars*, which he had written in the interest of Spain. During the twenty years preceding his death, which occurred on May 6, 1638, Jansenius had labored on a work called *Augustinus*, at first styled an *Apology for Baius*, in which he aimed at an exposition of the doctrine of St. Augustine on grace and predestination, and a refutation of Lessius and Molina (1). In both the preface and the epilogue to his book Jansenius professed his submission to the decisions of the Holy See; but we cannot forget that his correspondence with Saint-Cyran nullified this declaration. He presumes to lament "the ignorance of the court of Rome in matters of faith" (2); he condemns all the scholastics, St. Thomas included, and says that if the Thomists and Jesuits continue their disputes until the day of judgment, they will wander still more from the truth than they have hitherto done, "and already they are a hundred leagues away from it"; he pronounces St. Thomas insipid to him who has studied St. Au-

(1) Leonard Lessius, born in Brabant, in 1534, entered the Society of Jesus, and studied theology under Suarez. He became a professor at Louvain in 1585, and after a life of constant polemics died in 1623. The Universities of Louvain and Douay vainly endeavored to induce Rome and the Sorbonne to condemn his doctrines as they had done. The great object of the discussion was the teaching of Lessius on grace and predestination, which is analogous to that of Molina. Indeed, Lessius composed his work on *Efficacious Grace* in defence of Molina against the Thomists. Louis Molina, also a Jesuit, was born in Castile in 1535. His work on the *Agreement of Grace and Free Will* was attacked by the Dominicans, and even by some of his brethren, e. g., Henriquez (d. 1606) who said that "it prepares the way of Antichrist by its affectation of sustaining the natural power of free will against the merits of Christ, the aid of grace, and predestination." In 1598 Clement VIII. established the Congregation *De Auxiliis*, which considered the Molinist system, but the dispute continued until 1607, when Paul V. prohibited each party to accuse the other of heresy. From that time Molinism has been a permitted opinion, but ever attacked by the Thomists, and by both true and false Augustinians.

(2) Letter 21.

gustine (1); he avows that his work "will not be approved by his judges" (2); and he admits that his teachings "will stupefy the world" (3). With such a master it is no wonder that Saint-Cyran declared: "It is God Himself who is destroying the Church. The bishops, ecclesiastics, and religious of to-day, as a rule, have none of the spirit of Christianity, of grace, or of the Church. If the religious of his order were true sons of St. Bernard, they would devote themselves to the destruction of scholastic theology; even St. Thomas ruined true theology by human reasonings and the principles of Aristotle" (4). However, we may hope that the final protestation of Jansenius was sincere. "I am human," he said in his last testament, "and like all men, am liable to error; hence I submit my work to the judgment of the Holy See and of my mother, the Roman Church. From this moment I receive, retract, condemn, and anathematize, all that the Church decides that I ought to receive, retract, condemn, or anathematize" (5). The executors of Jansenius did not consult the Holy See, but issued the *Augustinus* in 1640, and Jansenism—that "bastard Protestantism," as it is not unaptly defined by Louis Blanc (6), commenced its career.

A brief notice of some of the most prominent figures in the history of Jansenism is necessary. The abbé de Saint-Cyran is described for us by no less a personage than St. Vincent de Paul. His duplicity, according to the saint, was extraordinary. He affirmed, in the saint's hearing, that "if in one place, he had told the truth to persons capable of appreciating it, and then he went to a place where the same truth would not be understood, he would teach the contrary." And he defended his theory, adds St. Vincent, by the alleged example of our Saviour, who "did the same, and advised others to so act." One day he told the saint that "God had given him great knowledge; He had revealed to him that there had been no Church for five or six hundred years.

(1) Lett. 16.

(2) Lett. 131.

(3) Lett. 113.

(4) Testimony of the Abbé de Prières against Saint-Cyran.

(5) At the end of his *Life*, prefixed to the *Augustinus*.(6) *History of the French Revolution*, vol. i., page 201; Paris, 1847. This famous socialist and moderate radical says: "If Jansenism had no other celebrity than that of a theological thesis, we might not notice it. But no; Jansenism, while giving a religious varnish to the political passions of the magistracy, aided the onward march of the *bourgeoisie*."

Originally the Church was like a great river with limpid water; but now that which seems to be the Church is only mud. The bed of the river is indeed the same; but the waters are different. I told him that Calvin and all other heretics had advanced the same pretext in justification of their errors; and he replied that the undertaking of Calvin was not at all an evil thing, but that Calvin had defended his project badly" (1). On another occasion he said that "in his mind the Scriptures were clearer than they were in themselves." But his pride was hidden under an air of simplicity and of mortification; and many of the clergy and very many of the female religious were seduced by his insinuating manners. The imprisonment of Saint-Cyran by Richelieu has led certain historians to aver that the great cardinal was jealous of one who exercised so much power over the souls of men; and it is said that the abbé would not have been confined in the chateau of Vincennes, had his independence not prevented his acceptance of a bishopric at the hands of the minister who thought to thus acquire dominion over his intellect. No proof has been adduced to sustain this assertion; and the entire career of Richelieu shows that personal hatred never influenced his political actions, even though he had been capable of condescending to such a sentiment. The great minister had excellent and purely political reasons for his treatment of the standard-bearer of Jansenism in France. Having been reared in the midst of the "wars of religion," a conflagration enkindled by theological disputes, the cardinal realized that a religious error can soon become a political engine to the detriment of the state; and he had practical reasons for regarding Jansenism as such an engine. Although Jansenius, in 1637, had endeavored to further a subversion of the Spanish domination over Belgium, in order to create partisans for himself: nevertheless he had soon sought for a reconciliation with Philip II., and had therefore published the *Gallie Mars*, a bitter diatribe against the kings of France, from Clovis to Louis XIII. Again, there was reason for believing that Jansenius had been privy to an attempt to assassinate the cardinal-minister. Saint-Germain, almoner of

(1) Letter cited by Abelly, bishop of Rhodéz, in his *Life of St. Vincent de Paul*.

Queen Mary dei Medici, wrote to Chamontel that he knew that Jansenius had advised the crime of Alpheston in the Palais de Bruxelles, whereby several were wounded, although the intended victim escaped unhurt (1). Furthermore, Saint-Cyran had abetted the seditious projects of Gaston d'Orleans (2). We must believe, therefore, that not petty malice, but reasons of state, added to the fact that Saint-Cyran had inspired the seven propositions condemned by the Faculty of Paris, caused the incarceration of the Jansenist leader. The death of Richelieu opened the gates of his prison to Saint-Cyran; but he died shortly afterward, having been stricken by apoplexy, and having made no sign of retraction.

Anthony Arnauld, called "the great Arnauld" and sometimes the "Pope of the Jansenists," was a man of vast genius, of undoubted erudition, and of great eloquence. All the Arnaulds, in fact, formed the very soul of Jansenism. Arnauld d'Andilly, a brother of the great Arnauld, had fifteen children, most of whom retired to Port Royal of Paris or to the Champs (3). The few who remained in the world great-

(1) In the *History of Duchesne*. (2) VARIN; *The Truth Concerning the Arnaulds*.

(3) This famous monastic establishment received its name, *Portus Regius* or *Port-Royal des Champs*, from the fact that in 1204 Odon de Sully, bishop of Paris, erected a nunnery for Cistercians on that site in compliance with a vow made there by King Philip Augustus. The nuns were styled Daughters of St. Bernard, and besides the ordinary monastic duties they conducted an excellent school for young girls. The rule of St. Benedict having been much neglected by the nuns for many years, Mother Angélique Arnauld signalized her superiority by a thorough restoration of the primitive discipline in 1608. In 1625 part of the community was detached to found a new house in Paris, and this establishment came to be known as Port-Royal de Paris. In 1636 the house of Les Champs was entirely abandoned by the nuns; and it became a retreat for many pious men who wished to devote their lives, although nearly all of them remained seculars, to solitude, penance, study, and the instruction of noble youths. Besides the Arnaulds, the more illustrious of these solitaries were Le Maître de Sacy, Nicole, Lancelot, and Le Nain de Tillemont. The elder Racine studied at Port-Royal, and Pascal was one of its habitual frequenters. During the disputations consequent on the condemnation of the five propositions of Jansenius, the Port-Royalists contested the authority of Pope Innocent X., and the Calvinists of the day were wont to say that the solitaries would find it difficult to prove that they were not Protestants. During the Fronde, it was notorious that Port-Royal and its sympathizers were hostile to the government. Under the rule of Mazarin, most malcontents sought an asylum at Port-Royal. During the reign of Louis XIV. they were prosecuted because, as the monarch said, "they would have been just as seditious as the Calvinists of the Netherlands, if they had possessed sufficient energy." In 1656, having refused to subscribe the famous Formula condemnatory of the five propositions, the solitaries of the *Champs* were expelled from their retreat, and the nuns of Port-Royal de Paris were nearly all located in other communities. The few who had submitted were allowed to retain their old residence, and the community lasted until the horrors of the Revolution involved it in the fate of all the religious establishments

ly aided Jansenism by their intrigues. The entire family were proud and intractable, whether courtiers or religious. Racine said of them to Nicole: "You place them a little below David and Solomon. That is not enough. Locate them above these personages. You may cause their humility to suffer a little, but fear not; they are wont to bless those who afflict them in that way." At Port-Royal des Champs, near Paris, the great Arnauld had two sisters, Agnes and Angélique; the former a superioress of Bernardines, the latter at the head of a convent of the Holy Sacrament, aggregated to the abbey. Saint-Cyran had indoctrinated both these communities with Jansenism; and when Arnauld was excluded from the Sorbonne, he retired to the Champs, being soon followed by his brother d'Andilly, and by many others of the party, such as Pascal, Nicole, Saint-Marthe, etc. The new solitaries entered upon lives of mortification and prayer, fully equal to those of the olden anchorites of Egypt; and the female religious, who were subject to Agnes and Angélique, rivalled them. They never conversed on other matters than the primitive Church, the ancient Canons, and SS. Paul and Augustine. In a short time, in accordance with Arnauld's opposition to frequent Communion, they began to avoid the altar; Mother Angélique abstained from Communion for five months, even though the Paschal time intervened, and many of her religious abstained for eighteen months. When Rome reproved them, the infatuated women paid no heed; for, they said, "Popes Liberius and Honorius had fallen into heresy," and during their own days "the Scribes and Pharisees had joined with Caiaphas to condemn Christ." If St. Jerome had any experience with religious of this stamp, he may be pardoned for that rather ungallant remark: "Women imbibe error more easily than men receive it, because they

of France. Justice demands that we record the heroic patience of both the solitaries of the *Champs* and the hallucinated daughters of Mother Angélique during a persecution which might well have been foregone, or at least rendered less severe. The Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV., Le Teller (he had just been appointed) is said to have instigated these acts of repression, and naturally the Society of Jesus became more odious to the Jansenists. Concerning this matter the judicious Picot observes: "We are far from crediting all the foul charges made against Le Teller; but granting that he was the author of the dissolution of Port-Royal, that, botched of error, was his action a crime? And if it was a crime, it was his own. Why should all the Jesuits in the world be held responsible for it?"

are lightminded ; they spread error more rapidly than men do, since they are loquacious ; and they are slower in abandoning error than men are, on account of their obstinacy" (1). After a time the solitaries of Port Royal paid less attention to their genuflections, prostrations, etc. ; and instead of the mattock and the spade, with which they had procured their food, they took up the pen in favor of Jansenism. To attract the world, they treated nearly every subject which had attractions for the human mind ; and it is well said that they did much for modern literature and science. Among the numerous works composed at Port Royal the very first place must be accorded to the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, the most spirited, adroit, and biting pamphlet ever published ; but which so mutilates and misconstrues the writings of his adversaries, the Jesuit casuists, as to force even an admirer to doubt Pascal's good faith. We shall devote a special chapter to Pascal.

The history of Jansenism may be divided into seven periods :
 I. From the publication of *Augustinus* to the submission of the famous five propositions to the judgment of the Holy See.
 II. From that submission to the rise of the question of "fact."
 III. From the rise of that question to the issue of the "formula" by Alexander VII., and which the French clergy were obliged to sign.
 IV. A period of dissensions arising from this formula.
 V. The "Peace of Clement IX."
 VI. The tumults occasioned by the famous "Case of Conscience."
 VII. To our own day.

FROM THE PUBLICATION OF "AUGUSTINUS" TO THE SUBMISSION OF THE FIVE PROPOSITIONS.

The Protestant world applauded the book of Jansenius. Grotius declared that if Rome had approved the work, the unity of Christendom would have been restored. Leideker, a Dutch minister of celebrity, and author of a *History of Jansenism*, recognized its doctrine as Calvinistic, and reproved its followers for want of logic in not abandoning Romanism, which had become infected with Pelagianism. Bolgeni

(1) *To Ctesiphont.*

gives many testimonies of Calvinists recognizing Jansenism as conformable to their own ideas (1). But the Catholic world was horrified at *Augustinus*, and on Aug. 1, 1641, Urban VIII. prohibited it. On March 6, 1642, the Bull *In eminenti* condemned it as renewing the errors of Baius, anathematized by Pius V. and Gregory XIII. In an assembly of the Faculty of the University of Paris, July 1, 1649, Nicholas Cornet, syndic of the Faculty, presented for its consideration seven propositions which, though cancelled by the Revisers, had been printed among their theses by certain of the Bachelors. The Faculty reduced these propositions to five : I. Some of God's commandments are impossible to the just who wish to observe them, and who, to that end, exert all their strength. (This teaching had been, in substance, proscribed by the Council of Trent, sess. 6, c. 11, can. 18.) II. In the state of fallen nature, interior grace is never resisted (Jansenius does not say this in so many words, but in many places he implies it). III. In the state of fallen nature, in order to merit or demerit, man need not enjoy a liberty without necessity ; it is enough for him to be free from any coercion. (These are almost the very words of Jansenius (2), and the Council of Trent had already decided that grace, even when efficacious, imposes no necessity on the human will.) IV. The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of antecedent grace for all good works, even for the beginning of faith ; but they were heretics because they said that man's will could submit to it or resist it. V. It is a Semipelagian error to say that Christ died for all men. (Jansenius declares (3) that the fathers regarded as heretical the doctrine that Christ died for all men ; that St. Augustine taught that He died only for the predestined, and that He prayed no more for the reprobate than for the demons). At first the Faculty of Paris did not agree as to the course to be pursued in regard to these propositions, and referred the matter to an episcopal assembly, to be held in 1650. The bishops, however, deemed the subject of such importance, that they sent the propositions to Pope Innocent X., who immediately deputed certain cardinals to examine them.

(1) In his pamphlet entitled *Are the Jansenists Jacobins?* Rome, 1794.

(2) In his *Grace of Christ*, b. vi.

(3) *Grace of Christ*, b. iii., c. 2.

II. FROM THE SUBMISSION OF THE FIVE PROPOSITIONS TO THE HOLY SEE, TO THE RISE OF THE QUESTION OF "FACT."

The Jansenists now sent the famous doctor of the Sorbonne, Saint-Amour, to defend their cause at Rome. He was assisted by Desmares, of the Oratory of Jesus, and four other doctors. On July 10, 1651, the Jansenist deputies were received by the Pontiff, and Saint-Amour insisted that the five propositions had been insidiously drawn up; that, indeed, they could be taken in a heretical sense, but no one defended that interpretation; that, however, they could be understood in an orthodox sense; and that the foes of the Jansenists wished their condemnation so that the latent Catholic meaning would appear to be condemned. He begged, therefore, in the name of eleven French bishops, that the Holy See would define nothing concerning the five propositions, until the deputies had been heard. To this the Pope replied that if the question was to turn on the propositions condemned by Urban VIII., no new examination could be undertaken; if new questions arose, they could be discussed. Saint-Amour greatly praises the kindness of Innocent X., and the full liberty of discussion he allowed the delegates during the thirty-six Congregations held on this matter (1). Finally, after more than two years of deliberation, the Pontiff pronounced his decision in the Bull *Cum occasione*, wherein he pronounced the five propositions heretical. The Faculty of Paris, having received the Bull on Aug. 1, ordered its registration, and condemned to expulsion any member who would sustain any of the five propositions; and in their assembly of 1657 the French bishops publicly avowed their adherence to the Papal declaration. In view of the subsequent conduct of the Jansenists, it is well to note here that before this condemnation, the innovators had defended the doctrine of the *Augustinus* as orthodox, and had insisted that the famous propositions had been taught by Jansenius in a Catholic sense. Among many proofs of this fact we cite the celebrated "three-column" document, read by the Jansenist deputies in the Congregation of May 19, 1653, held in the presence of the Pontiff. In this document, three versions of each proposition are given, each version in a separate column.

(1) In his *Journal*, p. 98.

In the first column, each proposition appears in its heretical (Calvinist or Lutheran) guise; although Saint-Amour insisted that if it were properly considered, it would prove orthodox. In the second column, appears each proposition in the sense sustained by the Jansenists as Catholic. In the third column we find each proposition in the sense which the Jansenists held to be Pelagian, and taught by the Molinists. We transcribe this document as given by Saint-Amour.

FIRST PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

To all the just, however much they may wish and endeavor, according to their present strength from great and even efficacious grace, the commands of God are impossible; and they lack, so long as they live, grace by which they may, without sin, obey even one of God's commands. This proposition is heretical, Calvinistic or Lutheran, and condemned by the Council of Trent.

Jansenistic.

Some of God's precepts are completely and proximately impossible to certain of the just; that is, they cannot be fulfilled by these just ones, no matter how these may wish and endeavor to fulfil them, according to their present weak ability; they being destitute of the efficacious aid necessary to full will and operation. They lack the efficacious grace which could make said precepts possible: that is, they lack that special aid, without which the justified man, according to the Council of Trent, cannot persevere in his received justice, that is, in the observance of God's commands.

Molinistic.

To the just who wish and endeavor to obey, according to their present strength, all the precepts of God are possible through grace, subject to their own free will; nor do they ever lack that grace which is necessary for the good work, or, at least, for prayer, and by which said precepts may be made possible.

SECOND PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

In the state of fallen nature, interior efficacious grace is never resisted; because in regard to efficacious grace, man's will is merely passive, and like something inanimate, assents to nothing and performs nothing.*

Jansenistic.

The grace of Christ, necessary to every act of piety, is never resisted; that is, the effect, for which it is proximately given by God, is never frustrated.

Molinistic.

The grace of Christ, necessary to every act of piety, to operation, or at least, to prayer, is, in the state of fallen nature, sometimes resisted; that is, it is sometimes defrauded of that effect for which it is proximately given by God.

* To this proposition was subjoined: "Another erroneous interpretation: In the state of fallen nature, interior grace is never resisted, if grace be regarded as a mere enlightening of the intellect and a persuasion of the will. This proposition is false and erroneous, since, as St. Augustine teaches (*Grace of Christ*), such a grace is not a true grace of Christ." Also this one: "Another erroneous interpretation: In the state of fallen nature, grace is never resisted as far as regards the ulterior effect, to which it disposes; since grace is slight and gives only an inchoate will. This proposition is false and erroneous."

THIRD PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

For meriting or demeriting, in the state of fallen nature, there is not required in man a freedom from natural necessity, such as is also found in undeliberate motions; but mere freedom from coercion is sufficient.

Jansenistic.

For meriting or demeriting in the state of fallen nature, freedom from a necessity of infallibility is not required; but freedom from coercion is sufficient, if the essence of liberty and of merit be precisely considered; although, because of man's condition, there be always found an indifference as to power, by which the will, even when subject to grace proximately necessary and of itself efficacious, may not wish (to correspond)—but the will can never not wish (to correspond) at the time it is subject to grace.

Molinistic.

For meriting or demeriting in the state of fallen nature, freedom from a necessity of infallibility is required; that is, there is a necessity for a proximate indifference as to operating or not operating, by which indifference the will, endowed with all the prerequisites for operating, may bend itself freely, now toward one side, then toward the other.

FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

The grace of Christ is such that the free will of man, moved and excited by it, cannot, even if it desires to do so, dissent. To pronounce otherwise, is Semipelagian.

Jansenistic.

The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of antecedent grace for all imperfect acts, even for the beginning of faith; and they were heretics inasmuch as they taught that grace is such that the will may or may not assent to it, that is, that grace is not, of itself, efficacious.

Molinistic.

The Semipelagians did not admit the necessity of antecedent interior grace for all imperfect acts, and also for the beginning of faith: nor did their error consist in asserting that grace is not, of itself, efficacious.

FIFTH PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

Christ died only for the predestined; so that only these, through the merit of His death, receive true faith and justification.

Jansenistic.

It is Semipelagian to say that Christ died for all men, without exception, in the sense that all, without exception, receive, through His death, the grace necessary for salvation, which grace it is in the power of man's free will to acquire, without the aid of grace, of itself efficacious.

Molinistic.

It is not Semipelagian, but Catholic, to say that Christ, by His death, communicated to all men, without exception, the grace proximately necessary to operation, or at least, to beginning and to prayer.

In the preface to this document the Jansenist deputies thus addressed the Pontiff: "Most Holy Father, the question is not concerning an unnatural and evil signification which might be attributed to these propositions, and which we reject; but it regards the legitimate sense which we defend. . . . We develop for your Holiness the legitimate sense of each proposition as we defend it. . . . We openly declare our sentiments regarding the opinions of the Calvinist and Pelagian sects, and we frankly explain our belief, which holds a middle place between their erroneous opinions." And Saint-Amour says: "We had wished to indicate, not the sense as gathered from the terms, but that sense which the propositions bore, as far as Jansenius was concerned, and as they concerned us who endeavored to prevent their condemnation." There was no dispute, therefore, concerning the sense of the contents of the first or third columns, which was already condemned by the Jansenists and by Jansenius himself; the entire question concerned the sense of the second column, a sense taught in the *Augustinus*, and upheld as Catholic by the Jansenists. "This was the sense," remarks Bolgeni (1), "which occupied a middle place between the heresies of Calvin and of Pelagius; the sense rejected by the adversaries of the Jansenists, and which these adversaries were imploring the Holy See to condemn; the sense, to sustain which the deputies of eleven French bishops untiringly labored; the sense, in the condemnation of which was avowedly included the reprobation of the doctrine of Jansenius and of his defenders; the sense, in fine, which Saint-Amour wished, as he protested, Rome to approve, in order that approbation might accrue to the *Augustinus*. Such, undeniably, was the state of the case; the proofs are public and authentic. If, after the condemnation, the Jansenists changed their language; if they denied what they had openly affirmed; such a retreat, adopted perforce by men of such consummate talent, is a clear demonstration of the ruin of their cause."

III. FROM THE RISE OF THE QUESTION "OF FACT," TO THE ISSUE
OF THE "FORMULA" BY POPE ALEXANDER VII.

Many were the efforts of the Jansenists to evade the Bull

(1) *Dogmatic Facts*, vol. I., c. 1; Rome, 1795.

of Innocent X. condemning the five propositions ; but the most specious subterfuge was the one excogitated by Anthony Arnould, and thus expressed by him in a letter to the University of Douay : “ This proposition, ‘ the doctrine of Jansenius has been condemned,’ gives rise to two questions. The first is one of *right*, that is, whether the five propositions have been justly condemned, and whether they are heretical ; the second is one of *fact*, whether the heretical doctrine of the five propositions was effectively taught by Jansenius.” Arnould admitted the infallibility of the Church in deciding the question of *right*, and hence avowed that the five propositions are heretical, when taken in the obvious sense ; but he denied the infallibility of the Church in deciding the question of *fact*, and hence he contended that the Church was mistaken in this matter ; that the five propositions are not in the *Augustinus* ; and that the teaching of that book is most Catholic. Behold the origin of the question of *Dogmatic Facts*. This distinction of *right* and *fact* was proposed for examination in an assembly of thirty-eight bishops, convened in Paris in 1654, and the following conclusions were reached : “ The five propositions do not fully express all the poison scattered through the large volume of Jansenius, but they most accurately express the substance of that book’s teaching. . . . The Bull of Innocent X. condemned the five propositions *as taught by Jansenius*.” And the bishops recognized dogmatic facts as a subject-matter of the infallibility of the Church, for they said that the Jansenists, by their late distinction of right from fact, “ had tried to take away a part of the deposit of faith confided to the Chair of Peter by Christ.” De Marca, archbishop of Toulouse, was charged with the duty of informing the Holy See of the acts of the assembly, and the Pontiff replied in a Brief of Sept. 29, saying : “ In the five propositions, we condemned the doctrine contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*.” In the *Relations* of Abp. de Marca, he attests that “ the ecclesiastical judgment of the assembly of 1654, confirmed by a Papal Brief, was respectfully received throughout the kingdom, and that the Faculty of Paris imitated the Pontiff’s censure on Jan. 31, 1656, “ expelling, by that act, the great Arnould from its

bosom." On Oct. 16, Pope Alexander VII. issued his Bull *Ad Sacram B. Petri Sedem*, declaring: "We, who took part in all those Congregations (as Cardinal Chigi, he had been a member), in which, by the Apostolic authority, the said cause was discussed with the greatest possible care, do now approve and renew the aforesaid Constitution, declaration, and definition of our predecessor Innocent; and we again condemn the five propositions taken from the aforesaid book of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, entitled *Augustinus*; and we declare and define them to be condemned, according to the sense understood by the same author." This Bull was sent to all the bishops of France, and was accompanied by a formula, to be signed by all ecclesiastics. The formula read as follows: "I sincerely submit to the Constitution of Pope Innocent X., dated May 31, 1653, according to its true meaning, as determined by the Constitution of our Holy Father, Pope Alexander VII., dated Oct. 16, 1656. And I acknowledge that I am obliged in conscience to obey these Constitutions; and I condemn in heart and with tongue the teachings of the five propositions of Cornelius Jansenius, contained in his book entitled *Augustinus*, which the aforesaid two Pontiffs and the bishops have condemned, and which doctrine is not that of St. Augustine, the said Jansenius having wrongly interpreted the meaning of the holy doctor." This formula was approved by the assembly of 1661; and in April, 1664, Louis XIV. issued an edict, registered in parliament on the 29th, ordering all University aspirants, and all candidates for benefices, to sign it. On May 2, the Faculty of Paris subscribed it.

IV. DISSENSIONS ARISING FROM THE FORMULA.

On June 8, 1661, during the absence of Cardinal de Retz, archbishop of Paris, his grand-vicars issued an ordinance prescribing the signing of the formula, but permitting to the clergy an entire mental reservation as to the fact decided in the Pontifical decrees; concerning this fact, said the officials, a respectful silence was sufficient. On receipt of information of this proceeding, the Pontiff issued a Brief, dated Aug. 1, declaring that it was "no less false than rash to assert that, in the time of Innocent X. there had been only a question of

the orthodoxy of the five propositions; for, at that time, not only were the propositions themselves considered, but inquiry was made as to whether they were found in the *Augustinus* of Jansenius." This Brief induced the grand-vicars to revoke their ordinance as "contrary to two Pontifical Constitutions, and that they might furnish an example of that obedience and submission of will which Catholics owe to the Apostolic decisions"; and on October 30, they published a second ordinance commanding the clergy of Paris to sign the formula "sincerely and heartily." On February 15, 1665, Alexander VII. issued his Bull *Regiminis Apostolici*, in which he inserted a new formula, as follows: I, N., submit to the Apostolic Constitutions of Innocent X., dated May 31, 1653; and of Alexander VII., dated Oct. 16, 1656; and I sincerely reject and condemn the five propositions taken from the book of Cornelius Jansenius entitled *Augustinus*, and I condemn them in the sense understood by their author, just as, by the aforesaid Constitutions, the Apostolic See condemned them. So I swear, etc." But four bishops, those of Alet, Beauvais, Angers, and Pamiers, issued pastorals expressly permitting the distinction between *fact* and *right* in signing the new formula. By a decree of the Council of State, the king suppressed these pastorals, and he afterward besought the Pontiff to order a canonical trial of the contumacious prelates, with a view to their deposition. The Congregation of the Index prohibited the pastorals; and nineteen bishops, fearing serious trouble, induced the nuncio to intercede with the new Pope, Clement IX., and beg him to be content with a pure and simple signature to the formula, on the part of the four bishops, and to refrain from a demand for an explicit retraction of the pastorals. The Pontiff accepted the compromise.

V. THE "PEACE OF CLEMENT IX."

The affair of the bishops of Alet, Beauvais, Angers, and Pamiers, gave origin to this species of compromise which became famous on account of the claim, put forward by the Jansenists, that Pope Clement had recognized their distinction between fact and right—a claim, as we shall show, which had no foundation. The four bishops wrote to the Pontiff

in September, 1668, saying: "We, to whom nothing is more at heart than peace and unity, and reverence for the Apostolic See, resolved to imitate their conduct (that is, to sign the formula in the spirit of the other bishops). Wherefore, having convoked diocesan synods, as they had done, and having ordered a new subscription, we also signed our names. What they had enjoined upon their clergy, we also enjoined; the submission to the Apostolic Constitutions which they had commanded, we also commanded; and just as before we had been united with them in doctrine, so then we joined them in this form of discipline." On September 17, the four bishops informed the nuncio, Bargellini, of their subscription, and a few days afterward, the bishop of Laon, who had been one of the mediators, wrote to the Pontiff that the four prelates, "by a new and sincere subscription, had conformed their conduct to that of the other bishops"; but he adds that "they had differed somewhat from the rest, in the manner of their subscription." On September 28, the Pope wrote to Louis XIV., expressing his consolation, "because of the pure and simple subscription, by the four bishops, to the formula." Notwithstanding this apparent concord, rumors soon spread through France that the presumed converts were insincere; and the great Jansenist historian of this epoch, Gerberon, informs us that the Jesuit confessor to Louis XIV. reproved the nuncio for his credulous indulgence in promoting a compromise which "through the weakness of a quarter of an hour, had destroyed the work of twenty years." These rumors reached Rome; and the Pope demanded of each of the four bishops an authentic declaration that he had signed the formula conformably to the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. Accordingly, the bishops sent to the Pontiff a legitimately certified deposition to that effect; but the *Relation* of Cardinal Rospigliosi (nephew of Clement IX.) informs us that notwithstanding this declaration, "many writings appeared in France and in Rome, asserting that the four bishops had insisted, in the verbal *Acts* of their synods, that the five propositions, if understood in the sense of Jansenius, were not condemned by the Pontiff." Thereupon Pope Clement ordered his nuncio to investigate this report;

and that prelate assigned the task to the bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, who had been one of the mediators in promoting the "peace." In due time the Pontiff received the following declaration, signed by this prelate and by Anthony Arnould: "The four bishops and the other ecclesiastics have acted in the best of faith, and have only intended to show their zeal for the faith of the Church, and their profound submission to the Holy See." They had condemned the five propositions, insisted the declaration, in all sincerity and without any restriction, in every sense in which the Church condemned them; they were far from entertaining in their hearts any design to renew the said errors, and "as to the finding of these propositions in the book of Jansenius, they again manifested, and ordered to be manifested, that reverence and that obedience to the Holy See which ought to be exhibited when that See proscribes books; according to the consent of all theologians, according to the Catholic doctrine of all past centuries, and according to the doctrine advanced in the latest times by the most strenuous defenders of the authority of the Holy See, such as the cardinals Baronio, Bellarmine, Pallavicino, and the priests Petau and Sirmond; which doctrine is conformable to the intent of the Apostolic Constitutions, and consists in this, that nothing be said, written, or taught, contrary to the decisions of the Pontiffs." And in conclusion, the bishop of Chalons and Anthony Arnould added: "And having especially ascertained the mind of the four bishops, and the contents of the verbal processes (of their synods), we declare and testify that the doctrine contained in this writing agrees with that in the verbal processes, and that nothing in these is contrary to said doctrine. This is our declaration, and that of the nineteen bishops who wrote to his Holiness."

The reader cannot fail to observe that this document is equivocal; and that the four bishops, by a mental reservation which, if used by their opponents, would have produced howls of disgust from the Jansenists, were still able to interpret to their own advantage the extent and kind of obedience "due to the Holy See." In fact, it is registered in the verbal processes of their synods that these apparently submissive

prelates clearly announced to their clergy the presumed distinction between *fact* and *right*, according to which they should understand the signature to the formula (1). Hence it was, as the Jansenist Fovilloux tells us, that "the majority had no difficulty in signing the formula, no matter what was their belief concerning the *fact*" (2). Gerberon flatters himself that "there were very few ecclesiastics who refused to sign the formula, although very few believed that the five propositions were to be found in Jansenius" (3). The same is admitted by Nicole (4). Such, in a few words, is the history of the famous "Peace of Clement IX." of which the Jansenists always boasted as an admission, on the part of Rome, of the tenability of the distinction between *fact* and *right* in the matter of condemning dogmatic writings (5). It forms an excellent illustration of that delicacy of conscience, that uncompromising love of truth, which, according to Jansenistic apologists, was a characteristic of their sect, and diametrically opposed to the laxity of their opponents in the matter of mental reservations (6). That Clement IX. was far from admitting the tenability of the Jansenistic distinction, no further proof is needed than that furnished by his Brief of January 19, 1669, to the four bishops: "You informed us that, according to the orders of the Apostolic Letters, you had sincerely subscribed, and had caused to be subscribed, the formula issued in the Letters of the same Alexander VII. . . . Because, most firmly adhering to the Constitutions of our predecessors, we would never have permitted any exception or restriction in regard to them. . . . Now, however, since we have received proofs of your true and entire obedience in sincerely subscribing to the formula, etc."

(1) Bolgeni says that the four bishops took good care to have the subscriptions entered, not in a register, but on loose sheets, and "these sheets were, for a long time, so secretly hidden, that a copy could not be procured. The bishop of Pamiers refused a copy to the canons of his cathedral who demanded one, and who caused the Chancery to give them an authentic certificate of this refusal. After the death of Bishop Henry Arnould in 1692, the verbal process of his synod could not be found, either in the Chancery or in the Secretariate; by chance a copy was found in a volume of *Augustinus*." *Loc. cit.*, c. 16.

(2) *History of the Case of Conscience*, vol. i., p. 6.

(3) *Gen. Hist. of Jansenism*; Amsterdam, 1700.

(4) *Human Faith*, pt. II., c. 10; Lyons, 1664.

(5) See especially the Jansenist GOURLIN: *Jansenius and Jansenism*, Louvain, 1790.

(6) As to the conduct of Port Royal in signing the formula, even Cousin admits that it was "lacking in truthfulness."

VL. THE CASE OF CONSCIENCE ON "RESPECTFUL SILENCE."

In the year 1701 the dissensions caused by Jansenism received a new impetus from an unknown source. A certain confessor had for many years been the director of an ecclesiastic, and had been warned by some parties that his penitent's orthodoxy was not above suspicion; that, therefore, said penitent was unworthy of absolution. The case was probably supposititious; but the alleged confessor was said to have examined his penitent as to his faith, and being in doubt, to have formulated the case for solution by the doctors of Paris. He had questioned the penitent as to his dispositions in the matter of the Formula, and now presented this state of affairs to the Faculty: "The ecclesiastic declared that he now condemned, and always had condemned the five propositions without any restriction, and in all the senses in which the Church condemned them; also in the sense of Jansenius as explained by Innocent XII. on Nov. 24, 1696, in a Brief to the bishops of Belgium. In this disposition he signed the Formula. As to the *fact* of Jansenius, since Mgr. de Perefex, archbishop of Paris, declared that he is either ignorant or malignant who holds that the Church demands the same submission in matters of *fact* as in those of *faith*, the ecclesiastic avowed that he did not equally submit to definitions of *fact* and to decisions concerning *faith*; but rather deemed that in regard to matters of *fact*, a deference consisting of respectful silence was sufficient."

Forty doctors of the Sorbonne signed their names, on July 20, 1701, to a solution of this case, deciding that the ecclesiastic was secure in conscience; and this decision was reprinted at Rouen with the names of seventeen others. In a pastoral dated Feb. 22, 1703, Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, condemned this decision as "contrary to the Constitutions of Innocent X., Alexander VII., and Innocent XII.; and as tending to revive questions already decided; as favorable to the use of equivocations, mental reservations, and perjuries; as derogatory to the authority of the Church." On Feb. 12, 1703, Pope Clement XI. also condemned the decision of the Sorbonne; and in March the majority of the approvers retracted their opinion, being followed, very soon, by all

others with one exception. This solitary obstinate was Canon Petitpied; and on Nov. 4, 1705, a vote of 150 doctors expelled him from their body, and declared that the proposition defended in the "Case" was the same as that for sustaining which Arnauld had been ejected. On July 16, 1705, Clement XI. issued the Bull *Ineam Domini Sabaoth*, defining that: "The obedience due to the aforesaid Constitutions (those of Innocent X. and Alexander VII.) is not given by a respectful silence. All the faithful of Christ must condemn, not only with the tongue but from the heart, that condemned interpretation of the five propositions of the book of Jansenius which the words of these propositions present; nor can they licitly subscribe the aforesaid Formula with any other mind or intention." The Pontiff styles the Jansenists "disturbers of peace," "upholders of error," "impious," and "sectarians"; they are "rebels to the truth who cease not to contradict the Church with vain distinctions invented to deceive the unwary, . . . So excessive is their impudence that, despising the characteristics of an honorable man, and the rules of Christian sincerity, they hesitate not to declare that he who does not really believe the doctrine contained in the book of Jansenius to be heretical, may subscribe without sin to the Formula of Alexander VII." Many were the books and pamphlets which the Jansenists now issued, attacking this Bull, although the French bishops expressly declared, in their Assembly held soon afterward, that they heartily received it.

VII. FROM THE CASE ON "RESPECTFUL SILENCE" TO OUR DAY.

In 1709 the religious of Port Royal, whose obstinacy, though ever covered by a veil of ostentatious docility, justified Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, in designating them as "pure as angels, but proud as demons," were ejected from their cloister by the constables of Louis XIV. From the very beginning of Jansenism, its partisans had exerted every energy to gain over members of religious orders. "Much will be gained," Jansenius had said, "if Pilmot (*a nom de guerre* of *Augustinus*) is seconded by some such society. These gentry are peculiar, when they espouse a cause. Once embarked, they go to every extreme." Saint-Cyran had some success with

the Oratory of Jesus, a community established in 1611 by Cardinal de Bérulle in France on the model of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri at Rome, and introduced in Louvain by Jansenius as an offset to the Jesuit influence (1). In this society, Saint-Cyran found the celebrated Pasquier Quesnel, one of the most elegant and unctuous writers of his day; a man of untiring mental and physical activity, and a distinguished director of consciences. Embracing Jansenism, Quesnel published his *New Testament in French, with Reflections on Each Verse* (Paris, 1699), and the errors contained in this book gave origin to the Bull *Unigenitus* of Clement XI., issued in Sept., 1713 (2). This Bull condemned a hundred and one of Quesnel's propositions and prohibited the *Reflections*, and any work which would defend their author. The archbishop of Paris, affecting an absurd neutrality between the Pontiff and Quesnel, refused to receive the Bull. The Sorbonne at first received it, then repudiated it; and very soon, chapters, schools, and families were in dissension regarding it.

When the regent d'Orleans took the reins of power, he recalled the Jansenist exiles, and conferred bishoprics on many of them. They soon became persecutors, and appealed to a Pope better informed or to a future Council. Clement XI.

(1) At the outbreak of the first French Revolution the Oratorians governed sixty colleges and six seminaries in France. Bossuet, eulogizing Bourgoins, their second general, says in 1662: "Cardinal de Bérulle wished to give to his society no other spirit than that of the Church, no other rules than her canons, no other superiors than her bishops, no other ties than charity, no other vows than those of baptism and of the priesthood; it was to be a society in which holy liberty made a holy engagement, in which men obeyed without depending, in which a superior governed without commanding, in which all authority resided in kindness, in which respect received no aid from fear—a society in which charity, banishing fear, works a great miracle, and in which, with no yoke but itself, it captivates and even annihilates self-will; a society which, in order to form true priests, leads them to the source of truth, where they will ever have in hand the Scriptures, to investigate untiringly the letter by the spirit, to develop the spirit by prayer, depth by retirement."

(2) Jansenius had taught that interior grace is never resisted; he had called the contrary doctrine Semipelagianism. Quesnel taught that grace is an operation of God's omnipotence which no one can resist; he compared the action of grace to that by which God created the world, and operated the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ (*prop.* 10). Thence he concluded that when God wishes to save a soul, it is infallibly saved (*prop.* 12). Therefore, 1st, when a soul is not saved, it is because God did not wish it to be saved, which is directly contradicted by St. Paul. 2d, if a man sins, it is because grace was wanting—another error proscribed by Scripture and by St. Augustine. 3d, in order to sin or to do good, to merit or to demerit, man need not be free from necessity; it is enough for him to be exempt from constraint or violence, because, when he has grace, he necessarily obeys it, and when he has it not, he cannot act. This doctrine was condemned in the third proposition of Jansenius.

condemned the appeal, and whoever refused to receive the *Unigenitus*. Noailles, with the Sorbonne and the parliament, now protectors of Jansenism because of an old aversion for Rome, appealed to a Council; the dissipated regent soon tired of theology, and prohibited all disputatious publications, but could not procure silence. The war progressed between the recipients of the Bull and the appellants. Then, since so many priests were interdicted, came the distinction between a confessor and a director—a new tangle for consciences. John Soanen, bishop of Senez, and a warm Jansenist, being suspended and exiled, styled himself “a prisoner of Jesus Christ,” and received a kind of worship from his partisans. Francis Paris, a deacon of St. Medard’s at Paris, wished to revive Port Royal and to form a kind of La Trappe in the poorest suburb of the capital; to never approach the Sacraments unless when he felt driven by the Spirit, and hence not to receive them for years at a time. This fanatic, while receiving the Viaticum, protested against the Bull. After his death, Paris was regarded as a martyr of the cause; miracles at his tomb were reported, and many pilgrims, after convulsions during which they cursed the Bull, recovered their health. “All this,” observes Cantù, “in the Paris of the duke d’Orleans and of Voltaire, and these ‘miracles’ were credited by those who ridiculed the prodigies of the Jesuits in the Indies! The government was forced to close the cemetery, and then the cures and miracles multiplied (1). The question of Jansenism was prolonged for some time, but it remained tranquil in the schools, from which it should never have come forth” (2). If Jansenism can be regarded from a purely worldly point of view, then the following remark of the same author is judicious: “Such contests, revealing a period of much unoccupied activity, and of much leisure, become interesting when one sees in them the sole refuge of free discussion under a most absolute king, who would have tolerated debate and opposition in no other form; to thinkers, they will seem something mid-way between Catholicism,

(1) Then it was that appeared the satire :

*De par le roi, defense a Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.*

(2) *Univ. Hist.*, b. xvi., ch. II.

Protestantism, and philosophy, through which, by its resistance in politics and by its combat with a relaxed morality, modern renovation was helped, and a reproval of idealism renewed practical life. . . . To-day the practical importance of Jansenism has ceased, and we know its object better than it was then known."

Th. Lavallée defines very clearly the seditious spirit of Jansenism, and shows that the enthusiasts of Port Royal were the ancestors of the modern so-called liberals: "Under Louis XIV. the opposition had retired into religious controversy, to which the king devoted all the time not claimed by war and diplomacy; it had a great, though mysterious and badly understood, influence on the fall of the monarchy. The Jansenists, a kind of Puritans toward Catholicism, defended grace in the style of Calvin; they made of God an inflexible master, and of man a slave. The appearance of this sect disquieted the government; Richelieu, dreading in it a mitigated Calvinism, and seeing most of his enemies in its ranks, persecuted it. But after his death it developed; it united intimately with the parliament, and took a very active part in the troubles of the Fronde, furnishing to the cardinal de Retz his most zealous auxiliaries. . . . Mazarin resolved to destroy the sect. Jansenism, with its doctrines on grace, its opposition to the court of Rome, its antipathy to the Holy Communion, became a species of bastard Lutheranism, a Reformation without private examination. . . . Louis XIV. was convinced that these sectarians, if they possessed the same energy, would prove just as seditious as the Calvinists. . . . He found in Jansenism everything he had antagonized: the nobles, the magistracy, the remnants of the Fronde, and finally, behind all, the reformers. Jansenism, being the party of the entire opposition, had profited by the faults and reverses of Louis XIV. . . . its opposition was calumnious and contemptible. . . . *Its complete expression may be found in the duke de Saint-Simon, full of hate, envy, and egoism; hugging his dignity, so as to become perfectly ridiculous; desperate because he had nothing to do, but having a hand in everything; eavesdropping at every door, and gleaning scandals from every source.* And during all this time, in the wake

of these obscure disputes, was developing the last heir of the Lutheran idea and of all its consequences, the 'philosophy' of the eighteenth century" (1).

Cousin says : "Nowadays we may tell the truth concerning Jansenism. Let us tell it, therefore, without hesitation. Jansenism was an immoderate and intemperate Christianity. Undoubtedly it had its roots in Catholicism ; but, without wishing it, and perhaps without knowing it (this may explain the wonderful influence of Port Royal), it leaned toward Calvinism in more ways than one ; it was based on two dogmas—those of original sin and grace—which it exaggerated and falsified in theory and practice. . . . Immense was the humility of the Jansenists, derived from the consciousness of our own nothingness ; and immense was their pride, arising from an appreciation of God's action in us. From this pride came their inordinate attachment for their own conceits as for things coming from God ; and it gave them an extraordinary courage to resist, in the name of God, all earthly powers, even the greatest of all, the Holy See. Hence, in a word, came an incomparable grandeur, and excesses of every kind in doctrine and in conduct ; grandeur and excesses commingled together, aiding each other and perishing together, because they were from the same principle—the nothingness of our nature, and the unique and invincible force of grace. A vain enterprise, indeed, would it be to separate the grandeur of Port Royal from its excesses, its good from its evil deeds, its truth from its falsities ; in it, everything has the same spirit, all arises from the same foundation. To modify Port Royal is to annihilate it. We must recognize in Port Royal certain eminent qualities which recommend it to the veneration of ages ; straightforwardness (!), consistency, intrepidity ; but let us also admit its want of common sense and of moderation, that is, of true wisdom" (2).

It is interesting to note that Voltaire was very hostile to Jansenism. In the seventy volumes of his works, he never neglects a chance to attack the "rebels," whom he regarded

(1) *History of the French*, vol. III., p. 253, and *passim*, 6th edit., Paris, 1847.

(2) *Skepticism of Pascal*, in the *Revue de Deux Mondes*, vol. IX., 1845.

as a kind of political heretics. In his *Voice of the Sage and of the People* we read: "A Jansenist is really a fool, a bad citizen, and a rebel. He is a fool, because he takes his private notions for demonstrated truths; he is a bad citizen, because he troubles the order of the state; he is a rebel, because he disobeys." Writing to d'Argental, in Dec., 1765, he gives an interpretation to his formula, "*écraser l'infâme*," very different from the usual one: "The word 'infamous' has always signified Jansenism, a harsh, cruel, and barbarous sect, more hostile to the royal authority than Presbyterianism is, and that is saying not a little." In May, 1768, he says to the same d'Argental: "I regret that France is one-half frivolous, and the other half barbarous. The barbarians are the Jansenists. Your ministry does not know them well enough; they are Presbyterians, more dangerous than those of England." On Dec. 4, 1776, he writes to the chevalier de Chastellux: "What is called Jansenism will be an inundation of barbarism, if it is allowed to progress. It is a faction of atrocious energumens, encouraged by the ever present pretext of upholding the national rights against the encroachments of Rome; it would burn common sense in the Place de Grève. The Presbyterians of England and the Anabaptists of Munster were never so dangerous as these marauders."

In all the annals of religious polemics there is probably no more salient instance of unreasoning perversity, than that exhibited by the Jansenists. Anthony Arnauld, and after him the entire school, insisted that while the Church is infallible in her dealings with revealed truth, her inerrability does not extend to "mere matters of fact"; and that since the existence of the five propositions in the *Augustinus* was a fact not revealed by God, no one was obliged to heed their condemnation by the Holy See. It would be outside our historical province to dilate upon the theological reasons for the rejection of this theory; but the reader will perceive that God would have endowed His Church with a useless prerogative, if, while asserting such or such teaching to be revealed truth, she were unable to discover unerringly whether the contrary of the said teaching is present or not in a given

document. Nor would the Church, in rendering a decision as to her discovery, claim infallibility as to a mere human fact. The existence or absence of heresy in a certain book is something more than a mere fact. It is a *factum cum jure conjunctum*, a fact necessarily amenable to the judicial authority of the supreme guardian of truth on earth. Were the writer of these pages to formulate therein a declaration that, like the Blessed Queen of Heaven, he was born into this world unstained by the guilt of original sin, he would advance a heresy; since it is a matter of faith that all the children of Adam, Mary alone excepted, are inheritors of Adam's guilt at the moment of their conception. Here is a fact which the Church would draw to her tribunal, if she deemed the case worthy of notice; and nevertheless, this fact involves the existence of the writer, which certainly has not been revealed by God. Were the Church unable to decide unerringly in this concrete fact, and in all other concrete facts in which truth and morals are involved, of what use to humanity would be her possession of an infallible knowledge of divine truth in the abstract? Anthony Arnauld and his tribe closed their minds to this evidence of their absurdity; but they were not the first innovators to make a distinction between heresies which were to be condemned and heretical writings which were to be defended. In the Council of Nice, after the doctrine of Arius had been condemned, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice advanced this subterfuge as an excuse for their abstention from signing the anathema pronounced against the heresiarch; and their memorial is couched in terms so similar to those used by Tamburini, the prince of Italian Jansenists (1), that only the latter's mention of Jansenius instead of Arius, and of the *Augustinus* instead of the *Thalia*, would prevent a confusion of the two documents (2). Perhaps it is needless to note that the Nicene fathers rejected the memorial and excommunicated its authors (3). But let us see how the other early General Councils regarded Dogmatic Facts. In the first session of the Council of Ephesus were read the letter of St. Cyril to Nes-

(1) In his Letter I. to the Bishop of Brescia.

(2) See the memorial in Labbé's *Collection*, vol. II., col. 59, and in Fleury, bk. XI., no. 13.

(3) GELASIUS CYZIC.; *Hist. of the Council of Nice*, bk. III., ch. 3.

torius, and that of Nestorius to St. Cyril. The former was approved as conformable to the Nicene decisions, while the latter was condemned as contrary to them ; and from that time whoever rejected the former or approved the latter was regarded as a heretic. Here we see that the definitions of the Ephesine assembly are based on the contents of the writings of St. Cyril and of Nestorius ; in other words we have a proof that the synodals held the infallibility of the Church in deciding Dogmatic Facts. In the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon the fathers listened to the *Dogmatic Epistle* of St. Leo I. to Flavian, and declared it conformable to the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, and to the Ephesine decrees. Here the synodal action is based not on any abstract doctrine, but on the Letter of St. Leo as a dogmatic definition. Therefore the Council of Chalcedon contradicts the Jansenistic theory. In the Fifth General Council a Dogmatic Fact was directly considered and settled when the assembly proclaimed that heresy was found in the writings of Theodore of Mopsueste, Theodore, and Iba ; and in this definition there is no question of isolated propositions, but rather a direct anathema against the books and letters of the three culprits. Of this fact the reader will be convinced by even a casual glance at our dissertation on the Three Chapters (1). There is no need of adducing the actions of any later Councils in support of our position. The Jansenists claimed to be Catholics ; and therefore they should have recognized the Catholic principle that the universal and constant practice of the Church is an irrefragable evidence of her teaching. As to the impudent assertion of these sectarians that the five propositions are not contained in the *Augustinus*, that Jansenius never taught the doctrine which those propositions advance, we need only remember that Arnauld himself, speaking of the first proposition, used these words : “ It is drawn, almost word for word, from a passage in the book of the bishop of Ypres, where it is justified by a large number of very clear sayings of St. Augustine ” (2). And one of the lights among the innovators, Fovilloux, frankly admits : “ The five propositions were most true and most

(1) Vol. I., p. 359.

(2) *Considerations on the Enterprise of M. Cornet*, no. 17.

Catholic, in the sense according to which the bishop of Ypres defended them against the errors of the Jesuits" (1). Lalane, one of the deputies who sustained the cause of the Jansenists at Rome, declares that "they contain the faith of the Church, and the true doctrine concerning the grace of Christ" (2). Truly we must admire the effrontery which would assert that the five propositions are not in the *Augustinus* : that the doctrine of Jansenius is not at all consonant with that which they present. But there were many Jansenists who admitted that the five propositions were to be found in the great work of their leader ; the meaning, however, they contended, was very different from that doctrine which was condemned by Rome. The reader has examined the three-column document extracted from the *Journal* of Saint-Amour. Now the papal tribunals had no concern about the contents of the first and third columns ; their consideration was directed to the meaning of the contents of the second, defended as orthodox by the Jansenists, and condemned as heretical by their adversaries. When the Pope decided the question, he also pronounced on the sense of the second column, that is, on that meaning which was entertained, according to the avowal of his followers, by Jansenius. No wonder that Jurieu, the luminary of Calvinism, thus commented on the final subterfuge of the hard-pressed sectarians : "Since the meaning of Jansenius was so often and so precisely explained to the Pope and the judges, it is absurd to suppose that they ignored the real sense of the words in order to substitute one which they might attribute to Jansenius, that is, a sense which was unfounded and upheld by no one. Is it naturally possible for men to act in such a manner? I know not whether such an absurdity has ever been committed ; but if we are to credit the Jansenists, it was committed in Rome. But we must not suppose men insane when the supposition is not necessary" (3).

Why were the Jansenists so obstinate in their refusal to condemn the *Augustinus* ? In the first place, the distinction between *right* and *fact* was exceedingly specious ; and it had

(1) *Defense of the Theologians*, p. 355.

(2) *On the Victorious Grace of Jesus Christ*.

(3) *Spirit of Arnauld*, part I., observ. 10.

been put forth by their "great" Arnauld, and adopted by such luminaries as Pascal, Nicole, etc., who were undoubtedly men of extraordinary talent and of profound learning. Experience teaches that the immense majority of even thinking men are easily led by the authority of great names, and that they do not think for themselves on all those occasions when they fancy that they are indubitably exercising their mental autonomy. The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, of which we shall have much to say when we consider the career of that effulgent genius, were well calculated to entrance even those who flattered themselves that they did not belong to the crowd; and the masterpiece had done its work before the condemnation of the famous distinction. As for the posterior obstinacy of the Jansenists, if it is not a mystery explainable only by innate human perversity aided by direct Satanic intervention, the following reasons may account for it. It is lamentably true that among the first opponents of the Jansenistic distinction there were many whose arguments were often weak, and whose good ones were badly presented. Thus Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, issued a pastoral letter in which he conceded that the Church did not ask us to receive her decisions on dogmatic facts as matters of "divine faith"; that she merely regarded them as of faith midway between divine and human, or, as he complacently chose to term it, of "ecclesiastical faith." This discovery was acclaimed by Tourneley, among other theologians; and it served as a fine argument for the innovators, for in the last analysis this species of faith was purely human—a species which was perfectly compatible with a rejection of the papal definition in the premises, especially when that rejection was apparently mollified by that "respectful silence" which they promised but did not observe. Another and perhaps the most influential reason for the perversity of the Jansenists will be appreciated by him who reflects that these gentry were all, to a man, afflicted by that terrible malady which seems to be incurable, although it requires no diagnosis—Jesuitaphobia, a disease which had just then appeared for the first time. The self-styled followers of the great doctor of grace regarded, or affected to regard the Molinist doctrine, generally held by the

sons of St. Ignatius, as "nothing else than the Pelagian heresy, variously modified and newly embellished" (1). Whether the Jansenists hated this system because it was patronized by the Jesuits, or they hated the Jesuits because those religious were foremost among the Molinists, it is certain that the average Jansenist was as hungry a Jesuitophagus as any Masonic Lodge of our day could covet as a member. He ever proclaimed that it was owing to the intrigues and generally diabolic arts of the "black pope" and his subjects that Roman Pontiffs issued their Bulls against his sect; that bishops wrote their pastorals, kings published their edicts, and the clergy held their Assemblies, under the same inspiration. Even when the Society of Jesus had succumbed, for a time, to the united attacks of Jansenists, Freemasons, and all others of that ilk, there were modern Arnaulds and Nicoles to scatter the germs of the plague originally disseminated by the "learned and pious bishop of Ypres."

Much has been written by Protestant as well as by Jansenist authors concerning the piety of these sectarians. We relinquish to the ascetic theologian the very easy task of demonstrating that true piety cannot subsist in a heart which ignores the virtue of obedience to legitimate authority. It is more in our province to examine the chief evidence of Jansenistic sanctity, or rather of God's approval of Jansenist doctrine; namely, the miracles which were said to have been performed at the tomb of the Jansenist presumed saint, Paris the deacon. Carré de Montgeron, the prolix historiographer of this once famed individual, adduces eight alleged miracles said to have occurred through the intercession of his hero. Three cases were of paralysis; one of dropsy; one of cancer; two of blindness; and one of so complicated a complaint that the description is unintelligible. The official declarations of these events are certainly authentic; but they do not prove that the apparent prodigies were miracles. In the first place, it is a maxim of common sense, and one received by all hagiologists, that the circumstances surrounding a true miracle cannot partake of the grotesque, still less of the immodest. Nevertheless, the Jansenist priest, Reynaud, a witness of what he

(1) TAMBURINI: *Analysis of Tertullian's "Prescriptions,"* § 119; Brescia, 1781.

narrates, is constrained to avow, in his *Mystery of Iniquity*, that the prodigies of the cemetery of Saint-Médard were frequently offensive to purity, and sometimes involved in positive criminality—in fine, “*une œuvre épouvantable*.” Secondly, not one of the eight instances adduced by Montgeron necessarily implies a direct interference of God with the laws of nature (1). We are justified, therefore, in dismissing the pretension of the Jansenists that God worked miracles through the intercession of the prominent leaders of their faction; that, in fine, divine approval was given to the doctrine of Jansenius. But let us give some consideration to the principles of the chief Jansenists; with the rank and file of the party, especially the hallucinated daughters of Mère Angélique, we need not concern ourselves, for it appears certain that these, and pre-eminently the latter, were victims of superior intellects and of their own want of independence. Sincerity is one of the fundamental traits of a pious character. But we have heard the opinion of St. Vincent de Paul, an accurate observer and a model of charity, in reference to the duplicity of Saint-Cyran. Now hearken to Singlin, the successor of Saint-Cyran as director of Port-Royal, and therefore presumably most austere in non-respect of persons, as he guides the soul of the gay duchess de Longueville: “Persons of your station should be content with moderation in diet, without having recourse to abstinences and austerities, which may be as dangerous to the mind as to the body” (2). Would one suppose that this advice was given by one of a sect which regarded the “laxism” of the Jesuits as an invention of the devil? But, as Racine wrote to Nicole: “Let a man or a woman lead a life of debauchery, and you will ever hope for their salvation, if they are favorable to you; but if they are as virtuous as possible, and do not praise you, you will foresee the judgment of God against them.” Hearken to the opinion of the infamous Cardinal de Retz, a school-friend of Arnauld, and always a protector and protected of the Jansenists. Speaking of the relations of one of his *amies faciles*, the princess de Gueméné, with Arnauld d’Andilly, this wretched ecclesiastic

(1) This fact is admirably and succinctly demonstrated by Bonriot, in his *Miracles and their Counterfeits*; pt. II., ch. IV.,; Paris, 1895.

(2) FONTAINE; *Memoires*, vol. II., p. 235.

says: "The devil appeared to her very often, invoked by the conjurations of M. d' Andilly, who forced him, I believe, to frighten his penitent, with whom he himself was even much more in love than I was, although in God, purely and spiritually" (1).

This d' Andilly, the patriarch of the Jansenist faction, was indeed partial to friendships, the platonism of which might have been questioned. Thus we learn from his son that "it was easily seen that his greatest love was not given to his children"; and we are informed that "new friendships were more acceptable to him than old ones" (2). After the princess de Gueméné came the marchioness de Sablé, to whom d' Andilly used to address the most tender notes; and if we care not to accept the stories of the cynical Tallemant des Réaux, we may reflect on the remark of that brilliant and amiable friend of the Jansenists, Mme. de Sévigné: "The good man d' Andilly preferred to save a soul which resided in a

(1) The Gondi, now better known by their French title of Retz, were originally an illustrious family of Florence which was distinguished in the days of Charlemagne. Anthony dei Gondi was one of the suite of Catharine dei Medici when she passed into France, and he became maggiordomo to Henry II. His son, Albert, became Duc de Retz and a marshal of France, and it was he who induced Henry III. to join Henry of Navarre against the League. Henry, a son of Albert, was the De Retz of our text. They who rely upon this infamous ecclesiastic as an authority concerning the events of his day, especially regarding the great Richelieu, should remember his character. "In his *Memoires*," says Sainte-Beuve, "where he speaks so candidly of himself, he continually uses such expressions as 'theatre' and 'comedy'; he regards everything simply as a play; and frequently, when speaking of the principal personages with whom he has to deal, he treats them exactly as a stage-manager would his actors. . . . He openly presents himself as an able *impresario*, arranging his work There are some passages in his *Memoires* where he seems to try to rival Molière rather than to combat Mazarin." In Book I. he tells us that when made coadjutor to his uncle, he "ceased to frequent the pit, and went on the stage." When this work was read by the poet J. B. Rousseau, he declared that it was "a salmagundi of good and bad, written sometimes well and sometimes miserably, and very tedious. . . . I am astonished when I see a priest, an archbishop, a cardinal, a gentleman, a man of mature age, describing himself, as he does, as a duellist, a concubinary, and, what is worse, a deliberate hypocrite,—one who, during a retreat made in the seminary, took a resolution to be wicked before God and good before the world." In 1675 the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in his *Maxims*, said of De Retz: "His imagination, rather than his memory, supplies him with facts." Mme. de Sévigné, writing to her daughter concerning her correspondence with De Retz, said: "If anything foolish drops from your pen he will be as much charmed as if it were serious." One or two exquisite morsels of this famous authority will illustrate his honesty: "Scruples and greatness have always been incompatible." "The crime of usurping a crown is so grand that it may pass for a virtue." Speaking of his conspiracy against the life of Richelieu (1636), he said: "The crime appeared to me to be consecrated by grand examples, and justified and honored by great risks." Truly did De Retz say of himself (B. I.) that he possessed, in all probability, a character less fitted for a churchman than that of any other person in the world.

(2) *Memoires of the Abbé Arnauld*, pt. I., ch. 2.

beautiful body, rather than one of another sort" (1). But granting that the delightful Mme. de Sévigné, although sufficiently Jansenistic to consider "both St. Augustine and St. Paul as Jansenists" (2), may have written too often while under the empire of feminine caprice, we would ask whether the great Arnauld, the head and front of Jansenism, could have been a very pious man, when he, like nearly all his comrades (notably Fontaine), represented the priestly debauchee, De Retz, as a martyr to episcopal tyranny, and pardoned his depravity, "in consideration of his excellent qualities, and because of his great desire to become the friend of men of merit" (3). We would also ask whether piety could have had a firm foundation where both petty vanity and diabolic arrogance were paramount. The arrogance of the entire tribe of the Arnaulds appears sufficiently from the preceding pages; and each of them was fond of proclaiming the petty vanity of the others. D'Andilly himself, who, according to Tallemant des Réaux (4), was ever windy—*tous les Arnauld ont du vent* (said Mme. des Loges), is always vaunting the good blood, proud connections, and merits of each of his family (5). He tells us that if the great Arnauld writes well, it is because "he simply talks like all the family"; and then the doctor returns the compliment with the assurance that "in his brother eloquence is a hereditary blessing." The second Angélique, one of his daughters, says that he and all the family had "great facility in praising each other" (6). But listen to Anthony Le Maistre, the converted lawyer whom Saint-Cyran brought to Port-Royal to furnish Pascal with materials for the *Provincial Letters*. In the fervor of his newly-embraced asceticism, Le Maistre compares his conversion to that of St. Paulinus; and then, lest we may not know how great a man he has been, he enumerates all his titles to glory. Writing to Singlin (7), he thus indicates his Jansenistic modesty and simplicity: "Probably there has never been an instance, during the last century, of a man in my place and condition, amid the corruption of the palace and

(1) Letter 527, dated Aug. 19, 1676.

(2) Letter 757, dated July 14, 1680.

(3) *Mémoires of Fontaine*, vol. ii.(4) *Historiettes*, vol. iv., p. 63; second edition.(5) *SAINT-BEUVE; Port-Royal*, vol. ii., p. 244.(6) *VARIN*; vol. ii., p. 42.(7) *FONTAINE*; vol. i., p. 54.

in the flower of his age, enjoying all the advantages of birth and the vanity of eloquence, with a reputation fully established, exercising a most honorable profession, having a large fortune and the very grandest prospects, suddenly breaking all these ties; becoming poor instead of striving for wealth; embracing the austerities of penance instead of the pleasures which had been mine; entering into solitude, after having been used to society and business; condemning himself to perpetual silence (?), when hitherto he had never spoken without being applauded. And nevertheless, our century is so dense that although this event is more wonderful and rarer than the giving of sight to the blind or the bestowal of speech on the dumb, it considers the fact only as something extraordinary; whereas it should be revered as a holy thing. God is now known so little, that one of His most striking works is not recognized." Can we imagine such an effusion coming from the pen of any one of the great penitents to whom the Church has decreed the honors of her altars? And Le Maistre thinks that he should be ranked with St. Paulinus!

CHAPTER VI.

PASCAL AND HIS "PROVINCIAL LETTERS."

Blaise Pascal was in his eighth year when his father, Etienne, president of the *Cour des Aides* in Clermont, brought his family to Paris in 1631. The early childhood of Blaise was spent amid surroundings which were well calculated to cause his brilliant talents to develop into a premature precocity. Nearly every day he found himself in the society of the most celebrated scientists of that period; for it was in the house of his father that the great Academy of Science originated, although it was not formally instituted under the royal seal until 1666. But notwithstanding this early forcing of his talents, we must wonder when we picture this boy, scarcely twelve years of age, developing, without assistance, a full course of geometry, and writing an excellent treatise on sounds. We may easily believe that at this period, as his sister writes

(1), Pascal already wished to know the reason of everything which came under his notice. When only sixteen, he composed his treatise on Conic Sections, to the astonishment of Descartes, who could not believe, for some time, that the lad was its author. At eighteen, in order to relieve his father, then royal Intendant of Rouen (2), of much fatigue in preparing his tax-lists, he invented his famous arithmetical machine; but the necessary study, combined with the difficulty of making the mechanicians understand what was required of them, permanently undermined a constitution which was already weak. In later days he said that he had never been without pain, since his eighteenth year. His elder sister, Mme. Perier, says of her brother's character at this time: "By a special protection of God he had been preserved from the vices so often found in youth; and what appears more strange in a person of his temperament, he was never drawn toward incredulity in religious matters. Although he was so young, he regarded incredulists as men relying upon the false principle that human reason is superior to all else. His grand mind, so vast and so filled with curiosity, which sought so eagerly for the cause of everything, was in religious

(1) *Letters, Treatises, and Memoires of Mme. Perier, and of Jacqueline, Sisters of Pascal; and of His Niece, Margaret Perier.* Edition Faugère. This work, together with the *Collection of Documents to Serve for a History of Port-Royal*, Utrecht, 1740, contains nearly all the contemporary and authentic documents which are necessary for a thorough study of the life and character of Pascal. The best edition of his scientific and polemical works is that of Bossut, Paris, 1779. Of all the works written in illustration of the life and character of Pascal, the most impartial, comprehensive, and philosophical, is that by Abbé Maynard, *Pascal; His Life and Character, His Writings and His Genius*, Paris, 1850.

(2) The elder Pascal owed his position of Intendant to the delicate and supreme sense of justice which ever distinguished the great Richelieu. When Etienne took up his residence in Paris, nearly all his income was derived from bonds of the Hotel-de-Ville. War and other expenses had caused the government to draw from the funds of the municipality to such an extent, that the bonds afforded a very small revenue to their holders; and one day the cardinal-minister heard that Etienne, in an interview with the chancellor Séguier, had joined many other bondholders in charging him with injustice. Fearing arrest, the imprudent man fled to Auvergne, leaving his young children to the care of Gilberte, their eldest sister. Shortly after his departure it happened that Mme. d' Aiguillon, the cardinal's niece, having designed to produce a play of Scudéry for the amusement of his Eminence, who devoted much of his little leisure to the drama, one of the principal parts was assigned to the young Jacqueline Pascal, who had quite a reputation as an artist and poet. Richelieu was so pleased with the talent and grace of the girl, that she ventured to beg for her father's restoration to favor. The request was granted, and when Etienne presented himself to thank Richelieu, the prelate said: "Take good care of your children; for I want to make something great of them." Etienne soon received his appointment, and two years afterward the cardinal died, before he could aid in contributing to a celebrity which he had probably divined.

matters, as submissive as that of a child" (1). And in the *Collection of Utrecht* we read: "The more the brother and sister (Jacqueline) advanced in years, the more their innocence became remarkable—that innocence which befits good people of the world, but with which one is far from God, when he loves amusements which are not according to the spirit of God." The reader will perceive in this passage the Jansenistic rigidism which was unknown to Gilberte, Blaise, and Jacqueline, in their happy days of youth; but what the writer would have termed genuine piety entered into the hearts of all the Pascals when Blaise experienced his "first conversion," that is, the exchange of pure and simple Christianity for Jansenistic exaggeration.

In January, 1646, the elder Pascal fell on some ice, and broke a rib. Two amateur surgeons, the Bailleurs brothers, were summoned to his couch. Both these gentlemen had long followed the spiritual direction of Guillebert, the pastor of Rouville, who had been a disciple of that luminary of Jansenism, Saint-Cyran, of whom we have given many characteristic traits in our chapter on the subtle heresy. "While they tried to heal the body of M. Pascal, they became the physicians of his soul" (2), that is, they read to the patient and his family the works of Jansenius, Arnauld, Saint-Cyran, and other partisans of the new doctrines. Of all the family the first to be affected with the poison was Blaise; as his sister expresses the idea: "God so enlightened him by these readings, that he perfectly realized that the Christian religion obliges us to live for God alone, to have no object but Him. This truth appeared to him so evident, so useful and necessary, that thenceforth he renounced all other studies in order to devote himself to that one thing which Jesus Christ termed necessary" (3). In this passage Jacqueline exaggerates not a little; for while it is true that her brother did finally renounce all study except that of the things of God, and thereby was enabled to produce the *Thoughts*, his greatest work, nevertheless in the meantime he applied himself to science "as an amusement," or as a palliative for his phys-

(1) *Letters, Treatises, etc.*, p. 10.

(2) BESOIGNE; *History of the Abbey of Port-Royal*, vol. iv., p. 443; Cologne, 1756.

(3) *Letters, etc.*, p. 8.

ical sufferings. Had he continued to devote himself to science, would Pascal have attained, asks Maynard, to that place in its annals which he occupies in those of philosophy and literature; "would he now sit at the side of Newton, just as he is enthroned at the side of Bossuet?" (1) One of the first acts of Pascal, after his submission to the spiritual direction of the Jansenist, Guillebert, was to induce Jacqueline to renounce the world in spirit, thus preparing her for an eventual entrance into the conventual life; and very soon Etienne and the elder sister, Mme. Perier, entrusted the care of their souls to the same Guillebert. The great and final conversion of Pascal, as he and his family styled it, occurred in 1654. During the previous three years, paralysis had seized on his legs, and he could not walk without the aid of crutches. He could drink nothing cold, and it was only drop by drop that he was able to drink at all. His headaches were nearly insupportable; and an internal fire seemed to devour him (2). His physicians prescribed travel for distraction; and in the autumn of 1649 he left Rouen for Paris, accompanied by Jacqueline. The brother and sister settled permanently in the great city; and their principal devotions were generally performed in the church of Port-Royal de Paris, whither they preferably went in order to profit by the sermons of Singlin. The famous preacher soon convinced Jacqueline that she was called to the life of a religious; and successive conferences with him led her to desire admission among the daughters of Mother Angélique. In due time the veil was taken, and thenceforth Jacqueline, in innumerable letters and in every interview with her brother in the parlor of the convent, overwhelmed him with arguments to the effect that he should abandon the idea of marriage, and also all the legitimate pleasures of the world which her Jansenistic rigidism denounced as infallible harbingers of eternal damnation. The sisterly concern of the young religious gave to her reasonings an eloquence greater than that of Singlin; she conquered, and Pascal sought refuge among the solitaries of Port-Royal-des-Champs, taking for his director, at

(1) *Ubi supra*, pt. I., § 2.

(2) Mme. Perier, in the *Letters, etc.*, p. 15—*Collection of Utrecht*, p. 253.

the instance of Singlin, the famous Sacy, "who was of very good blood" (1). At the time of his "second conversion," Pascal was in his thirty-second year; and although he soon left the Champs for Port-Royal of Paris, and afterward resumed his residence in the world, the remainder of his life was one continued act of renunciation of every superfluity. He realized fully that his genius was extraordinary, and he knew that his written words were entrancingly eloquent; therefore he endeavored to subdue all emotions of pride by physical penance. Next to his skin he always wore a cincture, armed with sharp points of iron, and frequently he would increase its power of inflicting pain by pressing his elbows against his sides. His resignation was sublime, his prayer continual. His kindness to the poor was truly Christian; and sick though he constantly was, he found it painful to reflect that there were thousands of more unfortunate persons whose sufferings could not be assuaged as his were, thanks to the sisterly devotion of Mme. Perier. When he felt that his end was near, he besought this tender nurse to have him conveyed to the Hospital of the Incurables, so that, since he could not alleviate the pains of its inmates, he might at least die in their company (2). There was found among the *Fragments* of Pascal a page without title, but which Faugère, and not without reason, styled a Profession of Faith. From among its sublime passages we extract the following, as manifesting virtues which, we trust, were acceptable to God, as cherished by a heart which perhaps was not mortally wounded by the heresy in which circumstances involved a perplexed brain. "I love poverty, because Jesus Christ loved it. I love the goods of the world, because they enable one to succor the unfortunate. I am faithful to every person. I do not do evil to those who have harmed me; but I desire for them a condition like my own—one in which

(1) Such is the naïve observation of Jacqueline (*Letters*, p. 362), probably induced by her idolatry of everything Arnauldist. Sacy was a nephew of Anthony Arnauld; and the daughters of Mother Angélique were all taught to worship "the eloquent family."

(2) If we are to believe Mme. de Genl's, the poor, wrecked body of Pascal was not allowed to rest even in the tomb. She narrates that when the Regent d'Orléans needed, one day, a human skeleton for some alchemical indagation, he sent to Saint-Etienne-du-Mont for one. The one brought to him was that of Pascal. MICHELET: *History of the Revolution*, vol. 4., p. 77. Paris, 1847.

neither good nor evil comes from men. I try to be just, sincere, and faithful to all, and I cherish tenderness for those whom God has united to me in close relationship. Whether I am alone or in the presence of men, I perform all my actions knowing that they are seen by that God who will judge them, and to whom I have dedicated them. Behold my sentiments! I thank my Redeemer, every day of my life, for having placed them in my heart; and for having changed a man full of weakness and concupiscence into one exempt from these evils, by means of His grace, to which all the glory of the change is due, since of myself I was naught but misery and error" (1).

There may be some doubt as to the persistency of the Jansenistic sentiments of Pascal, when one reads the following words, taken from a letter to Mlle. de Roannez, written in the early days of 1656. "Without its head the body can live no more than the head can without the body. I do not know that any members of the Church are more attached than we are to this unity of the body of the Church. (How well they showed their attachment!) We know that all the virtues, martyrdom, austerity, and every kind of good works, are useless when one is outside of the Church, and not in communion with the Pope, the head of the Church. I shall never separate myself from this communion; at least I pray God to give me this grace, without which I shall be lost forever" (2). Even in his seventeenth *Provincial Letter* he had said: "Thanks be to God I have no attachment on earth other than to the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Roman Church, in which I wish to live and to die; that is, in communion with the Pope, the supreme head of the Church, outside of which, as I am fully convinced, there is no salvation." But the words of the dying Pascal to Beurrier cause us to tremble at the thought that this grand genius may have written his own condemnation, when he declared: "*All the virtues, martyrdom, austerity, and every kind of good works, are useless when one is not in communion with the Pope, the head of the Church.*" Beurrier, pastor of the church of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, assisted at the deathbed of Pascal; and

(1) *Thoughts, Fragments, etc.*, vol. i., p. 243.(2) *Ibid.*, p. 36.

having heard from his penitent certain allusions to his dissensions with Arnauld and Nicole as to the question of "respectful silence" (1), he interpreted those incomplete remarks as indicative of a retraction of Pascal's Jansenism. How the good pastor could have come to this conclusion, in face of his penitent's defence of the *Provincial Letters*, is inexplicable. Pascal declared to Beurrier: "I can assure you, now that I am on the point of rendering to God an account of all my actions, that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that I had no evil motive in the composition of that work, having written it solely for the glory of God, and in defence of the truth, *being impelled by no passion against the Jesuits.*" The reader shall soon judge of the sincerity of this last protestation; and he will probably suspect, if he hesitates to give the lie to a dying man, that Pascal was as much a victim of hallucination as were any of the confiding religious of Port-Royal. Pascal died in 1663; and two years afterward Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, sent for Beurrier, and asked him whether it was not true that the celebrated author of the *Provincial Letters* had died without the rites of the Church. "It is not true," replied the *curé*, "I myself administered the last Sacraments to him." Then the prelate asked whether Beurrier had not known that Pascal was a Jansenist; whereupon the priest declared that the dying man had charged Arnauld and his followers with "going too far in the matter of grace, and with failing in submission to the Holy See." When, about a year afterward, the Jesuit apologist, Canard (called Annat), mentioned this assertion of Beurrier in one of his writings against Arnauld and Nicole, the family of Pascal, ever persistent in their Jansenism, joined the leaders of the sect in producing innumerable vindications of the purity of their relative's Jansenism. Mme. Perier headed this movement, and in the course of her labors she wrote to Beurrier: "I humbly beseech you to kindly search your memory for all the words which my brother uttered to you. Then you will see that although his expressions may have seemed to warrant your conclusion that those gentlemen (Arnauld, Nicole, Saint-Marthe, etc.) had gone too far in the

(1) See our Chap. 4, p. 101.

matter of grace ; nevertheless, he really wished to convey the contrary idea, simply saying, as he did, that they were then not so far advanced in their opinions as they had been " (1). The *curé* of convenient memory complied with the request, found that he had erred, and there the matter remained, and still remains.

Now for a few words on Pascal as a scientist. He shares with Fermat the honor of having invented the calculation of probabilities ; but his proceedings in the matter were independent of those of Fermat. To Pascal the theory of curves owes much ; and his labors on the cycloid enabled the Netherlander, Huygens, the precursor of Newton, to measure the oscillations of the pendulum. The great Laplace, the father of modern astronomy, ranked Pascal as one of the eleven consummate geometricians whom the world had produced. As a physicist, Pascal merits a place at the side of Galileo and Torricelli. But Pascal abandoned science when he found that faith opened up horizons far too vast for science to contemplate. In the *Logic* of Port-Royal, he says : " Men use their reason in order to master the sciences ; but on the contrary, they ought to make use of the sciences for the improvement of their reason. . . . Men are not born to spend their time in measuring lines, in examining the relations of angles, in considering the various movements of matter. Their minds are too grand, their lives too short, their time too precious, to be devoted to such trivialities ; but they are obliged to be just, equitable, judicious in their speech, in all their actions, and in all the affairs which they handle. To this end they should exercise and form themselves." Although, in one of his early enthusiasms for science, he had instituted a parallel between Christ and Archimedes (2), he afterward wrote at the head of one of his *Thoughts*, the Biblical phrase, " Vanity of Vanities " ; and then he moralized : " A knowledge of external things will not console me in time of affliction, if I am ignorant of the principles of morality ; but the science of morals will always compensate for an ignorance of external matters. I passed much time in the study of abstract science, and I was disgusted with its want of communicability. When

(1) *Letters, etc.*, p. 90.(2) *Works*, vol. ii., p. 330. Edit. Bossut.

I began the study of man, I soon discovered that those abstract sciences are not fitting for him, and that I injured my condition more by acquiring them than other men injure theirs by ignoring them. I have pardoned those who know little about them " (1). This contempt for science had been derived from Sacy, whose spirit was the perfection of that of Jansenius and of Saint-Cyran. Fontaine tells us that when Pascal abandoned himself to the direction of Singlin, that presumed prudent connoisseur of souls sent his penitent to Port-Royal, "so that Arnauld might put on him the yoke of science, and Sacy teach him to despise it" (2). It was after some conferences with Sacy that Pascal decided to write "against those who delve too deeply into science" (3). Science had been for Pascal "an instrument for the improvement of his reason"; and after his experience of its comparative inability to satisfy his aspirations, he used it only as "a trial of his strength," putting forth the fulness of that strength only when more noble tasks demanded his attention. But, as Villemain observes (4), the scientific studies of Pascal were of great profit to his eloquence. From those studies he derived the precision, lucidity, and vigor which are characteristics of his style. Our age would profit, remarks Maynard, by a sincere study of the style of Pascal, in whom art and nature seemed to have met in perfect unity. "Not that Pascal is imitable, any more than other writers of genius are imitable; we should copy these men, and think like them, for their style and their thought are the same thing. And now that no other god than art is often recognized, no other inspiration than calculation, no other literary theory than a jugglery of words, could anything be more healthy than a study of the grand *naturel* who was so strange to all affectation, and to all the tricks of a vain rhetoric?" (5)

From Voltaire and Condorcet down to Cousin, many publicists have charged Pascal with skepticism, fanaticism, and superstition. That he was a fanatic, though in a sense not meant by his accusers, may be admitted. That he was superstitious has never been proved; the sole instance of credulity

(1) *Thoughts, etc.*, vol. i., p. 198.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 55.

(3) *Thoughts, etc.*, vol. i., p. 235.

(4) *Essay on Pascal.*

(5) *Loc. cit.*, pt. ii., ch. 4, art. 4.

on his part is that of his belief in the alleged miracle of the Holy Thorn—and such a belief is not necessarily included in the domain of superstition. A brief account of this episode of the Holy Thorn will not prove without interest, and it will serve as an illustration of that vivid faith of Pascal which certain philosophists would fain discredit. Pascal had just entered upon his bitter warfare against the Jesuits by the publication of his first *Provincial Letter*, when an extraordinary occurrence seemed to indicate to his inflamed imagination that Heaven approved of his polemics. Margaret Perier, his niece, then twelve years of age, and a pupil of the nuns of Port-Royal, had been afflicted with a lachrymal fistula in the left eye for more than three years. The nasal bones had become so diseased, that the least pressure caused a fetid matter to exude from nostrils, eye, and mouth; and the stench was so great that the poor child had to be isolated for most of the time. The disease yielded to no treatment, and the physicians had resolved to operate by fire during the coming spring (1656). Now it happened that on March 24 a priest named La Potherie sent to Port-Royal an authenticated relic of one of the sacred thorns of the venerated crown of Jesus. The entire community assembled in the church to pray before the Holy Thorn, and among them was the little niece of Pascal. Sister Flavia, in whose special care the afflicted child had been placed, happening to cast her eye on the sufferer, was moved to apply the relic on the diseased organs. That same evening, when the good Sister was surrounded by her charges, the little Marguerite suddenly exclaimed: "Sister, my eye is cured!" An examination was made, and indeed there appeared no trace of the late malady. Mother Agnes, a sister of Angélique, was informed, and by degrees the news of the prodigy spread throughout Paris. On March 31, Dalencé, the physician who had attended Marguerite, examined the lately diseased parts, and pronounced the cure a miracle. Other physicians did the same; and the Periers and Pascals united in founding, in memory of the prodigy, a perpetual Mass which was chanted down to the time of the Revolution, when Port-Royal disappeared. When Pascal decided that this event was a miracle, he was not as prudent as are the Roman authorities in

similar cases. There was no certainty that the cure of his niece had not been a purely natural affair. Dalencé testified that he had not seen the patient for two months before the presumed miracle. Might not nature have been working the cure in that interval? Pope Benedict XIII. opined, as a private individual, in favor of the miracle; but the Sacred Congregation of Rites has never accepted as conclusive such evidence as the Jansenists adduced in the present instance. The frivolous travesties of ratiocination generally presented by the giants of agnostic criticism cannot withstand the shock of the evidence which leads the Roman Congregation of Rites to proclaim the miraculous nature of a given occurrence. When Joseph II., the philosophistic German emperor and "sacristy-sweep," visited the Eternal City during the Conclave of 1769, which resulted in the election of Pope Clement XIV., he had resolved, like a true philosopher, to ridicule everything papal; and, among other enterprises, he sought to belittle the precautions taken by the Sacred Congregation in cases of canonization. Having requested to be allowed to examine some evidence regarding an alleged miracle then being considered by the tribunal, he obtained it; took it home and subjected it to a hypercritically thorough investigation. The result was not what the pupil of Kaunitz had fondly anticipated; and he was constrained to remark, when returning the documents, that if all the testimony favoring the truth of "Roman miracles" were as conclusive as that which he had just weighed in his rationalistic balance, no sane jurist would reject it. Judge of the imperial consternation when he learned that the Congregation of Rites had rejected as insufficient the evidence which he had deemed satisfactory. We do not know whether Joseph II. again feigned to condemn Roman views of the miraculous; but we do know that if our contemporaries of the pretendedly scientific school of historical criticism were to peruse the documents just mentioned, they would simply resort to ridicule. With the rank and file of men, ridicule succeeds where reason would fail. Few men are capable of sustaining the painful march of argumentation; and still smaller is the number of those who are above being influenced by a brilliant display of wit. Even educated and thinking

persons not unfrequently succumb to raillery, and prefer vivacity to truth.

Let us now consider the charge of skepticism, as brought most forcibly against Pascal by no less an authority than Cousin. According to the great eclectic, the melancholy temperament of Pascal led him to the very brink of the gulf of universal doubt; his sole means of avoiding the fatal plunge was the asylum afforded by a voluntarily blind faith. But this blind and unreasoning faith, says Cousin, rendered the piety of Pascal ferocious; and its persistent struggle with the ever-combative spirit of doubt shed a sombre and uncertain tint over all of Pascal's philosophy. "His religion," continues Cousin, "is not the Christianity of Arnould, Malebranche, Fénelon, and Bossuet—a solid and sweet fruit of an alliance between reason and the heart in a wisely cultivated soul; it is a bitter fruit, ripened in the desolate region of doubt, under the burning breath of despair. Pascal wished to believe, and he did everything which was necessary to be done in order that he might finally believe. . . . Pascal ended by believing; but since he did so in spite of his reason, he continued to believe only by doubling his resistance to reason, by constant and painful sacrifices, by the mortification of his flesh, and above all, by the mortification of his mind. His faith was that unquiet and unhappy faith which he tried to communicate to his fellows. He did not design to address himself to reason, unless to humiliate and crush it. He spoke to the heart in order to frighten and charm it at the same time; he spoke to the will in order to affect it by all its determining motives, truth alone excepted. Such an apology for Christianity would have been a peculiar monument, one with skepticism for its vestibule, and for its sanctuary a faith both sombre and not sure of itself" (1). In this and similar passages Cousin travesties the condition of Pascal; making him a seeker after religion, whereas he had always been a believing Christian. And Cousin himself, in the preface to the very work in which this passage is found, makes this admission: "I have not said that Pascal was a skeptic in religion. Such an assertion would be too much of an absurdity. Pascal

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 163.

believed in Christianity with all the powers of his soul . . . Pascal was a skeptic in philosophy, and not in religion." Pascal believed in Christianity "with all the powers of his soul"; and nevertheless, "he did so in spite of his reason, and by redoubling his resistance to reason"? How can these two assertions be reconciled? But ought Pascal be termed a skeptic because, like Descartes, he made use of the "philosophical doubt"? The species of skepticism which Pascal used, but only for the nonce, was a means, not an object. So soon as he had used it, he destroyed it (1). Through doubt Descartes wished to arrive at that philosophical truth which would give to him religious truth; also through doubt Pascal wished to arrive at that religious truth which would give to him the philosophical. Each wished to pull down in order to build on a more secure foundation. They differed inasmuch as Descartes left the atheist to condemn himself by the voice of his own reason; Pascal shows the incredulist that reason, be it ever so mighty, helps him but little when unaided by revelation. Pascal did not declare all philosophy impossible, but insufficient. The rationalist asserts that reason is all-powerful; Pascal says that reason can take the first steps, not the last ones. There certainly are some isolated passages in the *Thoughts* which, at first acquaintance, seem redolent of skepticism; but, asks Maynard, ought we destroy an edifice because we know not where to re-locate a few fallen bricks? Cousin himself says: "There is a little of everything in these various notes which are styled *Thoughts*: and we ought to consider the general and dominating spirit, not such or such a passage, taken independently of the rest" (2). But in what period of the life of Pascal shall we seek for traces of that skepticism which Cousin finds in the depths of that grand soul? Certainly there is no such trace before 1649, and the three years before 1649 were spent in the fervor of the "first conversion." It was then that Pascal was so little of a skeptic that he all but thrust his dearest sister into a convent, and all but quarrelled with his father for opposing the project; it was then that he wrote the most sublimely

(1) BORDAS-DUMOULIN; *Eulogy on Pascal*.

(2) In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Dec. 15, 1844.

Christian letters he ever penned (1). Sainte-Beuve discovers traces of the troublesome doubt in the period 1649-1654, embracing the years between the first and the "grand conversion"; when, as he avers, Pascal had begun to dissipate, "in every way." This is mere assertion, and Sainte-Beuve does not attempt to support it with a grain of proof; therefore we are prepared to accept the admission of the great critic that "*perhaps* Pascal never doubted more than when he believed most." But granting that the faith of Pascal did sometimes suffer from the onslaughts of the demon of incredulity, has not that been the fate of nearly every adult Christian, and especially of nearly every person of genius, who really or fanciedly perceives the *pro* and the *contra* of every mystery?

The fifth decade of the nineteenth century saw a notable addition to the already numerous *Pascaliana*. Nearly every name in literary France seemed to be connected, in one way or another, with that of Pascal. It was the ambition of all to present some new view of his character and genius; and happy was he who fancied that he had discovered some secret passage in the life of one of the most remarkable of Frenchmen. While this mania was at its height, in 1843, Cousin published (2) a just discovered fragment which seemed destined to astound the admirers of Pascal. Like all who claim to have snatched a work from oblivion, Cousin proceeded to vaunt the value of his discovery, which was nothing less than a *Discourse on the Passions of Love*, presumed by the pen of Pascal, and found among the MSS. of Saint-Germain-Gèvres. The salaciously inclined could not but perceive a promise of something, on the part of the hitherto supposed immaculate of Port-Royal, which would rival the similarly-entitled work of Ovid; and Cousin was careful to excite the curiosity of his public. He was obliged to admit that "the precepts of the art of loving, as given in this singular work, are very different from those of Ovid"; but he led men to believe that they were about to have a glimpse at Pascal, not merely a declaimer on love in the abstract, but a lover in the concrete. "In more than one passage I discern the

(1) *Thoughts, Letters, etc.*, vol. i., p. 1-17.

(2) In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 15, 1843.

throbs of a still troubled heart; and in the chaste and tender emotion with which the author depicts the charms of what he terms a deep friendship, I think that I hear the secret echo and the involuntary revelation of an affection which Pascal entertained for a lady of the *grand monde*. One does not thus speak of so intimate a sentiment, when he has not cherished it in his heart" (1). Certainly we may suppose that if Pascal was the author of this *Discourse*, he probably depicted the emotions of his own heart; for we know that he never wrote for the sake of writing, but only when under the empire of a personal sentiment. But did Pascal write this essay? It should not be compared, for an instant, to the lubricious verses which the pagan Ovid addressed to the courtesans and debauched matrons of ancient Rome; but we would feel a something akin to pain, were we obliged to regard this code of gallantry, laid at the feet of the brilliant ladies of the court of the grand monarch, as having come from the pen which produced the *Thoughts*. Cousin affects to think that because the *Discourse* was found in a Benedictine monastery, those monks, "allied to Port-Royal," must have regarded the essay as authentic. This argument is unworthy of a school-girl. But perhaps the real mind of the Benedictines in this matter may be discerned in the fact that in the volume discovered by Cousin was read, immediately after the title, "*It is attributed to M. Pascal.*" Again, if Pascal wrote this discourse, it is very strange that it is never mentioned by Mme. Perier, or by Marguerite Perier, or by Jacqueline, all of whom dilated on their great relative's productions, in season and out of season; and that no writer of Port-Royal ever heard of it. Finally, no person who has read the undoubted works of Pascal, can recognize the mind of their author in such sentiments as these: "That life is happy which begins with love, and ends with ambition. If I could choose, I would ask for such a life. . . . Who can doubt that we are in this world for nothing else than love? . . . Man is born for pleasure; he feels that it is so, and he wants no other proof. Therefore he yields to his reason, when he gives himself up to pleasure."

Nicole had reason to say, in his later days: "The great heresy of the world is no longer Calvinism or Lutheranism, but atheism"; and probably no man did so much to prepare the triumph of atheism as the great pupil of Nicole, Blaise Pascal. We have heard the dying author of the *Provincial Letters* protesting that sincerity had prompted their composition; and now we must examine their nature and their consequences. Voltaire says: "They are based on false foundations. The fact is evident; but truth was not their object, so much as the amusement of the public." True; but this "amusement" was designed as a vehicle by which to convey a poison which was to be disastrous. The Protestant Schöll terms the book: "A partisan work in which bad faith attributed to the Jesuits suspected opinions which, for some time past, they themselves had condemned." When such are the judgments which many freethinkers and Protestants have been constrained to pronounce on the *Letters*, it is not strange that De Maistre should style them "immortal lies"; and that De Bonald should brand their author as "a sublime forger." Great is the contrast between these opinions and those which the reader must have formed, after following us in our brief sketch of the career of Pascal. But it must be remembered that the tribe of Arnauld had ruined the sincere nature which had entrusted itself to their guidance; Pascal was not an erudite, and the researches necessary for his task were prepared by falsifiers for him to mould into shape. Pascal ingenuously admits that of all the authors whose opinions he stigmatizes, Escobar alone was read by him. The *Provincial Letters* form a masterpiece; but, as Mme. de Grignan remarked, "one constantly finds in them a Jesuit fool pronouncing absurdities" (1); and the worst enemies of the sons of Loyola have

(1) Justice demands that we record that Mme. de Sévigné, the *spirituelle* mother of Mme. de Grignan, endeavored to convince her daughter of the solidity of Pascal's argumentation. Under date of Dec. 21, 1689, she writes: "Very often, for amusement's sake, we read the *Petites Lettres*. What charm! And how my son does read them! Then I think of my daughter, and how that *excess of exact reasoning* would be worthy of her; but your brother says that you find that it is *always the same thing*. Well, so much the better! Can any style be more perfect, any raillery more incisive, more natural, more delicate, a more worthy child of those dialogues of Plato which are so beautiful? And when, after the ten first letters, he addresses the reverend fathers (of the Society), what seriousness, what solidity, what strength, what eloquence, what love of God and of truth, what a way of defend-

never accused them of developing or producing fools. With all their incontestable literary merit, well observes De Maistre, "if the *Provincial Letters* had been written against the Capuchins, they would have ceased, long ago, to attract attention."

The Duc de Liancourt held intimate relations with Port-Royal; and when he went to confession, one day, to a Sulpician priest named Picoté, and hesitated to promise a cessation of those relations, the confessor told him to return, in a day or two, for definite advice. Instead of returning, the duke spread the report that the priests of Saint-Sulpice had refused him absolution; and he even induced St. Vincent de Paul to confer on the subject with Olier, Bretonvilliers, and other Sulpician clergymen. The result of this consultation was a reference of the case of conscience to the Sorbonne; and many of the Faculty opined that while the confessor did well in refusing absolution in the premises, nevertheless he could not refuse the Eucharist to the duke if he should kneel at the Communion rail in the presence of third parties, since to do so would be a manifestation of the secret judgment delivered in the tribunal of penance (1). Here was a fine occasion for Arnauld to resume the debates interdicted by the Constitution of Innocent X.; and he issued his *Second Letter to a Duke and Peer*. Two propositions were extracted from this document, brought to the notice of the Sorbonne, and in spite of the endeavors of Saint-Amour and sixty-two Port-Royalist doctors, censured by 127 out of 130 members. While the Faculty were considering the pamphlet of Arnauld, the partisans of this agitator were urging him to write another *brochure*. Ever ready to augment the glory of "the grand family," the patriarch produced another defense of his position; but when it was read in Port-Royal, no acclamations attested its value as a polemic. Then the disappointed leader turned to Pascal, and asked the "*jeune et curieux*" to undertake the task. In a few days the first of the *Provincial Letters* appeared, and Arnauld cried: "That is excellent; it will take; it must be printed" (2).

ing truth and making it known! All this is found in the eight last letters, which have a very different tone; and I am sure that you have only skipped *over them*, picking out the pleasant passages." See also the letter of Jan. 8, 1690.

(1) FAULCON: *Life of M. Olier*, vol. ii., p. 170.

(2) This account of the birth of the first *Provincial Letter* is taken from the narrative of M. de La Motte, *Le Duc de Liancourt*, etc., p. 460.

Printed it was, and its success was marvellous. A letter from Mlle. de Scudéry, an ornament of the Hotel de Rambouillet, and "the tenth Muse" of the seventeenth century, will show how the curious production was received in the "grand world." "Your letter is thoroughly ingenious and very well written. It narrates without narrating; it sheds light on the most obscure matters in the world; its raillery is delicate; it instructs those who do not understand certain things, while it doubles the pleasure of those who already know all about them; it is, in fine, an excellent *apologie*, or if you wish, a delicate and innocent censure. And there is so much art, so much spirit, so much judgment in this letter, that I would very much like to know who wrote it" (1). Praise from Sir Hubert is praise indeed; and when Mlle. de Scudéry appreciated the first *Provincial* so highly, we are curious to know her opinion of the *Thoughts*, an immeasurably finer work. Very soon all Paris, and ere long all France, was deafened with the chatter of women, as well as with the bawlings of men, all prating or howling about "the proximate power" and the "sufficient grace which does not suffice"—"things," said Mazarin, "which they understand about as well as I do." Intensely interesting to the crowd, rather because of their charming irony and their wealth of calumny, than because of their unchallenged literary beauties, the *Letters* became an arsenal of weapons for those freethinkers who scorned to declare themselves Protestants, but affected to ridicule everything Catholic. Never, perhaps, had the demon of irony been so effectively unchained for an onslaught against holy things; "the Jesuits," well said Lherminier, "apparently received the blows; but with them religion was also struck. Pascal had prepared the way; Voltaire might now come." In fact, Pascal lied and calumniated, in these *Letters*, nearly as brazenly as the Sage of Ferney himself,

(1) The first *Letter* appeared as the production of a certain Louis of Montalto, addressed to a friend in the provinces; and when all the *Letters* had been written, they were collected under the title: *Letters Written by Louis of Montalto to a Provincial Friend and to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers Concerning the Moral and Political Teachings of Those Fathers*. Written originally in French, they were immediately translated into Latin by Nicole, who adopted for the nonce the pen-name of Wendrock. Nicole added some very virulent notes, in which he attacked many Jesuits personally, and with an unjustifiable bitterness as wonderful as the lies which he concocted.

whatever may have been his inward "piety." Everywhere he misinterprets, and often he changes the words of the writers whose sayings he attacks; sometimes he mutilates a passage, and again he adds to one, according as his views demand; frequently he suppresses words which precede or follow those which he quotes, whereas the suppressed passages would give the real meaning of the author. We shall give one or two instances of this method of controversy as perfected by Pascal, and which Protestant polemics frequently adopt in our own day. In the sixth *Letter*, we are introduced to a travesty of part of the fourth chapter of the treatise on *Alms* by the Jesuit, Vasquez. From this chapter Pascal pretends to draw the conclusion that according to the casuists (1) of the Society of Jesus, wealthy persons, especially sovereigns, are not obliged to give alms to the poor, simply because they never have any *superfluous* revenue. If the context of Vasquez is examined, it will be seen that instead of being a "laxist" in this matter, he is really somewhat of a "rigidist"; for he decides that laics and ecclesiastics are bound to succor the needy out of their superfluities, and sometimes even out of what is *necessary* in their respective states of life. Pascal takes good care to hide the fact that Vasquez is lamenting the blindness of those rich persons who, in their own estimation, never have a sufficiency of worldly gear, and who consequently, again in their own estimation, have no superfluous revenue from which they can derive alms for the needy. A grosser calumny than this against Vasquez is uttered in the sixth *Letter*, where the Jesuit Bauni is accused of teaching that a confessor must not refuse absolution to a person who remains in a proximate occasion of sin, if the penitent declares that it would be *in-*

(1) A casuist is a theologian who teaches religious morality, as developed in the solution of cases of conscience. Traces of casuistry are found in the *Acts* of the Apostles, in the *Epistles* of St. Paul, and especially in the *Letters* of St. Cyprian, who decides many questions of conscience submitted to him. The ancient penitential system was the source of ancient casuistry: and when that system disappeared, casuistry assumed a more scientific form, firstly, in the *Penitential Books*, and secondly, in the *Casuistical Summary* of St. Raymond of Penafort (13th Cent.). Casuistic discussions were interrupted by the more radical polemics necessitated by the Reformation; but toward the end of the sixteenth century, they were resumed with great ardor by the new Society of Jesus, the members of which made of casuistry one of the most fruitful branches of theological science. The doctrine of *probableism*, energetically propagated by the Jesuits, gave rise to vivid discussions, the foes of the Society accusing it of substituting a lax morality for the severe spirit of the primitive Church. Hence the combat, a phase of which we are now describing.

convenient to abandon that occasion. Bauni expressly states that absolution can be accorded, only when the occasion of sin is *not proximate or evil in itself*.

We have said that the zealots of Port-Royal supplied to Pascal the theological erudition which was necessary for the production of a work like the *Provincial Letters*; but the reader must not suppose that the Port-Royalists originated the many calumnies concerning the Jesuits and their doctrine with which the *Letters* abound. Nearly all these absurdities had been uttered by Calvin in his diatribe entitled, *The Moral Theology of the Papists*; and in 1632 the Calvinist minister, Dumoulin, had added some in his *Catalogue or Enumeration of Roman Traditions*. In 1644 this last work had reappeared under the title of *The Moral Theology of the Jesuits*, with some unimportant changes which were attributed to Arnauld; and it had been refuted by the Jesuit, Caussin, in his *Answer to the Moral Theology, etc.*, as well as by another Jesuit, Lemoine, in his *Apologetic Manifest*. When Pascal had given a charming literary dressing to all the calumnies and many of the ravings of these works, the Jesuits found it an easy task to demonstrate the Protestant origin of them all (1). It is not within the scope of our work to enter on a review of the *Provincial Letters*, great though be the temptation. Their falsehoods have been refuted scores of times by masters in the science of criticism (2). Sometimes these calumnies have been sustained by the authority

(1) See the *Replies to the Provincial Letters, Published by the Secretary of Port-Royal against the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, on the Subject of the Moral Teachings of the Jesuits*; Liège, 1658. During the twenty-five years beginning with 1669 there appeared, from time to time, instalments of the *Practical Morality of the Jesuits*, an encyclopedia of lies in eight volumes, written under the direction of Arnauld, who died while engaged in the melancholy task. Arnauld borrowed most of his charges from Protestant sources, and from the *Jesuitical Theatre*, a Spanish production (now very rare), which had been condemned by Philip IV., by the Spanish Inquisition, and by the Holy See. In order to give value to the calumnies of the *Theatre*, Arnauld attributed it, with sublime effrontery, to Hildephonsus de Sancto Thoma, afterward bishop of Malaga. The prelate proved to the satisfaction of Pope Innocent XI. that he was not, and could not be, the author; but nevertheless, Arnauld, Pascal, and all the Port-Royalists repeated the calumny. Probably Pascal thought that he was justified in following, for the good of Port-Royal, the presumed Jesuitical principle that the end justifies the means. At this time the Jansenist leaders also availed themselves of the diatribes written by certain ex-Jesuit apostates, notably the work of Larrige, published in 1647, and entitled, *The Jesuits Sent to the Scaffold for Many Capital Crimes*. It is due to Larrige to record that he retracted, and died repentant.

(2) The cited work of Maynard is especially valuable for its detailed analysis of the *Letters*.

of a great name; for the intrigues of the progeny of Jan-senius were always manifold, and often they would have brought the blush of shame to the cheek of a Machiavelli. Once these gentry succeeded in sheltering themselves in the folds of the cardinalitial scarlet; whereupon the angelic Fénelon administered a stinging rebuke to his blinded Eminence: "Nothing can so defame a religious organization as to charge it, in the face of all Christendom, with teaching false doctrine, with insubordination toward episcopal authority, and with a desire to be the masters and the judges of the bishops. The heavier a charge is, the more conclusive ought to be the evidence supporting it. The cardinal must prove the truth of the alleged facts, or he will be branded as an arrant slanderer. If he merely continues in a course of vague complaints and declamations, he will act in the ordinary fashion of rabid authors of defamatory libels" (1).

A gentle but powerful soul thus apostrophized the author of the *Provincial Letters*: "Pascal, your genius committed a great crime—that of forming an alliance between falsehood and the language of the frank (*sic*) people, which is perhaps indestructible. You gave stability to the dictionary of calumny; it still forms the rule" (2). Pleasantry and sarcasm, when handled by genius, are probably the most powerful weapons in a warfare of polemics; and Pascal was the first to discern their value in religious debates. Pascal has been styled the Boileau of casuistry and of bad theological taste; but Boileau did not attack the good as well as the bad. Pascal apparently attacked the moral system of the Jesuits alone; and in reality he attacked the moral teachings of the Church, just as Molière afterward, though unintentionally, brought all piety into disrepute by his lashings of hypocrisy. "The *Provincial Letters* are the *Tartuffe* of the false casuists," remarks Maynard, "just as the *Tartuffe* was the *Provincial Letters* of the false devotees. In both cases the thrusts appeared to be directed against the masks; but they struck the countenance, and penetrated even to the heart. There was

(1) Fénelon's *Memorial to the King* in 1712. . . . Louis-Antoine de Noailles, cardinal-archbishop of Paris, was the subject of this denunciation.

(2) RAVIGNAN; *The Existence and the Institute of the Jesuits*, 5th Edit., p. 36, Paris, 1847.

but one difference between Molière and Pascal. The former, justly suspected of atheism (1), was perfectly aware of the consequences of his words; while the latter, deceived by his prejudices and by his friends, did not perceive the destructiveness of his work. . . . When he was on his deathbed, if Pascal could have foreseen the progress of impiety at the end of the seventeenth century; if he could have heard his calumnious inventions against the Jesuits being used against the Church amid the orgies of the Regency, and throughout the eighteenth century; would he not have regretted his composition of the *Provincial Letters*? . . . Like all the profoundly religious minds of his day, Pascal heard the rumbling of the coming storm; but he did not realize that he had furnished the vapors to the clouds. Incredulism, however, did realize that fact; it perceived that in the persons of the Jesuits, religion was being assailed, and that other hands would soon turn the anti-Jesuit warfare into one against Christianity" (2).

(1) The atheism of Molière, concerning which Maynard is so certain, is at least problematical. The reader will not credit the charge, if he consults Taschereau's *History of the Life and Works of Molière*, Paris, 1844. In the *Monde* (Paris) for 1873 may be found an excellent disquisition on *The Sources of Tartuffe* by the abbé Davin, in which it is proved that the terrible engine of war, the *Tartuffe*, inspired by Louis XIV. himself, was not designed as a weapon against the Jesuits, as the Jansenists and their modern representatives, the anticlericals and freethinkers, would have us believe. On the contrary, it is capable of proof that Molière held up to ridicule, in his masterpiece, the Jansenists themselves. That the Jesuits were the target for the great playwright's raillery, can be believed only by him who knows nothing about the men and events of those days. If such was the mind of Molière, if the men of his time so understood it; would Louis XIV., whose confessor was then a Jesuit, and who had just then given his own name to the principal Jesuit college in Paris, have allowed the comedy to be played and applauded in his presence? Would the comedy have received, on that occasion, the applause of the Papal legate, and of all the bishops then present in Paris—all of them friends of the Jesuits? Would the Jesuits themselves have lauded the comedy? Would the Jesuit Rapin have written to Bussi Rabutin, on Aug. 13, 1672, six months before the death of Molière, congratulating his brethren on having the great author for "one of their friends"? Would the Jesuit, Bouhours, have written the epitaph of Molière? Would Father Vavassor have upbraided the French for not giving to the great corrector of morals a splendid funeral—*Gens ingrata, tuis invade, Galli, bonis*? And would the Jansenists, as Molière tells us, have denounced the play "with frightful fury"? But what more do we need than the testimony of Boileau, the great friend of the Jansenists? Writing to Brossette, he said: "When Molière had composed his *Tartuffe*, he recited the first three acts to the king; and the piece so pleased his Majesty that he praised it so highly as to irritate the foes of Molière, and above all, the devotee cabal. (The identity of these devotees is now shown by the introduction of Péréfixe.) M. de Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, placed himself at their head, and complained about the comedy to the king. His Majesty was frequently troubled in the matter; and finally he told Molière that he had better not play the piece in public, as the devotees were an implacable set." It is certain that Molière lived and died the foe of Jansenism, which was an enemy of the stage; and that in his person, together with those of Corneille and Fenelon, French Puritanism found allied against it the pulpit, comedy, and tragedy.

(2) MAYNARD; *loc. cit.* pt. ii., ch. 2.

No weapon better than the *Provincial Letters* was wielded by that anti-Christian conspiracy of the eighteenth century which originated in the ranks of the Jansenists—a conspiracy which enabled D'Alembert, on May 4, 1762, to write to Voltaire : “ In the expulsion of the Jesuits, the parliaments were the accomplishers of the decrees of supreme justice in favor of philosophy ; for they received their orders from the philosophers, without knowing it. . . . As for me, I now see everything in *couleur de rose* ; and I perceive the Jansenists dying a pleasant death next year, after having put the Jesuits to a violent death this year (1). I see toleration established, the Protestants recalled, the priests all married, confession abolished, and fanaticism crushed—all so easily effected, that the doing of it all will be scarcely perceptible.”

Marguerite Perier, who was sometimes styled the *Egerian* nymph of the Jansenists, persevered in her obstinacy until her death in her eighty-eighth year, in 1733. Almost with her last breath she insisted that the Papal Bull *Unigenitus* was a patent condemnation of the chief articles of the Catholic faith. It is to the loving care of this niece of Pascal that we owe the preservation of many of her uncle's writings ; as well as much valuable information concerning her relatives and the principal Jansenist leaders. One of her letters ends with a passage which would be touching, if we could close our eyes to its sublime effrontery : “ Such were the lives of all the members of my family. I am now alone. They all died, loving the truth indomitably. Like Simon Machabæus, the last of the great brothers, I can say that all of my dearest ones died in the service of God, and in the love of truth. I am alone ; God grant that I may never be wanting in their perseverance ! I beg for this grace with all my heart ” (2). Jacqueline, the youngest sister of Pascal, died in 1661, because of the remorse which afflicted her on account of her signature to the *Formula* prescribed by Pope Alexander VII. She never could agree with her brother and certain other

(1) D'Alembert alludes here to the suppression of eighty Jesuit colleges by the parliament of Paris in April, 1762. The suppression of the entire Society in France did not occur until the following November ; and the Papal Brief suppressing the Society throughout the world was not issued until July 31, 1773.

(2) *Letters, etc.*, p. 438.

Jansenists in the opinion that a "respectful silence" was sufficient in the matter of the condemnation of the Five Propositions. This otherwise gentle Sister Euphemia of Port-Royal demanded inexorable war against the Pontifical decree. She moaned because she "had seen the truth betrayed, and by her brother"; nothing but death was now welcome to her. The "bastard Protestantism" of the Jansenists is proclaimed in few documents with more clearness than in a letter which Jacqueline wrote to Arnauld, lamenting that the *Pastoral* of the Parisian vicars-general (ordering all the clergy and religious to sign the *Formula*) was "not worse than it was, so that she might reject it with perfect freedom." Her courage was too ingrained in her nature, her contempt of duplicity (unless when her Jansenistic interests were at stake) was too pronounced, to allow her to willingly descend to that moral cowardice which the vicars-general encouraged. Speaking of those of her fellow-sectarians who adopted the policy of "respectful silence," she says: "I cannot hide the pain which pierces my heart when I discover unfaithfulness in those to whom alone God has entrusted the deposit of His truth; when I learn that they have not the courage to suffer, even unto death, for its avowal. What should we fear? We may be dispersed; we may see our temporalities confiscated; we may incur imprisonment, or even death. But ought not such things be our glory? You say that they may cut us off from the Church. Who does not know that no one can be cut off from the Church in spite of himself; and that since the spirit of Christ is the tie which binds us members with Him and with each other, it follows that we may indeed be deprived of the marks of union, but that we cannot lose the effects of that union, so long as we preserve charity, without which no one is a living member of the holy body. . . . Shall the faithful, they who know and defend the truth; shall the Catholic Church use disguise, and descend to simulation? It does not become young women to defend the cause of truth; but since our bishops show the courage of girls, let us girls display the courage of bishops." A few days had passed since Jacqueline had signed the *Formula*, when she felt the hand of death upon her. She declared that it was

remorse that was killing her ; she was " the first victim of the signature," and she " wished to know that at least one person became a willing holocaust for truth." Jacqueline was thirty-six years of age when she went to her account on October 4, 1661. Varin asks whether Mothers Angélique and Agnes really believed in Jansenism. Probably the reader will agree with the judicious critic, and apply the saying also to Jacqueline, when he replies : " They suffered for the name of Jansenius ; but they believed only in their family and in God. Who would dare to anathematize them ? Anathema to those who deceived them, perhaps ; anathema to them, never ! " (1).

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY : THE
SEMINARY OF SAINT-SULPICE ; THE SISTERS OF CHARITY ;
AND THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

The historical fact that Jesus never abandons His Spouse, has rarely been evinced in a more striking manner than in the France of the latter part of the sixteenth century, and of the early years of the seventeenth. We have already seen many of the evil effects of the French civil, or as they are generally and inaccurately styled, the " religious wars " which Calvinism brought upon the Land of the Lilies. The worst consequence of these discords was an immense damage to the spirit of faith even among the orthodox, and therefore the generation of a license which became nearly universal. Not even the sanctuary of the Most High was spared from contamination. But there came a change in which the omnipotent hand was manifested. Sanctity reflowered in the cloister ; the court was purified to some extent ; cities were no longer mere dens of iniquity ; and the holy fire was rekindled in the pulpit. In 1603, the Reformed Carmelites, founded by St. Teresa, were introduced into France by Cardinal de Bérulle and Blessed Mary of the Incarnation. In 1610, the Order of the Visitation was founded by St. Francis

(1) *The Truth Concerning the Arminians*, vol. ii., p. 294.

de Sales. In 1611, came that Oratory which was to effect so much for every branch of science, as well as for virtue. Then arose that Reform of the Benedictines known as "Les Feuillants," which gave to liturgical science the Cardinal Bona on whom Don Pasquino exercised a neat play on words (1). The fame and influence of the Lazarists and of the Sisters of Charity, founded by St. Vincent de Paul, are worldwide. Then also originated, in rapid succession, the Ursulines of Madame de Sainte-Beuve, the Daughters of Providence, the Religious of the Perpetual Adoration, and many other glorious organizations. It was during that epoch of reform that the brave Marshal de Joyeuse became a Capuchin; that the Duc de Gondi entered the Oratory; that innumerable other flowers of society were transplanted by the heavenly Gardener into His own preserves. It would certainly interest the student, and profit him much, if we were to descant at length upon all these fruits of a glorious reformation; but the scope of our work warns us to confine our researches to such religious foundations as are of worldwide influence, or whose happy lot it has been to receive, in a pre-eminent degree, the attacks which are a guarantee of the smiles of Heaven upon their members—the unintermittent onslaughts of the foes of "all that is called God." Among the institutions of the former class place must be accorded to the Grand Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, "the praise of which is in all the churches," and which was founded by "a true and intrepid reformer, a great pastor of souls." This apostrophe to the Ven. Abbé Olier by his latest biographer forms an epitome of the mortal career of one of the most saintly and one of the most successfully laborious men of modern times—one whom Bossuet, a good judge of the men with whom he came in contact, and who knew how to choose his words, did not hesitate to term: "A most excellent man, who exhaled the odor of sanctity" (2).

Jean-Jacques Olier de Verneuil was born in Paris on

(1) "*Vana solecismi ne te conturbet imago;
Esset Papa Bonus, si Bona Papa foret.*"

(2) For the few details which we give concerning the life of Olier we are indebted to FAILLON; *Life of Olier*, Paris, 1860, and to LANJURE; *Life of Olier. Founder of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice and of the Colony of Montreal*, Montreal, 1884.

Sept. 20, 1608. He came of a family which had belonged to the "nobility of the robe" for many generations, and his father's magisterial career had culminated in his appointment, by Henry IV., to the royal Council of State. In accordance with the custom obtaining among persons of rank in that time, his mother, Marie Dolu, Dame d'Ivoy, placed her infant out to nurse; and in after years it was regarded as a prognostic that the little Jean had received his first nourishment in that very parish of Saint-Sulpice, which he was to regenerate completely. From almost the earliest dawn of his intelligence, a profound respect for the holy tabernacle was manifested by the child who was destined to renew ecclesiastical fervor by means of increased devotion to the Blessed Sacrament; and when he displayed bad humor, his nurse needed only to take him into Saint-Sulpice, to restore his placidity. "When I was only seven years old," he afterward remarked, "I had so exalted an idea of priestly holiness, that I thought that the clergy led no life outside that of God; and if I saw one turn his head in the sanctuary, I felt real pain, for I believed that he was like the saints in heaven, when he had donned the sacerdotal vestments." And this moral transformation of the recipient of Holy Orders, this intimate communication of the life of the Divine Victim to the priest's own, was to be the predominant thought of Olier in the maturer years of his manhood. But these first movements of grace did not interfere with his boyishness. It took considerable time for grace to dominate his ardent nature. In 1617, King Louis XIII. appointed M. de Verneuil royal Intendant at Lyons; and here the family became intimate with the prince-bishop of Geneva, the saintly Francis de Sales. The early piety of Jean had not prevented him from becoming much like other children; and when the mother told St. Francis that the boy caused her great anxiety, the prelate replied: "Well, well; let us not be too hard upon children. Remember that high spirits are not sin. And take comfort, dear Madame; for I tell you that God has chosen this boy to effect much good in His Church." This prediction was narrated by one of the auditors, M. Chaillard, a Protonotary Apostolic, and pastor of Villefranche in the Beau-

jolais. The incident was afterward represented in a painting which, according to Faillon, may yet be seen in the church of the Madeleine, in Besançon. In his sixteenth year, Jean resolved to become a priest; and at first he thought of joining the Carthusians. Then he asked in vain to be admitted among the Franciscans; but God had willed that he should sanctify himself and others in the secular priesthood. He was destined to convince men of what they too often forget; namely, that the most exalted holiness should be no more peculiar to the regular, than to the secular priest. As he was to say, when he had more experience: "If priests who are detached from the world are said to live like religious, it is only a sign of the corruption of the age; for it ought to be said that religious lead the life of priests; since priests are bound to live in such wise, and religious are bound to imitate the holiness of priests, to follow in their footsteps and sanctify themselves by practicing those rules of perfection which were originally given to the clergy" (1). His family were gratified by his final choice of the secular priesthood; but principally, despite their unaffected piety, because of their desire to see him attain to the highest ecclesiastical dignities—a wish which was easily satisfied by persons of their social rank, thanks to the detestable methods of promotion which then almost universally obtained. His resolution was scarcely communicated to them when they procured for the sixteen-year-old boy the *Commenda* of the Priory of the Benedictines of La Trinité at Clisson, in the diocese of Nantes (2); and soon afterward he was made commendatory abbot of Pebrac and a canon of the Chapter of Brioude. Our young abbé followed the fashion of the day in maintaining an expensive household, grand equipages, etc.; but it pleased God to

(1) For this matter of sacerdotal perfection, see Card. Manning's Preface to a *Life of St. Charles Borromeo*.

(2) The reader will remember that in those days "commendatory" abbots and priors were the order of the day; that is, the title of Abbé, now given, on the European continent, to all secular priests, was then adopted by every perfumed gallant who frequented the circles of the *délicé* while enjoying or awaiting the emoluments of some benefice to which some friend's *Jus patronatus* was to present him. The acting beneficiary, however, was always a priest, and generally irreproachable. Let not the reader believe that every abbé of whom he reads, was a priest. This abuse of the "right of patronage" is retained in the Protestant Church of England to-day; and, as was never the case in Catholic lands, the livings are often sold at public auction by their Anglican owners.

open his eyes to his imminent danger. His mother had begun to pray that if he were to become a priest, he might be a worthy one; but his real awakening occurred in 1630, when he went to Rome for the purpose of acquiring an erudition which the Sorbonne could then no longer afford. In the Eternal City he was attacked by ophthalmia, and the best physicians decided that a resumption of study would be impossible. This blow made him realize the necessity of giving his whole heart to God; and he determined to place his future formally under the protection of Our Lady of Loreto. With the sole exception of those who have visited Loreto in a Catholic spirit, probably only those who have read Veuillot's touchingly exquisite narrative of his own pilgrimage (1), can understand the sentiments of young Olier as he approached the most celebrated sanctuary of the Mother of God, in order to seal his conversion. He had made the journey of a hundred miles on foot, and despite the heat, in winter garments. But he tells us that prayer was his solace on the road, and that he then composed several hymns in honor of her whom he then besought as a forgiving parent. Unfortunately his humility led him to destroy these effusions of an overcharged heart. He says that as he was entering the town, a possessed woman shouted to him, "Young French Abbé, if you do not live hereafter like a man of God, you will suffer terribly." He went into the church—not the Holy House itself, for that he would not approach, until he had confessed—and casting himself in spirit at the feet of Mary, he begged her to procure for him the gift of death, if sin were again to stain his life. The divine light had entered his soul; and on the instant, his corporal eyes regained their pristine health. When Olier returned to France, it was evident to all that the Babe of the Manger had transformed him. No more luxurious carriages, costly clothing, and fawning servants, for him; thenceforward he could say, "Stripped of everything, I bear the cross of poverty—*Nudus sequor nudam crucem.*" At once he devoted himself to the spiritual instruction of the poor. If he could not induce them to come to his house, or to receive him in their squalid quarters, he would manage to en-

(1) *Rome and Loreto*, Paris, 1839.

counter them, as it were, by chance in the streets. Then they received, perforce, both encouragement and religious aid.

God had designed that a religious revival among the secular clergy of France should be effected, not directly by the episcopate or by means of any order of regulars, but by one of their own number. All whose special vocation it was to labor, at that period, for the sanctification of the ecclesiastical state, were secular priests. Such were St. Vincent de Paul; the holy Oratorian, de Condren, and Jean Eudes. A new epoch in the life of Olier began when he placed the direction of his conscience in the discretion of St. Vincent de Paul; and by his advice retired to the house of the Priests of the Mission (Lazarists (1)) to make a retreat, in preparation for his reception of the priesthood. He was ordained on May 21, 1633. During two years St. Vincent tended this budding plant of sanctity; and then Charles de Condren, superior of the Oratory (2), began to perfect it unto mature beauty. Probably no one person exercised such influence as that of Condren, in preparing the way for the great work of Olier's life; and his submission to the Oratorian's spiritual guidance was due to the counsels of Mother Agnes of Jesus, a Dominican prioress who died in the odor of sanctity in 1634, and whose holy interest in the future reformer had been approved by God in many supernatural ways (3). So eminent was the sanctity of Condren, that Bossuet said that "his memory was ever fresh, and it was sweet to the whole Church, like a compound of many perfumes"; and he was revered by St. Vincent and St. Jane Frances de Chantal. The latter said of him: "If God gave our blessed founder (St. Francis de Sales) for the instruction of men, it seems to me that He has made Father de Condren capable of instructing angels."

(1) The term "Lazarist" is popularly applied to a member of the Congregation of the Mission founded by St. Vincent de Paul in 1697. The mother-house of the society was that of St. Lazare in Paris.

(2) This Congregation of secular priests had been instituted by Berulle in 1611, on the model of that founded by St. Philip Neri in Rome in 1554. The French Oratory was confirmed by Pope Paul V. in 1613.

(3) See the *Life of the Ven. Mother Agnes of Jesus*, by M. de Lantages; Paris, 1863. The Holy See has solemnly declared that this holy Dominican nun practised all Christian virtues in a heroic degree. Olier declared that when Mother Agnes died, she bequeathed to him her own guardian-angel, to assist his; "not as the angel of his person, but of his office."

When this holy director first received Olier under his spiritual care, he conceived the idea of entrusting to him the actuation of his own project for the foundation of a Grand Seminary; but he kept silence, and during eighteen months he directed his energies to implant in the mind of his charge all of his own appreciation of what a priest should be. Olier desired to aid in the evangelization of the savages in Canada; but his friend advised him to undertake the field afforded by the rural districts of his own land, and accordingly, with a number of zealous comrades, he accomplished this task with almost miraculous success.

When Olier returned to Paris after these missions, he found the capital in a frenzy of joy because of the birth of a Dauphin—that prince who was to be the Grand Monarch of France for seventy-two years. Olier loved the royal House of France; because he held the Christian conception of Christian royalty; and for him the sovereign was the incarnation of his country. For years he had prayed to God to grant an heir to Louis XIII.; and now, after a childlessness of twenty-three years, the queen, Anne of Austria, had gratified the hopes of the nation. In later days Louis XIV. heard how our abbé had prayed for his advent; and once, on noticing Abbé Picoté, a Sulpitian, crossing the courtyard of the Louvre, he summoned him to the presence-chamber, and recommended himself to the prayers of the community. Picoté replied: “It is needless for you to ask for them, Sire; I can tell your Majesty that you have cost M. Olier and all of us many strokes of the discipline.” Olier often wished, during the minority of Louis XIV., that he might be appointed preceptor to the heir to the throne; tutor of the prince “Dieudonné” whose birth he attributed to the favor of Mary. But God had called him to a position, even more exalted than that of educator of a Dauphin; he was destined to train those whom antiquity styled “sons of God.” Our limits compel us to omit any account of the wondrous good effected by the Abbé Olier in the parish of Saint-Sulpice from the time when he became its *curé*, in 1642. Suffice it to say that the Faubourg de Saint-Germain, which constituted the larger part of the parish, had become the abode of an im-

mense number of professed libertines and atheists ; for during the previous century, it had been a stronghold of the Calvinists. Books on the diabolic art were sold at the very door of the church ; and once, when the police were on their rounds, they found in a respectable mansion an altar dedicated to Satan, with the inscription, "Thanks to thee, Lucifer ; thanks to thee, Beelzebub ; thanks to thee, Azrael." The altar was a travesty of the Catholic one ; the Missal was arranged somewhat like our own ; and the candles were black. We do not read whether these wretches celebrated a parody of the Holy Mass, or whether they procured for it a consecrated Host, that they might spit upon it, and otherwise outrage it ; like the modern emanations of the Masonic Lodges in Italy and France. It must be noted, however, that such horrors produced a sadder impression upon every sort of men in that day, than they do in our time. So prevalent had sorcery become in those days, that the prudent Condren deemed it a duty to master the so-called principles of that false science, and to publish, by request of Richelieu, a treatise on its wickedness. It would be a gracious task to narrate how Olier renovated what was little better than an abode of Satan ; to tell of his fearful persecutions, and of his heroic submission to the will of God ; to give some account of his influence over persons of the highest rank, as well as over the most lowly of God's creatures ; to show how he induced the abjuration of King Charles II. from Protestantism (1) ; to indicate his admirable behavior during the troubles of the Fronde ; and to praise his steadfast zeal in the inculcation of Catholic truth. But we must pass to a sketch of the Abbé Olier's greatest work.

"A solid piety toward the Blessed Sacrament, and toward the Blessed Virgin, both which devotions are being lessened

(1) The authority for this assertion of the abjuration of King Charles during his residence in France, and owing to the instructions of Olier, is M. de Bretonvilliers, his successor in the curacy of Saint-Sulpice. Having stated the fact in his *Memoires*, he subjoins, "I can say no more at present." Burnet says, in his *History*, that Charles did change his religion, while in Paris, although the fact was unknown to most of his courtiers. There are passages in letters of Charles to Pope Alexander VII., and to others, after the Restoration, in which he tries to excuse himself from not *openly* professing Catholicism. Reasons of state, however, made him defer this avowal until he lay on his death-bed. For very interesting information on this subject, see the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, by Henry Foley, S. J., Series XII., p. 93.

by the innovators of our day, must be the veritable heritage of your house." Thus the angelic Fénelon, who had been trained by Olier, epitomized the spirit of his master in an address to the seminarians of Saint-Sulpice. At the moment when Jansenism had almost succeeded in instilling its poison into every vein of the ecclesiastical body in France, Olier felt that he was called by God to undertake the formation of priests who would be imbued with the true traditions of Catholic piety. And Fénelon lived to be able to testify to his master's success when, writing to Pope Clement XI. in 1705, he was forced to accuse nearly all the French ecclesiastical bodies of rebellion to the authority of the Holy See, but added that "The seminarists of Saint-Sulpice alone are earnest and resolute in expelling this pest; on which account they are held as vile and detestable by the cardinal-archbishop" (1). Some time before Olier accepted the curacy of Saint-Sulpice, he had established, with the aid of a few brother-priests, an excellent seminary at Vaugirard; and as soon as he was settled in his new charge, he resolved to transfer the institution to that locality. His primary object was the reformation of his parish with the aid of a body of clergy trained by his community; but he also wished to form a new race of priests, not merely for the diocese of Paris, but for the whole kingdom. Four of the vicars of the previous pastor joined the community he had brought from Vaugirard; and the zealous superior besought Mary to send him other worthy laborers in the glorious field. In a few weeks he found himself at the head of fifty clergymen who were rivals only in piety and self-denial. A very pretty story is narrated which shows, to some extent, the spirit with which Olier had animated his companions, especially in regard to the love and habitual practice of prayer. M. Bretonvilliers and M. Bourbon, being in Milan, visited the shrine of St. Charles Borromeo. While they were absorbed in prayer, a canon opened the tomb, that they might view the body; but

(1) "*Soll sunt San-Sulpitiani seminaristæ quibus cordi sit hanc labem a se depellere; unde a Cardinale Archiepiscopo viles et infecti habentur.*" This prelate was Cardinal de Noailles, who joined four other bishops in appealing to a General Council against the Bull *Unigenitus*, whereby Clement XI. condemned 101 Quesnellian Jansenistic propositions. He recanted in 1728.

they did not observe the action, being so engrossed with their devotions. They prayed during three hours, never once raising their eyes; whereupon one of the observers remarked: "We have the body of St. Charles, but those gentlemen have his spirit." And that the same spirit yet reigns, in a considerable degree, in Saint-Sulpice, is admitted by all who have enjoyed the acquaintance of the community. One of Olier's first steps was to provide for the sustenance of his establishment; dividing the revenues of his curacy into three portions, of which the first was for the poor, the second for the retired clergy of the parish, and the third for the community. For himself, nothing was reserved. The diet of the Sulpitians was to be very simple: "Each one shall have a bowl of soup and a small piece of boiled meat for dinner, but no dessert. A little roast mutton for supper." The Benedictine abbot of Saint-Germain recognized the independence of the community on Oct. 23, 1645 (1); and the royal letters-patent were immediately issued. After incredible labor and many contradictions, the magnificent church and new buildings of the Seminary were inaugurated on Aug. 15, 1651. Olier would allow no one to call him the founder of this great institution. "You know," he would insist, "that it was Jesus who, through His holy Mother, founded this establishment." It is to be noted that the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice has never been formally erected into a Congregation; although the authors of the *Kirchen Lexicon* mistakenly assert the contrary. It soon began to assume that character; but it was not constituted as such, and has never taken the name. Olier created the Seminary for the secular clergy, and he wished for it no existence distinct from the clerical body; it was to be, as he expressed the idea, "entirely merged therein." It were a vain effort to attempt to indicate even a shadow of the good that has been effected by this, in many more senses than one, Grand Seminary; and the institution is a monument not only to Abbé Olier, but also to that sweet and

(1) The parish of Saint-Sulpice was a kind of city in itself, being under the civil, as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Abbot of Saint-Germain. It included the present parishes of Saint-Sulpice, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Francois Xavier, Ste. Clotilde, St. Thomas d' Aquin, Notre-Dame des Champs, Gros Caillon, and the Hotel des Invalides; and numbered 450,000 souls.

holy Dominicaness, Mother Agnes of Jesus, who had encouraged him to make it the crowning glory of his career. So impressed was the holy founder by the sense of his obligation to Mother Agnes, that shortly after the inauguration of the new seminary buildings, he joined the Third Order of St. Dominic, together with several other priests of his community. Before dismissing the subject of the Seminary, we shall quote a passage from a letter signed by all the bishops of France, which shows how well they appreciated the work of Olier. In 1725, the General Assembly of the French Clergy, when soliciting from Pope Benedict XIII. the canonization of Mother Agnes, wrote to the Pontiff: "We desire the public veneration of this virgin more especially, because, if we may use the expression, she gave birth in the Lord to that excellent priest, Jean-Jacques Olier, who is the glory and ornament of our clergy; and because she led him to a more perfect life, and thus conferred incalculable benefits upon the Church. We need to allude only to the abundant fruits gathered daily from the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, which was instituted by that holy priest. From this Seminary, as from a citadel of religion and a school of piety, there issues an innumerable procession of bishops and priests who are powerful in word and in example; who are strong in faith; and who are rooted and founded in charity." The reader may not remember that it was owing to the religious zeal of Olier that Montreal came into existence. To this humble priest the "City of Mary" truly owes the most brilliant pages of its history; pages redolent of glory in the annals of God's Church. Its Sulpitian seminary is always training six hundred levites for the service of the altar in Canada and our country. The colleges of the Fathers of the Holy Cross, of the Jesuits, of the Oblates, of the Clerks of St. Viateur; the almost innumerable communities of female religious educators; rival that seminary in zeal. And all these tokens of the activity of the Canadian Church are so many gems in the crown of Olier. This model to the secular priesthood was only forty-eight years old, when God called him to his reward in 1656; but truly it might have been said of him that "*in tempore breve, explevit tempora*

multa." His death, solaced by the presence of St. Vincent de Paul, was that of a saint, and it occurred on the Feast of St. Francis de Paul. The bereavement of the Sulpitians was thus mollified by St. Vincent: "Witnessing, as I do, the affliction entailed upon you by the death of your loved founder, I would like to assuage your grief by restoring him to life. But since he cannot be presented to you in body, I shall present to you his spirit, his better part. . . . His spirit you still have; and as God deems him worthy of a home in Paradise, you should gladly accord him place in your hearts. If his spirit can be with you, he will have all that he desired during life. You can now satisfy that desire. It was said in the Old Law that if a man died without children, his brother should raise up seed to him. Your father, whom, seeing that he was so young, I may term your brother, is dead, and in one sense, without children; for his wish was to convert the whole world by sanctifying the clergy. Raise up children to him, by giving him as many holy sacrifices as there are priests in the Church."

Among the many institutions of benevolence founded by St. Vincent de Paul, none has excited such universal admiration as that of the Sisters of Charity. We need not dwell upon their duties, or upon the manner in which they fulfil them; Catholic, heretic, and infidel are all familiar with them. Down to the time of St. Vincent de Paul it had been generally held that the cloister alone could validly protect those who wished to dedicate their virginity to God; but the new apostle of humanity thought that there were many women who could aid the world while mingling with it, shielded from harm by the fear and love of God. "Your convents," said he to his first Sisters, "are to be the houses of the poor; the parochial church will be your chapel; the streets of the city will form your cloister; your seclusion will be obedience, your grating (*la grille*) the fear of God, your veils holy modesty. It is my desire that you treat every suffering person as a doting mother treats her only child." In every part of the world where the daughters of St. Vincent have penetrated (and where are they not found?) we hear an echo of that remark of Chateaubriand: "No person can see the

Sisters of Charity attending the sick, dressing their wounds, making their beds, washing their clothes, without looking upon these devoted women as so many holy victims voluntarily marching to death, through an excess of love and charity for their neighbor." Even the cynical Voltaire, who defiled everything Catholic as much as he could, was constrained to admit: "Perhaps there is on the earth nothing so grand as this sacrifice of beauty, youth, and position, made by the more delicate sex, in order to succor the mass of sufferers in our hospitals, the very sight of whom is so humiliating to our pride, and so repugnant to our delicacy."

Voltaire thought it good, necessary, and of the very essence of things in a well-ordered state, that "there should be in it ignorant tatterdemalions; when the populace begins to reason, all is lost" (1). Fifty years before the Sage of Ferney penned this sentiment, a Christian hero, a saint, a priest of the Most High, had renounced his not inconsiderable patrimony at the feet of the poor, and devoted his energies to the foundation and perfection of an institute which was to combat the cynical idea. And to this day that brainless mob of fancied freethinkers which adores Voltaire as its patriarch, assails the sons of Blessed La Salle, because of their care of the victims of poverty, with the name of "*ignorantins*": while those who are jealous of the success attained re-echo the senseless cry. At the death of Blessed John Baptist de La Salle, the little seed planted by his devoted hand in 1679 had already produced abundant fruit: the Brothers of the Christian Schools numbered 274, and their pupils 9,885. Under his successors in the general-superiorship, the good work went on; the number of "*ignorant tatterdemalions*" growing steadily less and less, until the storm of the great Revolution overtook 36,000 pupils in the schools of the Brothers. Then Voltaire might have smiled; for he would have beheld a vast increase in the number of those ignorant unfortunates, whose misery, according to his philosophy, was a necessary lubricator of the state machinery. In the eighth year of the One and Indivisible Republic, the Minister of the Interior himself made this report of the success of the revolutionary peda-

(1) In a letter to Damilaville.

gogues who had supplanted the Christian Brothers and other Catholic teachers of the poor : " The primary schools are nearly everywhere deserted. Two causes have contributed to this result. The first is the abominable selection of those who are styled instructors ; for the greater part these are unprincipled and uneducated persons, who owe their appointments only to a pretended civism, which is nothing else than an absence of all morality and all decorum. The second cause is to be found in the force of those religious opinions which still subsist, and which the laws have too violently shocked, and the new teachers too insolently contemned " (1). Portalis well said, in the *Corps Législatif*, one year after the issue of this report : " It is time for theory to be silent in the presence of facts. There should be no instruction without education, and there can be no education without morality and religion. Our instructors have taught in the desert ; for it has been imprudently decreed that religion should never be mentioned in the schools. Instruction has been null for the last ten years. Our children have been given over to a most dangerous idleness and to a most alarming vagabondage. They have no idea of a Divinity, and no notion of the just and the unjust ; hence their ferocious and barbarous manners, and hence a ferocious people." The decree of August 18, 1792, suppressing the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, declared that " a truly free state could tolerate no corporate bodies, not even those which, devoted to public instruction, have deserved well of their country " ; and thenceforth every kind of extravagance in matters of education was the order of the day. The destruction of every kind of superiority ; of all aristocracies, those of the learned as well as the social ones ; and a substitution in their place of the " breeches-less " democracy,—such was the avowed object of the " anti-clericals " of that day. And what shall we say of the text-books put into the hands of the children by the new educators ? We pass the many instances in which the ears of innocence were assailed by obscenities, and refer only to the " Alphabet of the Breeches-less " (the *Sans-Culottes*).

(1) National Archives, folio 173,001. See the work of Albert Duruy, *Public Instruction and the Revolution*, Paris, 1882.

Question: "What was the Bastile?" Answer: "It was a frightful prison, in which the tyrant buried alive all who murmured against his tyranny." Q.: "What is a good *Sans-Culotte*?" A.: "He is a brave man, whose soul can not be corrupted by the gold of despots." Q.: "What are the virtues of the *Sans-Culottes*?" A.: "All." And in the New Republican Catechism, recommended by the Convention, the question is put: "Does not the whole world form one republic?" The reply is: "Not yet, but the time is coming." No wonder that the governing spirits of the First Empire were always complaining of the general ignorance of the nation; as Victor Pierre expressed the idea, "All was destroyed, nothing was built." Albert Duruy, who is not addicted to praises of the France of old, and who always pleads extenuating circumstances for the Convention and the Directory, is forced to admit, at the end of his above-cited work, that the efforts of the state to supply the places of the Catholic teachers of the children of the people "had no other result than a profound debasement of education." Under the Consulate, a few of the dispersed Christian Brothers united at Lyons, and recommenced their task of popular instruction. In 1805 Pope Pius VII. blessed at Lyons the reviving Congregation, and in 1808 Napoleon acknowledged its legal existence. Great indeed had been the change from the gloomy days of the Terror, but the time had not yet come when M. Thiers was to say to Count Mole: "Monsieur le Comte, I have been a Universitarian a long time; but I avow to-day that I would like to see the Brothers of the Christian Schools not only in every city, not only in every town and village, but in every house." Like the Sisters of Charity, the Brothers of the Christian Schools have not failed to respond to the progressive march which our day has effected in the methods of instruction. Both of these organizations have penetrated into every quarter of the globe to spread the advantages of Christian training, and to testify to the undying fidelity of missionary France. They have become familiar to the people on the banks of the Nile, as well as to those on the Thames; they are blessed in both Americas, from India to the Antilles, from Mt. Atlas to Madagascar.

During the course of some reflections on the course now being pursued (1895) by the Third French Republic in reference to religious associations, we met with a work by the Marquis de Mirabeau (1), the father of the celebrated tribune; which work, being from anything but a "clerical" pen, astounded us by its zealous though calm defence of the religious orders, then (1755) the object of parliamentary attack and of private cupidity. The reader may be interested in a summary of some of Mirabeau's most salient arguments.

The marquis had asserted the apparently paradoxical view that whereas most economists contend that states are depopulated by celibacy and war, the contrary is the case. He had established his paradox so far as concerned "that order of things which is the more easily abandoned to a kind of public anathema," when he entered on the more especially economical question. Accepting the principle that new inhabitants should be tolerated in a state only in proportion to the means of subsistence, he concluded that "the more this subsistence is voluntarily restricted by those who occupy the land, the more of it will be left for newcomers. Religious establishments, therefore, are most useful to a numerous population. Whether it be by order of the king or by that of St. Benedict or St. Dominic that a large number of persons agree voluntarily to live on five cents a day, such institutions will always be of great help to the population, if only because they leave a margin and so much more of the means of living to the rest. I do not contend that all religious live at this rate, . . . but I do hold that the revenue and expenses of the abbey I have cited as an illustration, and those of many others I have visited, show that such houses, far from harming the population, benefit it (2). . . Again, everyone knows that the majority of the great monastic establishments, to-day so rich, were once mere deserts, and that we owe the redemption of more than a half of our lands to the perseverance of their first cen-

(1) *The Friend of Men*, vol. i., p. 35. Hamburg, 1758.

(2) Mirabeau had instanced the case of an abbey in his own neighborhood, the revenue of which was only six thousand francs, and which sufficed for thirty-five subjects and four servants. "Now," demanded the Marquis, "I would ask whether a private gentleman, living on his own estate with six thousand francs a year, would be any better off? On the contrary, he, his wife and children would have found this revenue scarcely sufficient, whereas it was enough for thirty-nine by virtue of a peculiar institution."

obites. But passing by the certainty of title, an article so sacred in sound politics and so out of fashion to-day, let us consider the present state of affairs. It is now a proverb that the Benedictines, for example, spend a hundred on their property to produce one. I know of certain causeways and other works, so useful to the state, which cost thrice the value of the abbeys which constructed them (1). Private resources never suffice for these long and expensive undertakings; and they are a joyous ambition for those bodies which regard themselves as perpetual, and which are ever minors as to alienation, but always of age for preservation." At that time more than a half of the houses in the Faubourg St. Germain, and in several other quarters of Paris, belonged to various mendicant orders; and great was the envy felt of these landlords. But the friars had built these houses in the olden time, in places then almost worthless. "Let us suppose that the Carmelites have a hundred thousand francs of revenue. They have taken that sum from no one, and it is but right that their superfluous revenue should go to support other Carmelites." Mirabeau doubted whether the mendicants were ever allowed to beg, unless as a means of subsistence while engaged in works of charity. But it is a fact, said he, that "foreseeing, like Joseph, the years of sterility to come, they made provision for regular revenues." Just as in our day, so then the *monacophobists* alleged that Protestant states were more prosperous and populous than Catholic ones, and they ascribed this supposed superiority to the absence of religious in the former. To this Mirabeau replied that Sweden had entirely changed her government when accepting the pretended Reformation; and her banishment of the monks, etc., did not prevent the depopulation of the country and the miseries consequent on the reigns of Charles XI. and Charles XII. Holland re-established her religious orders at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but her change of policy was not the cause of her decreased commerce and her diminished importance. The celebrated Danes, said Mirabeau, "who formerly made Europe tremble,

(1) During the Middle Age one of the most active and beneficent religious organizations was that of the Bridge-Building Friars: *Fratres Pontifices*,—skilled engineers and mechanics, whose duty it was to attend to the construction and care of bridges.

are no more ; and now that two centuries have passed since the orders were expelled, it is time that the ancient nursery of heroes should be replenished," if the theory of the radicals be true. At the time the marquis wrote those lines other publicists were complaining that England was depopulated. They endeavored to account for the fact, but without touching the real reason,—namely, that England had become wealthy, and that "riches increase consumption, while they proportionately diminish the population."

Mirabeau might have added the republic of Venice to his list of illustrations. At the very period when she was the most "monk-ridden" (the fourteenth century) she was at the height of her power, prosperity, and population. The population of the republic was then over 15,000,000. From the mouth of the Po, the Lion of St. Mark stood guard over the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Crema, Vicenza, Padua, the March of Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Rovigo, Ravenna, Gorizia, Friuli excepting Aquileja, Istria excepting Trieste, Zara, Spalatro and the islands along the line of Dalmatia and Albania, Veglia, Zante, Corfu, Lepanto, Patrasso, Neapolis, Argos, Corinth, Crete, Cyprus, and many small islands of the Archipelago. One may judge of the wealth of the republic, if, remembering the at least four times greater value of money at that time, he notes that every year the Venetian mint coined \$4,000,000. In the capital there were over a thousand nobles whose revenue was from 5,000 to 8,000 dollars ; a very large income where a beautiful palace could be bought for \$3,000. When the Senate wished to make an elegant present to Louis Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, it bought a palace for \$6,500. The mercantile marine then numbered 345 vessels of large tonnage, manned by 38,000 sailors. Thus this priest-ridden republic had developed from the little colony of the lagune of Rivo Alto, trying to hide from the devastating Attila (y. 452) ; and between priests, monks, friars, nuns, *et id genus omne*, it managed to preserve an independent and ever-glorious existence for a longer period than that enjoyed even by ancient Rome. Even when Bonaparte calumniously styled the Venetians a "lazy, cowardly population, not made at all for liberty," and, by falsely declaring the re-

public bankrupt in money and in honor, tried to justify the greatest political crime of his life, even then (1797) Venice had on her vessels of war and in her fortifications over 5,000 cannon. She had 185 men-of-war in commission, and an ardent youth ready to take the field. The "Murazzi" (the colossal marble dike extending from Malamocco to Chioggia, and closing the entrance to the lagunes) would of itself prove that their Serenities had not lost their public spirit under the blighting influence of priestly dominion. This wonderful work had just been completed when the Gospel of St. Mark, the treasure guarded by her winged Lion of the Piazzetta, was replaced by the *Bonnet Rouge* of the Liberator.

Catholic libraries are filled with apologies for our religious orders, and probably our readers need no instruction in the premises beyond that of their own experience. Such of them as have read that incomparable work, Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, are well convinced of the great services rendered by the orders in redeeming barren lands, in cultivating knowledge in half-barbarous times, and at least in preserving in their monasteries the relics of a rich antiquity. They do not believe that the property of these beneficent and laborious associations would be of more benefit to the nation, if it were consigned to the hands of private individuals; and still less do they believe that legalized robbers should be allowed to play havoc with vested rights for the aggrandizement of adventurers, whether they be red-shirted mobocrats, Knights of the Bourse, or the pampered darlings of a court. Without doubt there have been, at times, many abuses in the orders; if there had not, Luther and many other freethinkers of that ilk would not have been tolerated so long as they were. But the devastators of to-day do not justify their frenzy by any allegation of present abuses; the secret societies have decreed that the orders must go: "*Le Roi le veut*," and that suffices. Were there any grave abuses to be reformed in our orders it would be meritorious and noble to effect the reformation; although Catholics may be pardoned for deeming the Church (the only *raison d'être* for any order's existence) the proper power to undertake the delicate task. Even Catholics sometimes go astray when ruminating on this

question of abuses in the human element of the Church. Let us hearken to the words of a writer of common-sense and rare powers of penetration, who had seen much of abuses of all sorts, and of futile attempts to remedy them during the first French Revolution: "Certainly it is a beautiful mission to eradicate abuses; all great legislators, all great rulers, have acquired durable glory only as reformers of abuses. . . . Of course there is no abuse where there is no evil. . . . The first and most dangerous of all abuses is our own pride. Undoubtedly there were abuses under the old *régime*; but we must say at once that in order to successfully destroy an abuse—that is, in order to cut at the root so that the plant may not shoot forth again—the reformer must be free from bias; and this is utterly impossible in the midst of that effervescence which is inseparable from all political tempests. Again, it is absurd to confound an *abuse* with the *thing* abused" (1). Our reformers might also attend with profit to the profound words of Joseph de Maistre: "Every abuse is an evil, and it might therefore seem that all that causes its removal is a good; but it will not be one if a very delicate distinction is not made. In fine, an abuse being merely a bad use of a good thing, one must take care, in removing the defects which corrupt it, not to attack its substance. Here is where innovators nearly always fail. An able jockey does not break the legs of a runaway horse in order to cure him" (2). It would seem that the present foes of our orders, at least such of them as are not mere iconoclasts or downright thieves, were before the eyes of M. de Bonald when he wrote: "Small-minded persons see in the very best institutions only their deficiencies; and in the very worst, only their advantages. The former disposition produces revolutions; the latter prolongs them" (3).

Our religious really love the poor, the weak, the sick, because they have learned to see in them the members of Jesus Christ, Himself a sufferer. Those who are put in their place can bring to their task at best a mere platonic love, which

(1) BEFFRAY de RIGNY (Cousin James); *Neological Dictionary of Men and Things*, vol. i., art. *Abuses*. Paris, 1820.

(2) *Letters and Minor Works*; vol. ii., p. 469. Paris, 1851.

(3) *Political Opinions*; Paris, 1829.

has its source not in the warmth of faith, but in a mere vague and unreliable philanthropy. At first one would not realize the difference between these two very different points of departure; but let any one of those who charge our religious with systematic misintelligence become an inmate of one of their institutions, and he will very quickly perceive it. The philanthropist will erect an imposing monument for a hospital—a vast and uniform building that will satisfy his sole object of gathering together the greatest number of sufferers and thus make an imposing appearance. But such is not the ideal of the religious hospital. Charity will think less of a grand effect than of some way of fostering an illusion on the part of her patients, that they are at their own firesides and in the tender hands of their own kin. And it is natural that the religious should excel the secular in this work; for it was the Catholic Church that first conceived and actuated, after her acquisition of freedom in the fourth century, the idea of systematic care of the infirm, and it was to religious confraternities that her first patients owed relief. Then for the first time the world saw what were the compensations of sickness; and, as St. Jerome attests, the poor were wont to envy the lot of the sick. Speaking of the abolition of the educational orders by Joseph II. the eminent Italian historian, Cantù, thus writes: “This was a despotic act, by which was destroyed the precious right of everyone to select for himself such tenor of life as he may deem most conducive to his welfare. It subverted the established and legitimate rights of property; for the religious had acquired their property either by their own industry, or had received it by voluntary donation, for the purpose of exercising charity or for expiatory devotions; that is, in plain words, they had acquired their goods just as any private individual rightly acquires his own. The people loved the religious because of their charity and the instruction given by them; and when it was asserted that these friars, etc., contributed nothing to the public well-being, they retorted by asking how much the lazy and demoralized rich afforded. Education was attacked at the very root. Mathematics and physics were lauded as of more value than any knowledge of the beautiful and good: with those attain-

ments the happiness of mankind was to be secured ; for man is a body, and when the needs of the body are satisfied everything is gained. These religious had prated too much about the soul : now let the soul be relegated behind matter. Behold, then, that while the world ought ever to advance, these philosophists tried to destroy Christianity,—that is, to thrust the world back eighteen centuries, even to relegate it to the days of Epicurus or of Plato.”

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS AGITATORS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY :

BORRI, THE “PHŒNIX OF NATURE” ; LOMBARDI.

In the year 1681 there was published at Cologne a curious book, entitled *The Key of the Cabinet of the Cheralier J. F. Borri, by Means of Which We May Receive Various and Very Curious Scientific, Chemical and Political Instructions, and Many Beautiful Secrets*. Among many of the learned of the time this work procured for its author the credit of being the “Phoenix of nature, and the glory of all Europe” (1). It is indeed a peculiar production. Elemental spirits and cosmetics ; the philosopher’s stone, and nostrums not unlike those of our day ; sublime theology, puerile spiritualistic speculations, and very comprehensible magic ; all forming an *olla podrida* of science which would gratify even Pico della Mirandola, who could discourse learnedly on every subject, “and on some others.” The author evinces much pride in his learning ; but he naively avows that he is a charlatan, and that the credulity of the masses is his plaything and his means of subsistence. He shows us how his successful chicanery made him “a great man,” and he boastfully says : “My companions were princes and nobles, ladies both beautiful and ugly, physicians, prelates, friars, and nuns. Some of these yearned for the friendship of devils, and others preferred that of the angels. Many were investigators of the diseases of humanity ; many also were indagators into the

(1) BARCH ; *Origin and Progress of Chemistry*, in the Magliabecchiana Library, cited by Cantù.

mysteries hidden in the stars. There were some who wished to penetrate into the secrets of the Deity ; but nearly all sought for the philosopher's stone."

Joseph Francis Borri was born at Milan in 1625, and was the son of a famous physician, who attained senatorial rank in his native city. His early studies were prosecuted at Rome ; and after he had completed a course of chemistry and medicine at the *Sapienza*, then at the height of its fame, his reputation merited for him an appointment in the pontifical household. Dissolute conduct, however, soon entailed the loss of this position ; and in 1654 he was about to receive condign punishment, when he suddenly manifested what seemed to be unmistakable signs of amendment, and even of an approach to holiness. According to his own account, frequent heavenly visions soon signalized his advance on the road to perfection ; and in these he was inspired by God to reform the world by a restoration of the Catholic faith to that fervor and purity which, long centuries before, as he contended, it had so unfortunately lost. Nor was he himself simply the physician Borri ; he was a "Pro-Christ," that is, pre-eminently the defender of the Saviour, and ere twenty years passed, he would establish "the reign of the Most High." By his exertions, all men were to be brought into one fold. Some, quite naturally, would resist his merciful efforts in their behalf, and would deride his saving doctrines ; but all these, even the Roman Pontiff, if he presumed to be of their number, would be exterminated. The new reformer, like most of that ilk, was a firm believer in the efficacy of the material sword as an instrument for the furtherance of spiritual progress ; and his chief means of converting the world to his peculiar development of Catholicism was to be the Papal army, which would receive him as its commander. While pursuing his military vocation, he was to be girt with a sword presented to him by St. Michael the Archangel. He confidently declared that the funds necessary for the great enterprise would not be wanting, thanks to his alchemical knowledge. With a select body of his invincible soldiers, he would march on the Eternal City, and sweep from the earth the defilers of the Holy of Holies. Then a new Pontiff, one

friendly to Borri, and therefore acceptable to God, would occupy the Chair of Peter.

Probably no heresiarch ever evolved from his own imagination such extravagancies as those conceived by Borri; but many of his hallucinations would imply that he fancied himself, in turn, Arnold of Brescia, Cola di Rienzi, Savonarola, Luther, Zwingli, and—if his knowledge of the future was real—the red-shirted Nicene filibuster of our day. His theological notions were, to a great extent, peculiarly his own (1). He taught that the Son of God, from all eternity, was not content with His glory; and therefore He induced the Father to create *ad extra*. The essence of the Word is generated; the divinity of the Holy Ghost is inspired; both Persons are inferior to the Father. The Blessed Virgin is a goddess; she is the daughter of the Father, and an incarnation of the Holy Spirit. In everything she is the equal of the Son. She is styled “full of grace,” because she was born of a virgin. She is present in the Holy Eucharist. In the Canon of the Mass and in the *Ave Maria* we should entitle her, “*Uninspirata Filia Allisimi*.” The Eternal Father having commanded Lucifer to adore Jesus and His mother, the proud spirit refused to obey, and, together with many of his companions, was thrust into the abyss of hell. Some other angels, however, secretly sympathized with Lucifer, although they did not openly defy the Eternal; and these were exiled from heaven to the atmosphere around the earth. It was through the instrumentality of these spirits that God created matter and the irrational brutes, but man came directly from God, and has a divine soul. Creation was compulsory on the part of the Deity; and neither is God a free agent when He confers grace on man, for if man has faith, God must grant His grace to him.

It will be perceived at once that Borri was a thorough believer in the Protestant theory of private and independent interpretation of the Bible. He styled his disciples Reason-

(1) Gregorio Leti, the author of that buffoonesque *Life of Sixtus V.* (See our vol. iii., p. 536), which is so much quoted by credulous Protestants, gives us, in his *Life of the Chevalier Borri*, an account of his client's theological speculations. Leti was also the author of the *Embassy of Romulus to the Romans*, a rare work printed at Brussels in 1671, which was falsely attributed to Borri. This book was reproduced in the *Literary Amenities*, vol. v.

ables and Evangelicals ; and he imparted to them his own "divine mission" by the imposition of hands. They were bound by vows of fraternal love, inviolable secrecy, obedience to Christ and the angels, and poverty. This last vow implied the renunciation of all property into the hands of the hierophant. When success crowned the labors of the new reformer, the Church would enjoy peace during a thousand years. The soldiers whom Borri would lead from victory to victory until this devoutly desired consummation was reached, would celebrate their final triumph by forming a new monastic order, which would far excel in worth and influence those founded by Sts. Augustine, Basil, Anthony, Benedict, Francis, or Dominic—all very holy men, but not so prudent and perspicacious as Borri. Meanwhile not a few presumed sane persons devoutly believed in the audacious charlatan, and these he initiated into his mysteries with solemn incantations and other paraphernalia calculated to impress the imaginations and exalt enthusiasm.

On the death of Pope Innocent X., Borri thought that the time had arrived for the actuation of his grandest scheme, especially as many members of the Sacred College were notoriously favorable to a policy which would subvert the Spanish domination in Italy. But not until 1659 did he dare to commit any overt act of sedition ; and then he was impelled by a wish to anticipate the Milanese authorities, who had been made cognizant of his designs, and were about to undertake an investigation. How Borri succeeded in avoiding trouble with the civil power for so many years, is a mystery ; still more wonderful it is that he did not fall into the hands of the Inquisition, if, as is popularly supposed, the familiars of that dread tribunal were omnipresent and almost preternaturally sagacious in tracking the scent of heresy and insubordination. Probably the agents of the Holy Office, that bugbear of Protestant imagination, were less ubiquitous and less alert than were their brethren of the Spanish royal tribunal (1). Be this as it may, the machinations of

(1) King Philip II. greatly feared that his Lombard subjects might imbibe heretical opinions from their intercourse with the neighboring Swiss and the Valdesi of Piedmont. To obviate this danger, the Spanish monarch begged Pope Pius IV. to allow him to introduce the Spanish Inquisition, that is, a tribunal independent not only of the ordinary civil magis-

Borri had been known to many for nearly five years, when he resolved to strike his initiatory blow for the reformation of Christian doctrine and the happiness of mankind. Hastily summoning his most trusted adherents, he unfolded his programme. His partisans were to assemble in the great Square of Milan, and reinforced by the mob, whose leaders he had prudently secured, they were to raise cries of "Hurrah for Calvin!" "Death to the priests!" "Down with Spain!" The archiepiscopal palace and that of the governor were then to be stormed, the prelate and the principal clergy were to be slaughtered, and Borri himself was to be proclaimed duke of Milan. Then were to begin the salutary campaigns against the other Italian governments, especially that which ruled from the Seven Hills; then, at length! the lion and the lamb were to lie down together, and perennial joy was to be the lot of man.

But the millenium had not yet arrived. By some means the Milanese governor was informed of the plot, and many of the conspirators were arrested. To us who are accustomed to tales illustrating the extreme severity of the penal codes of that period, and who have often shivered with horror, especially at the thought of the English method of punishing high-treason which was in vogue even at the dawn of the nineteenth century, it must seem strange that these wretches escaped with an exceedingly light penalty. Only seven were punished in any manner whatever. After a solemn abjuration of their errors in religious matters, they were sent to

trates, but independent also of the bishops. For a long time the Pontiff refused, but in 1563 he consented, to the dismay of the Milanese, who sent a commission to Rome to implore the Holy See to allow Lombardy to remain, as to religious matters, subject to the supervision of the Roman Inquisition. At the same time another commission was sent to the Council of Trent, then in session, to represent to the synodals that "if the Spanish inquisitors, under the very eyes of the king, often abused their office, what might they not do when far removed from his inspection?" St. Charles Borromeo was also besought to use his influence against the introduction of the obnoxious tribunal into his archdiocese, especially as it was notorious that whenever heresy had raised its head in Milan or its Duchy—which was not often—the culprit was not a Milanese, "and because a healthy body needs no medicine, nor is rigor needful where there is no superstition." These and other reclamations resulted in a suspension of the royal decree, and it was soon forgotten, Lombardy being allowed to remain, as ever, subject to the ordinary inquisitorial direction of each bishop, and of the lenient Roman "Holy Office"—a tribunal which must not be confounded, as is frequently the case, with the Spanish Inquisition. For this necessary distinction, see our chapter on the "Inquisition," vol. II.

Rome to be judged by the Inquisition, and this fearful tribunal condemned them to wear, for a short time, a yellow mantle as a sign of their guilt. Then they were dismissed to their homes. Borri the firebrand, however, was not to escape so easily. He had succeeded in avoiding arrest, and in finding safety in Switzerland, where he was welcomed and feasted as an escaped victim of the Inquisition. Meanwhile his trial, *in contumaciam*, was pushed at Rome, and his condemnation ran as follows: "All his heretical writings are to be burned; all his goods, movable and immovable, are confiscated. Under pain of excommunication, to be incurred by the very fact, all persons are forbidden to have any relations with him; and we order all patriarchs and primates to arrest the said Borri, and to inform us when he is arrested, so that we may decide as to the ulterior disposition of his case." In accordance with this decree, on Jan. 3, 1661, a portrait of Borri was carried by the public executioner to the Campo dei Fiori in Rome, and hung from a gallows, after which hanging "in effigy" it was burnt, together with copies of his writings. When the news of this *auto da fe* reached Borri, then at Strasbourg, he retaliated on the Holy See by inducing the Protestants of that city to burn, with much parade, a statue of the Pontiff. Then he proceeded to Holland, and laying aside his religious speculations, he set to work to accumulate wealth by means of his legitimate medical and chemical knowledge, which was undeniably profound, and, for that time, exact. From all parts of Europe the great and wealthy came to consult him, and his coffers were soon replenished; but the charlatan persisted in rivalling the sage, and ere long his credit so diminished, that he deemed it well to cultivate a new field in Hamburg. Here he met the celebrated Queen Christina of Sweden, and her vivacious intelligence was not proof against the wiles and unscrupulous science of the pretended theurgist (1).

(1) We seize this opportunity to present a brief comment on the career of this celebrated woman. Heiress to the throne of Gustavus Adolphus, her father, the Swedes deserted in her, though she was but six years of age, the eyes, forehead, and general expression of the "Lion of the North"; and her accession was acclaimed with enthusiasm, the chancellor Oxenstierna being recognized as president of a Council of Regency during her minority. The young princess developed into a learned woman, and as soon as she attained her majority, she invited to her court the most learned scholars of Europe. Many accepted the call,

Having fleeced her Majesty out of much money with the pretext of consummating his nearly finished "great work," the transmutation of metals, he experimented on the gullibility of the Danes. King Frederick III. bowed to the superior wisdom of the Milanese, and not only aided him pecuniarily in his presumed efforts to manufacture gold, but made him his chief, though secret, political adviser. But on the demise of this monarch, his successor, Christian V. gave him some money to leave the kingdom. Borri now determined to court the smiles of fortune in the Ottoman Empire, but while journeying through Moravia, he was apprehended by the imperial authorities, and sent to Rome. His trial by the Inquisition resulted in his being adjudged to beg pardon of Christendom for the scandals he had given, and to be taken to the Holy House of Loreto, there to beseech the Blessed Virgin to pardon his insults to her; after which he was confined in Castel Sant 'Angelo. The sentence decreed his imprisonment for life; but after a few years, he was allowed to leave the fortress whenever a sick person desired his attendance; in fine, providing that he returned at night, he was free during

and were royally entertained. Among these foreigners who were asked to spread the light of learning among the denizens of the "kingdom of snow," the most famous were the priests Gassendi and Daniel Huet; the Calvinists, Claude Saumaise de Semur and Samuel Bochart of Rouen; and Hugo Grotius. Christina was very masculine in taste and in appearance; a daring rider; careless in her dress and simple in her diet; insensible to cold or heat; and scarcely acquainted with sleep. Her eccentricities were loudly magnified when, after many years of study, she announced her resolution to abdicate, in order that she might be free to become a Catholic; of course she was mad, in the eyes of all worldlings and of all heretics. It is amusing to hear the Prussian Frederick II. who would not have abandoned one ounce of material substance for all the spirituality in the universe, and who feigned to be a *dilettante* in matters of philosophy which he could not understand, gravely pronouncing: "The descent of Christina from the throne appeared to all the wise to be a mere whim, neither infamous nor laudable; for an abdication of a sceptre confers grandeur only when the determining motives are important." When Christina refused to marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus, and resigned the Swedish crown in his favor, she reserved to herself full sovereignty over her own person, over all her attending nobles and servants, and over the castle of Nikoping, her large estates in Pomerania, and the islands of Eland, Gottland, Osel, Wollin, Usedom, and several other territories. Therefore she was still a sovereign; and when, in 1657, while residing at Fontainebleau, she caused her grand-equerrie, the marquise of Monaldeschi, to be put to death for high-treason, she thought that she but exercised her royal right, whatever jurists might have thought of her right to play the queen in other lands than Sweden. However, Louis XIV., so tenacious and punctilious, shut his eyes to the matter. Christina resided in Rome until her death in 1689. Her magnificent library was bought by Pope Alexander VIII.; and it was incorporated in the Vatican Library under the name of the *Ottobonianiana*. CANTU; *Univ. Hist.*, bk. xvi., ch. 27—*Life of Christina, Written by Herself*; in Archenholz's *Memoirs*, Amsterdam, 1791-1799—MS. of Casati on the *Queen of Sweden*, cited by Ranke.

the day. Certainly, the supposed wonted tortures of the Inquisition were not very trying to the health of this victim, for he withstood them for twenty-three years, dying in his seventy-first year, in 1695.

While this wayward scientist was furthering the projects of his eccentric ambition, and for many years after he was reduced to silence, the Holy Office was continually troubled by the need of obviating the evils caused by a horde of misguided enthusiasts, who, in every part of Italy, were inventing and striving to propagate fantastic theories and practices of devotion. The archives of the Inquisition are full of descriptions of superstitious books, prayers, pious tales, new-fangled scapulars, etc., which were circulated at this time to the great scandal of the truly devout. Thus there was eagerly read by many a New Revelation which was said to be the complement of that of Christ, and to lead to a monastic perfection more sublime than any saint of God had yet excogitated (1). Some of these ultra-devotees were real blasphemers; for instance, that Sicilian nun, a sister Teresa, who declared that her visions had demonstrated that she was a fourth Person of the Blessed Trinity. Many yielded credence to her ravings. Then there was an association bound by a Vow of Blood, as the members styled their promise to defend the belief in the Immaculate Conception (not yet a dogma of faith) with the sword. In 1693 a sect entitled Knights of the Apocalypse was founded by Augustine Gabrino of Brescia, having for its object a defense of the Church against Antichrist; Gabrino called himself the Monarch of the Holy Trinity; and on Palm Sunday of 1693, while the choir of St. Peter's in Rome was chanting, "Who is this King of Glory," he rushed among

(1) It is interesting to note that amid all the hallucinations entailed by his apostasy, Renan preserved some of the sublime conceptions of his early and Christian years. In his *Apostles* he also shows that he appreciated the sublimity of the cenobitic life. "The modern spirit has shown itself very severe against cenobitism. We have forgotten that the soul of man tastes the greatest joys in community life; we no longer chant the words of the *Canticle* on the beauty of brethren dwelling in unity. But when modern individualism shall have gathered its last fruits; when humanity belittled, saddened, and made impotent, returns to grand institutions and to strong discipline; when our miserable bourgeois society, or rather our world of pygmies, is subdued by the whips of the heroic and idealist part of humanity; then community life will be appreciated as it was of old.... egotism, the essential law of civilized society, will not suffice for grand souls; all will be allies against vulgarity; men will find sense in the words of Jesus and in the ideas of the Middle Age concerning poverty."

the officiating clergy, sword in hand, crying : " I am the King of Glory." The pontiff pardoned him ; but having repeated the demonstration in other churches, he was placed in a lunatic asylum. Anthony Oliva of Reggio, theologian to Cardinal Barberini when only twenty years old, was a participant in the insurrection of Tommas' Aniello of Amalfi (known by us as Masaniello) in 1647, and afterward became a celebrated professor of natural sciences in Pisa. Returning to Rome, he was favored by Pope and prelates ; but in the reign of Alexander VIII. he was found guilty of having instituted an Academy in the house of one of the papal officials, the object of which was the destruction of presumed abuses in the Church. He escaped earthly punishment by throwing himself out of a window of the prison of the Inquisition, and thus breaking his skull. Mysticism, the dominating passion of these and many other eccentrics of that day on the Continent, was well regulated in the mind of a St. Teresa ; but with too many its pursuit resulted as in the case of that Fra Egidio, who having learned that a simple old woman could love God more than a fine theologian would necessarily love Him, ran into the street, crying : " Come, all ye good women ! Love our Lord God, and you will be greater than St. Buonaventure."

It was this false mysticism which actuated, from the year 1633, a priest named Giacomo Lombardi, who in time, as we learn from the decree of the Holy Office pronounced against his doctrines on March 28, 1675, disseminated doctrines which were erroneous and dangerous to the Catholic faith. These he taught to his many disciples, whom he called his spiritual children, and whom he held under his sway ; his pretext being to instruct them in the spiritual life, and in the observance of the Commandments of God and of the Church. He sought also to confirm his teaching with miracles, prophecies, revelations, visions, and interior voices in himself and in certain of his followers. All these were false, and contained the same vain and nonsensical theories and notions. He was examined in 1642, and avowed the teachings imputed to him, declaring that he had infused wisdom. He was therefore obliged to make a public retractation, and was forbidden to thenceforward gather together disciples, or to write on spiritual sub-

jects. Again, in 1666, he was ordered to no longer use or distribute oil or water blessed by himself as more efficacious than those blessed by other priests, or to formulate commands for the spirits of persons whom he pretended to be possessed. It was clearly proved, however, that he frequently and publicly contravened against these prohibitions. So great was his affectation of sanctity that he allowed, and even ordered, his disciples to keep registers of his presumed miracles. To his own knowledge, his followers believed him to be a saint. Some proclaimed that he was confirmed in grace; that he had never sinned, even venially; that consequently he had no need of the Sacrament of Penance; and, as a matter of fact, he had omitted going to Confession for more than a year. Some went so far as to say that he was conceived without original sin, and in this he never corrected them. They called him the Great Saint, the One Servant of God, putting him immediately after the Blessed Virgin. He had, according to them, the Keys of Heaven, to admit whomsoever he pleased; he understood the Scriptures as if he had written them himself; all the rules that he laid down were dictated by the Holy Ghost; and his new Baptism assured those who remained faithful of not even passing through Purgatory on their way to heaven. These ridiculous excesses they strove to confirm, taking foolish and voluntary flights of imagination for divine revelations. While all this was being taken into consideration by the inquisitorial tribunal, Lombardi died, in 1673. Many continued to persist in his doctrines, under the pretence of thereby the better fulfilling the Christian law and giving themselves to God, and they were not content with rashly disobeying, or with eluding, by sophistry and subterfuge, the precepts of their superiors; they even dared to circulate the report that Lombardi was not dead, but merely transferred to another place, and there kept in life to return as Pope and Reformer of the Church. This he had caused them to believe by the fantastic prophecies of a reformation which he had often uttered. Moreover many of his disciples pretended that the same coming reformation was revealed to them from above.

The following extract from the inquisitorial decree of 1675 should be read by those who believe that the Catholic Church

encourages such superstitions as those entertained by the disciples of Lombardi. "In order that the Catholic faith, without which it is impossible to please God, may be preserved pure and free from all contagion or suspicion of heresy, and in virtue of the authority bestowed on us, we hereby forbid all persons, of either sex, and of whatever condition, rank, or dignity, ecclesiastical or civil, even regulars or nuns, or individuals of other designations, to believe in the doctrines named after Giacomo Lombardi, to retain them in writing or in print, to write them, or to communicate them to any one whomsoever either by word of mouth or by written document. We prohibit, and declare prohibited, the writings of Lombardi entitled: *The Grief of the Soul, Spiritual Simplicity, A Treatise on Exteriority, Words of the Minister of the Altar, or Book of Prophecies*; as likewise all the Rules, Documents, Warnings, written or dictated by him, taken from his writings, or otherwise copied, and in general all works and writings by, or concerning Lombardi. We command all who possess such writings, or know of other persons possessing them, to deposit them within a month's time in the hands of the bishops or inquisitors, or to warn them of their whereabouts. We likewise forbid all persons to conduct themselves in the above-mentioned manner; to call themselves spiritual children or followers of Lombardi; or join for such purpose, in any place, time, manner, under any pretext, even of friendship or relationship or other bond of union otherwise good and spiritual, under any motive of assembling whatsoever, be it concert, entertainment, or other. We equally forbid all persons, who in the past called themselves the children of Lombardi, to dress differently from others; to speak or treat of their so-called Master and Father, or of his doctrines or rules; to use or distribute oil or water or to deal with spirits in the above-mentioned manner; to use any garment worn or touched by Lombardi; to do other similar deeds; to take part in the cure of the sick or possessed; or even to communicate with one another, unless they have had in the first instance the express permission of their Ordinary. Under the penalty of excommunication *latae sententiae*, to us reserved, we command all the faithful of whatever sex, condition, or

rank, to inform within twelve days the Ordinaries or Inquisitors, of all violations of these orders. We give the latter all due and necessary power, so that, according to our commands, they may proceed to judicial investigation for reference to us. And we warn all our subjects to punctually obey this present Edict, which we desire to be affixed at the doors of churches, and in public places of reunion, and which will be binding on all as if it had been personally intimated to each one."

Besides Borri and Lombardi there were many other agitators who, during the seventeenth century, continued to proclaim themselves and their doctrines thoroughly orthodox, while the latter, especially when reduced to practice, were redolent of heresy. We have treated of Jansenism at some length; and only one of the other ebullitions of a false spirituality, Quietism, is of sufficient importance to merit our attention. However, this pre-eminently scandalous and pernicious system demands a special chapter for its consideration.

CHAPTER IX.

LOUIS XIV. AND THE HOLY SEE.

The royal edict of March 20, 1682, whereby Louis XIV. pretended to give the force of civil law to the famous *Declaration* which an assembly of the French clergy had emitted by royal order, as enunciatory of the belief of the French Church on the matters involved, never escapes the attention of a careful historian. But too little consideration is generally accorded to the fact that a precedent for the adoption of this *Declaration* had been established in 1663 by the then young and impulsive monarch; and we seldom meet with any allusion to the event which produced that precedent. Probably the reader's study of French history has shown to him how frequently Pope Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi) resisted the policy of Cardinal Mazarin, the successor of the great Richelieu. This resistance procured for the Pontiff many enemies at the court of France; and the death of Maz-

arin in 1661 led to no diminution of their hostility. The tension between the two courts was encouraged rather than lessened by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, then representing the Most Christian King at the Vatican. This very un-Italian disposition of the cardinal was well-known to the members of his household; and they were ever ready to defend, *per fas aut nefas*, the real or fancied privileges which their ambassadorial connection secured to them. Among those privileges there was one "franchise" or immunity which had been arrogated by all the foreign ambassadors in Rome for many years, and in spite of many pontifical derogatory decrees. It was contended that exemption from civil process, on the part of the papal tribunals, was enjoyed by all the ambassadorial servants, etc., not only for acts committed in the residences of their Excellencies, but also for deeds performed in the quarter surrounding those residences; and as the limits of these quarters were variable, according to the caprice of each ambassador, justice not unfrequently was thwarted. The anti-papal Sismondi admits that since the ambassadors permitted no pontifical police or tax-gatherers to enter the "privileged" districts, "These quarters had become the asylum of all the malefactors of the land. Not only did they flee thither in order to escape justice, and not only did they turn these quarters into headquarters for smuggling operations, but they went from there to commit crimes in the neighborhood" (1). Another Protestant authority of celebrity, and a contemporary of Louis XIV., Leibnitz, speaks in similar terms of these foreign jurisdictions in the papal capital; and adds that the members of the ambassadorial households "derived considerable revenue from the assassins and other wretches whom they sheltered, and whom they saved from justice" (2). On one occasion, certain followers of Cardinal d'Este killed several of the papal police who had entered the French quarter in the exercise of their duty; and although satisfaction was given for the insult, the contested "franchises" were still claimed. The climax of trouble was attained in 1662, when d'Este was recalled, and the duke de

(1) *History of the French*, vol. xxv., p. 552. Paris, 1833.

(2) *Works of Leibnitz*; vol. iii., p. 154. Edit. Foucher de Careil.

Créqui arrived as French ambassador. At this time Don Mario Chigi, a brother of the Pontiff, held a position which was equivalent, in all but name, to that of a prime-minister; but the new envoy fancied that his own rank as peer of France exempted him from the duty of making the first visit of ceremony to one who was not, in the fullest sense, the representative of the Pope-King. Probably Créqui had reason on his side; but Pope Alexander complained to the grand monarch, and the punctilious ambassador was ordered to conform to the usages which he found in force at the Vatican. The self-love of Créqui was offended; and he eagerly awaited an occasion for revenge. On Aug. 22, a detachment of the Corsican guards entered the French quarter in the exercise of their functions, and were attacked by a superior force of French soldiers in the service of Créqui (1). The Corsicans retired to their barracks, and their indignant comrades immediately rushed to the embassy, then resident in the Farnese palace. Musket volleys were being exchanged between the parties, when the carriage of the duchess de Créqui, returning from a visit, entered the square, between the two lines of fire. One of her pages was killed, and two of her servants were wounded. Créqui found here his opportunity, and he immediately accused the Roman court, or at least the Chigi family, with having plotted against his life and the honor of his royal master. The Pope sent a messenger to convey the regrets of his Holiness; but Créqui threatened to pitch the envoy from the windows, if he dared to enter the embassy. The governor of Rome tendered guards for the defense of the building; but the pretendedly infuriated man affected to believe that they were destined to murder him. Then he summoned to his side all the Frenchmen in Rome, as well as all the scum of humanity to be found in his "privileged" quarter; and having posed, for some days, as the head of an army in a hostile territory, he bade a theatrical farewell to the Eternal City.

Before the papal explanations reached the French monarch, he had received Créqui's version of the affair. The Abbé

(1) Muratori says that many of Créqui's officers were Protestants. *Annals of Italy*, at y. 1662.

Régnier-Desmarais, an attaché in the suite of Créqui, wrote an account of the origin and consequences of this embroglio (1); but he was careful to publish only those documents which militated for the royal side of the case. In our day, however, the papal side of the question has been presented (2); and it reflects no credit on Louis XIV. So deeply did he feel the fancied insult to his dignity, that he at once ordered the nuncio, Piccolomini, to be conducted to the frontier of the kingdom; and he even prepared to invade the papal domain of Avignon. Then, when he had learned that the Pontiff was ready to accord every reasonable satisfaction, he submitted to his Holiness the following conditions as "preliminaries" for future negotiations: "If the Pope wishes sincerely to satisfy his Majesty, then, in order that his deeds may correspond to his words, let him take the hat from Cardinal Imperiali (the governor of Rome), the author of the attack against his Majesty in the person of his ambassador. Let the Pope immediately deliver to the king Don Mario (the brother of the Pontiff), to be treated as his Majesty pleases; it being capable of proof that Don Mario took part in the said attack, acting in concert with Cardinal Imperiali. Let the Pope cause the captain, lieutenant, and ensign of the Corsican guards, with fifty of the privates, to be hung in the Piazza Farnese; and let all the Corsicans, now in the service of the Holy See, be banished forever from the Papal States. Let the Pope cause also to be hung, in the Piazza Navona, the *barghello* of Rome (commander of the archers), together with fifty constables. Let the Pope promise to send as legate to France, as bearer of the apology of his Holiness, the person whom the king will be pleased to name. When these things shall have been performed *as a beginning*, we may indeed believe that the Pope desires to satisfy the king" (3). No wonder that Alexander VII. refused to consider, for a moment, conditions which were almost worthy of one of the Hohenstaufen, and which the acute intelligence of Louis XIV.

(1) *History of the Dissensions of the Court of France with that of Rome, Because of the Affair of the Corsicans.* Paris, 1707.

(2) By Charles Gérin, in the Introduction to his *Historical Researches Concerning the Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1682.* Paris, 1869.

(3) RÉGNIER-DESMARAIS; *loc. cit.*

must have known to be destined to rejection. The injustice of these demands should have been evident to the monarch ; for the explanations of the Pope, penned in all candor and simplicity, had been corroborated by the judgment of one of the wisest minds of the time. Nine days after the riot, Queen Christina of Sweden, then resident in Rome, had written the following letter to Lionne, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs: "I cannot avoid telling you certain truths which you will not hear from persons who are not so sincere and disinterested as I am. It is certain that the followers of M. de Créqui have conducted themselves in this city in the most extraordinary manner ; and that they have been guilty of insolence which would not have been tolerated in Rome, had it not been for the extreme respect which is felt here for an ambassador of France. Of course M. de Créqui is not to blame for the excesses of his people, since he has used all his authority to keep them within the bounds of decency ; but in spite of his severity, they have continued, in a thousand ways, to abuse the indulgence with which this government has treated them. They have outraged not only the citizens, but the guards and soldiers of the Pope on their posts ; and especially have they insulted the Corsicans. After long suffering, the Corsicans finally yielded to a desire for vengeance. The sole cause of this unhappy incident has been the evil conduct of the ambassador's followers, drawing on themselves the rage of the Corsicans ; and whatever may be said to you, the incident has had no consequences, unless those which have been imagined by persons who are enemies of the repose of Rome, and perhaps of the king's own glory—persons who, on this occasion, subordinate the king's service to their own interest. I know that you distrust me ; but be not deceived. No one in the world has been more displeased, aye, horrified, than I have been, because of this event ; and had my sentiments been regarded, prompt and exemplary punishment would have followed it, and the ambassador would have received such full satisfaction, that he would have dared to make no complaints to the king. There is here no lack of good-will to satisfy the king ; but the very nature of this ecclesiastical government, which is very slow

in the matter of executions, has not permitted the doing of all that you desire. But many demonstrations have been made; and I trust that they will satisfy the goodness and generosity of the king, more than they have gratified the passions and the interests of his ministers" (1). Two days after this letter was sent to Lionne, the queen wrote to King Louis: "My good brother, I know not what reasons induced M. de Créquy to leave this court, since he deemed it proper to withhold them from me, and I do not care to peer into mysteries which are, perhaps, beyond my capacity. But I can assure your Majesty that since the lamentable event, nothing has happened which could displease you. It is unfortunate for this court that the ambassador would not be content with any of the demonstrations offered to him; and that he has departed, leaving no hope of his ever being satisfied. I was a witness of many projects put forth for his contentment, and to dissipate the suspicions which he had conceived." The correspondence of Créquy with the king is interesting, inasmuch as it shows how the wily diplomat impelled his royal master to what was the most disgraceful procedure of his reign. Writing from Florence, whither he had retired, Créquy says: "Your Majesty should continue to display the same vigor which you showed in the beginning of this affair; and the more *éclat* you produce, the more will the timid court of Rome be inclined to satisfy you. It was with this in view that, contrary to the advice of many, I deemed it well to attack directly the relatives of the Pope, in the five propositions which I sent to the foreign ambassadors in Rome. A lordly procedure like this appears to me to befit the grandeur of your Majesty; and they (the relatives of the Pontiff) will derive from it a fear that extreme measures will be taken against them." King Louis vainly tried to corrupt some of the members of the Sacred College; and when he found that they were all invincibly attached to the Holy See, he mobilized a *corps d'armée* for an invasion of the Roman States. Alexander VII. made preparations for defense; but when he saw that none of the Catholic powers manifested any disposition to come to his aid, he so far yielded to brutal force as

(1) REGNIER-DESMARAIS; *loc. cit.*

to consent, in a treaty signed at Pisa, to send a cardinal to Paris who would bear the regrets of the Pontiff for the unfortunate affair of the Corsican guards. His Christian Majesty having also insisted on the erection in Rome of a pyramidal monument proclaiming that "thenceforth no Corsicans could serve the Apostolic See," the puerility was conceded; but a few years afterward, the king's good sense, and probably a feeling of shame, led him to countenance the destruction of the memorial. Prudence had compelled the Pontiff to yield in this matter all that justice to the tiara would permit him to yield; but with his own hand he drew up, and then deposited among his private papers (1), on Feb. 18, 1664, the following protest: "After we had used every possible means known to our paternal zeal, in order to prevent his Majesty from accomplishing his threats; and after we had gone so far as to consent to exorbitant satisfactions which the entire world knows to have been by no means due; we saw that his Majesty's anger was unappeasable. Then we prepared, during the past year, for the defence of our subjects, devoting to that purpose the sum of two millions—an amount which we have increased this year, trusting that we would receive the aid which we had besought from the emperor, from the republic of Venice, and from Catholic kings and princes. But since none of these have contributed the smallest sum to our defence, all alleging impediments of various kinds; and since the governor of Milan has allowed free passage to the French troops advancing to attack us, while he forbade such passage to the forces which we raised in Switzerland; and since the Venetians have furnished arms and provisions to the said attacking army; and since the Genoese and the duke of Savoy have done the same; and since France expects the same aid from the dukes of Tuscany and of Mantua; and finally, since the dukes of Parma and of Modena have made very large levies of troops: Therefore, in order that our successors and posterity may know that we have been compelled to these trans-

(1) This protest, generally ignored by modern historians, was found in the Vatican Archives by the Napoleonic captors of Pope Pius VII.; and was transported, with most of the other documents, to Paris. Daunou, the ex-Oratorian publicist and historian, found it while searching the archives, and inserted it in his *Essay on the Temporal Power of the Pope* (1818), vol. II.

actions by violence, and by a well-founded fear of the arms of his Most Christian Majesty, as well as by the need of obviating the greater evils which would accrue to Italy from a war waged by so great a power against the Apostolic See, now abandoned by the Catholic princes whose succor we had asked ; we protest before God, before the glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, that we have never ordered or approved said transactions ; and we declare that said acts and satisfactions were not effected by our free will, but were procured by insurmountable force and violence, and by a necessity of obviating evils which a war waged by France in Italy would have entailed on religion, on the Holy See, and on its subjects and vassals.

ALEXANDER PAPA VII. ; *manu propria*."

The celebrated Paul Pellisson, a converted Huguenot, whose writings are too seldom consulted by those who presumedly study the records of the time, before they attempt to comment on the reign of Louis XIV., says that during the course of this dissension with Pope Alexander VII., there was no allusion to the tendency often exhibited on similar occasions by the juriconsults of France, "sometimes usefully, but always dangerously, to re-establish the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1) ; nor was there any talk of prohibiting any sending of money to Rome, or of assembling National Councils in order to define the limits of ecclesiastial jurisdiction—a matter which is almost never approached, without the participants going further than they intended" (2). Pellisson had witnessed the debates of the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682, and this allusion is both just and delicate ; but he erred in supposing that the dissension with Alexander VII. was not made available for an attack on the pontifical prerogatives. In fact, this dissension furnished an occasion for an exhibition of a perfect outline of the Four Propositions which were soon to cause so much trouble. While his troops were marching toward the Papal States, King Louis instigated the Sorbonne to express its aversion for the matter of certain theses, favorable to the "ultramontane" claims, which had recently been defended on its benches ; and to gratify the monarch, the Theological

(1) For the meaning and history of this document, see our vol. iii., p. 170.

(2) *History of Louis XIV.*, vol. i., p. 227.

Faculty, headed by the archbishop of Paris, solemnly presented to his Majesty, on May 8, 1663, these six Articles : I. "It is not a teaching of the Faculty that the Supreme Pontiff has any authority in temporals over the Most Christian King ; indeed the Faculty has always opposed those who recognize (in the Pontiff) even a merely indirect authority in such temporals." II. "It is a teaching of the same Faculty that the Most Christian King neither recognizes nor has any superior other than God, in temporals ; and this teaching is the ancient doctrine of the Faculty, it having never swerved from said teaching." III. "It is a teaching of the Faculty that the subjects of the Most Christian King so owe to him fealty and obedience, that under no pretext can they ever be absolved from them." IV. "The Faculty declares that it does not approve, and that it never has approved, any propositions which are opposed to the authority of the Most Christian King, or to the Canons received in this kingdom ; for instance, (the proposition asserting) that the Pontiff can depose a bishop, in contradiction to those Canons." V. "It is not a teaching of the Faculty that the Supreme Pontiff is superior to a General Council." VI. "It is not a teaching or a dogma of the Faculty that the Supreme Pontiff is infallible, without the assent of the Church (to his declarations)." The reader will probably discern in these merely negative expressions an indication of the embarrassment in which the doctors of the Sorbonne found themselves ; an embarrassment afterward avowed by Coqueulin, chancellor of the Church of Paris, in his discourse as "Promoter" of the Assembly of 1682 (1). It is worthy of note that the extreme Gallican, Fleury, observed : "This proposition, that it is not a teaching of the Faculty that the Pope is infallible, is captious ; for it merely says that the Faculty does not adopt that doctrine, and it does not follow from its declaration that the Faculty rejects the doctrine, or prohibits the teaching of it" (2). In fact, although interested polemics have ignored the predicament of the Sorbonne, it is certain that the Faculty would not have adopted the six propositions, so strong was the opposition among the religious and even in the secular houses of the Sorbonne and Navarre, had not the

(1) *Procès-Verbal of the Clergy*, vol. x., p. 419.

(2) *Minor Works of Fleury*, p. 130.

parliament begun a persecution by suspending the syndic, because of his opposition to the Gallicans. The entire episode of the six articles was due to the parliamentary mania for interference in religious matters, rather than to any initiative of Louis XIV. The perfidious zeal of the magistrates in exciting a distrust of the ecclesiastical power in the breast of their young monarch, availing themselves of the pride so natural in one who occupied, at so early an age, the position of first layman in Christendom, has been unwittingly indicated to us by Deslions, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and a friend of "the great" Arnauld, in his manuscript *Diary*, telling us, at the date 1663, that "M. de Liancourt, having visited the *procureur-général*, informed him (Deslions) that this officer had seen the king in regard to the thesis (1), and that when his Majesty asked him what had brought him to the Louvre, he had replied that 'it was in order to learn *whether his Majesty willed that the Pope should be able to take the crown from his royal head, whenever his Holiness pleased*' ; and that the king being thunderstruck by the question, he had explained to his Majesty the meaning of the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, whereupon the king opened his eyes at the *novelty*" (2). The reader will note that this *novelty* was then nearly four centuries old, having been issued by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1302. However, we may allow this item to pass with a smile, for the king may have deferred to the superior canonical knowledge of his procurator ; but we find it strange that the royal jealousy for the temporals of the crown should have induced Louis to countenance the fear of his jurists in the matter of the pontifical infallibility. On March 21, 1662, writing to Henri de Maupas, bishop of Puy, who was then soliciting at Rome, in the name of the French king and nation, the canonization of the then Blessed Francis de Sales, the monarch had spoken of papal infallibility in terms which would have more than satisfied any "ultramontane." After congratulating the prelate on having procured a shortening of the delay usually demanded between beatification and canonization, Louis said : "We had not hoped for so great a fa-

(1) The thesis which M. Drouet de Villeneuve, bachelor in theology in the house of Navarre, had defended before the Sorbonne in defense of the papal infallibility, etc.

(2) B. L., MS. Fr. Sorbonne, 1258, cited by Gérin, *ubi supra*.

vor; and this celerity, in a matter of such importance, shows that the mind of his Holiness has been extraordinarily impressed by Him who gives to the Pontiff INFALLIBILITY *in those things which he establishes in the Church for her utility and for the greater glory of God*" (1). This admission did not prevent the king from allowing the advocate-general, Talon, to denounce the "ultramontane" theses in parliament; nor did it impel him to interfere when a parliamentary deputation appeared before the Faculty of the Sorbonne on Jan. 22, 1663, and having prohibited the defense of any "ultramontane" teachings, ordered the decree to be read before all the doctors, and to be inscribed in the Registers of the Faculty. To the credit of the Sorbonne be it said that at first the Faculty refused to obey, consenting only to deliberate on the matter; and it was only when Grandin, the syndic, had been suspended, that seventy timid doctors signed the six equivocal articles. Nineteen years afterward, when the Sorbonne hesitated to register the famous Four Articles of 1682, the procurator, Harlay, complacently reminded the chancellor, Le Tellier, of the pressure exercised on the doctors in 1663, advising a repetition of the operation.

Peace having been made with the court of Rome, as we have seen, the royal counsellors and the Gallican jurists bided the time when they could make an attack under the sanction of an authority more august than that of a mere Faculty of a University. "They remained faithful," says Gérin, "to that policy of *humiliating Rome*—a policy the secret of which Bossuet has handed down to us; and until they could provoke another onslaught, they continued to load with chains that Gallican Church whose liberties they constantly pretended to defend. Those very men who so exalted the authority of a General Council, when there was a question of attenuating that of the Pope, presumed to subject the Council to the secular power. They had arrogated to themselves the right of permitting or of prohibiting all provincial Synods, assemblies which the latest General Councils had ordered to be held, at least, every three years; and 'although the cessation of these assemblies had been the chief cause of a re-

(1) B. L. MSS. Fr. 20, 657.

laxation of discipline,' they prohibited them, being 'afraid of a union of four bishops' (1). They extended still further the limits of that secular jurisdiction which Fleury terms 'the great servitude of the Gallican Church' (2). The opportunity so eagerly desired was afforded to the Gallican jurists by the culmination of the question of the *Regalia*—a question which was but too similar to that concerning Investitures which distracted Church and Empire during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries (3). *La Régale* was the term by which was known the "right" which the crown of France had arrogated to itself, for several centuries, of appropriating the revenues of certain bishoprics during the vacancy of the sees; and also of nominating to the benefices which were of episcopal collation in said sees; both of these "rights" being exercised until the new ordinaries had taken the oath of fidelity to the monarch, and had registered the oath in the *Chambre des Comptes*. This so-called right was an exceptional one; and it had originated, in certain dioceses, in the pious foundations of certain princes, and in the protection which those princes had accorded to the churches, when widowed of their pastors, against the violence and cupidity of the feudal nobles. The Second General Council of Lyons (y. 1274) had authorized the *Regalia* in those dioceses where it was already established; but had prohibited its introduction into others. Very many of the French dioceses, notably those of Languedoc, Guyenne, Provence, and Dauphiny, had always been exempt from the custom; and just as after the Second Council of Lyons, so before it, all the monarchs had spoken of the *Regalia* as of an entirely exceptional affair. None of the mediæval French sovereigns would have presumed to intro-

(1) *Minor Works of Fleury*; p. 137.

(2) It is interesting to hear the ultra-Gallican, Fleury, telling how "The parliament disputed with the ecclesiastical authority for the right of judging the bishops; and when unfortunately a scandalous bishop was found, his crimes were regarded as irremediable evils, to be tolerated until his death." *Minor Works*, p. 171. And hearken to this admission: "The appeals for abuse (of power, on the part of bishops) ruined ecclesiastical jurisdiction. According to the laws, this appeal was to be entertained only when the matter was very grave, and when the bishop had notoriously exceeded his rights, or when his action involved the liberties of the Gallican Church. As a matter of fact, the appeal *comme d'abus* became the rule; it was the ordinary means whereby a bad priest retained his benefice, in spite of his bishop, tiring out the prelate with never-ending prosecutions." (*Ibid.* in *Preface*, p. 30).

(3) See our vol. ii., ch. 13.

duce the custom where it did not already exist. But in time, the parliaments endeavored to establish the notion that the *Regalia* was a right inherent in the crown, and every exception to it a consequence of the pure favor of His Majesty. When Henry IV. declared in an edict of 1606 (art. 27), that he "understood the right of *Regalia* in the sense of his predecessors, without any extension of it to the churches exempted from it," the parliament indeed registered the document; but on April 24, 1608, the same body pronounced its judgment that "The king enjoys the right of *Regalia* in the diocese of Belley, *just as in every other diocese of his kingdom.*" Henry prohibited the execution of the judgment. During his entire reign, Louis XIII. exhibited the same deference to the rights of the Church. But with the advent of Louis XIV. the hopes of the Gallican jurists were encouraged; for, as it was declared in the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682, "since 1638 there was scarcely any assembly of the clergy that did not appoint a commission for the *Regalia*" (1). In 1673 and 1675 there were issued two royal declarations to the effect that all the French dioceses were subject to the obnoxious custom; and that such prelates as had not yet "closed the *Regalia*" (2), should do so in six months. Caulet, bishop of Pamiers, and Pavillon, bishop of Alet, refused to obey the order; and although they had been at the head of their dioceses, one for thirty-six, and the other for thirty-two years, the king declared that the *Regalia* was not yet "closed" by them, and he began to distribute not only the benefices which were then vacant in their jurisdictions, but also many which were then occupied. Of course the determined prelates refused to recognize the royal appointees. Pavillon died in 1677; but Caulet, expiating, as far as it was possible, his error in having adhered to the Jansenistic theories in regard to the Formula of Pope Alexander VII. (y. 1665), showed himself superior to his isolation and his failing years by resisting not only the royal officers, but also his metropolitan, the archbishop of Toulouse, the blind creature of the court. The history of this lamentable affair is at the easy command

(1) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 378. Report of M. Chéron to the Assembly of 1682.

(2) *Clore la Régale* was the phrase applied to the taking and registering of the oath.

of the student. We shall only note that when Caulet and Pavillon appealed to Pope Innocent XI., that Pontiff vigorously upheld their resistance. Then the government of His Most Christian Majesty undertook to gain a victory by means of confiscation, imprisonment, and even by a condemnation to death, and an execution in effigy, of Cerle, the vicar-capitular of Pamiers. Finally, in order to put an end to the question of the *Regalia*, which, though in an inferior degree, had become, like the olden contest on Investitures, a monumental scandal to Christendom, the Gallican jurists convoked the famous Assembly of the French Clergy of 1682, to which we shall devote a special chapter.

Had this question of the *Regalia* involved a mere matter of money, as all rationalistic and nearly all Protestant historians shamelessly assert, neither the Roman Pontiff nor the high-toned Louis XIV. would have allowed it to induce a rupture between them. No fact in history is more evident than that the Holy See had nothing to gain, from a pecuniary point of view, by its opposition to the royal claims. During a vacancy in a diocese which was not subject to the *Regalia*, the episcopal revenues were always employed by the Cathedral Chapter in the interests of their flock, or they were reserved for the future incumbent. We are not surprised when pamphleteers who are termed historians ignore this fact; but it is rather strange that a really erudite publicist and statesman should assert the contrary. When such a man as Jules Favre utterly travesties the truth in regard to the *Regalia*, in an address to the political representatives of his nation, one is sickened by his mendacity. On March 21, 1861, at the time when his brethren of the Dark Lantern were conducting the Italian Revolution which was to eventuate in a temporary abolition of the secular dominion of the Supreme Pontiff, the great political leader dared to thus perorate in the French Chamber of Deputies: "Did Louis XIV. escape the attacks of Rome? Louis XIV. was, as you know, a religious king; he *had signed* the edict which consecrated the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But *after* this considerable concession to the Holy See, *he was the object of its anathemas*. And why? Always, gentlemen, *because of a question of money*. The Holy

See put forth the pretension of *arrogating to itself* a collection of the revenues of all the benefices which were vacant in the kingdom. The king refused ; he assembled his clergy ; and *to the Bull which Clement XI. had fulminated against him, he replied by the Four Articles of the Declaration of 1682*" (1). The scholarly attainments of Jules Favre compel us to qualify each of these sentences as not merely an egregious blunder, but as a deliberate lie. Firstly, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which Favre assigns to a date previous to the Assembly of 1682, occurred three years after that Assembly, namely, in 1685. Secondly, the famous revocation was not "a concession to the Holy See." At the time of the revocation, Louis XIV. was on bad terms with the Roman court, and precisely because of the actions of the Assembly of 1682. The king was just then not at all disposed to effect anything which would please the Pontiff. After the revocation, Louis tried to obtain from Rome an endorsement of his measure ; but he succeeded only in inducing the Pontiff to order a *Te Deum* for the conversion of many heretics. The parliamentary records show that the advocates-general found fault with the Holy See, in full session, for blaming King Louis because of his peculiar method of extirpating heresy from his kingdom. Thirdly, no Pope ever made Louis XIV. the "object of his anathemas." Had Jules Favre been animated by a love of truth, and not by that virulent hatred of Rome which was his Masonic endowment, he would have proclaimed that while the Pontiff (Innocent XI.) plainly informed His Majesty that he was incurring the risk of future excommunication, nothing approaching anathema was ever pronounced. Fourthly, the dissension between the Roman and French courts was not "a question of money," in the sense that Rome was trying to fill her coffers with the revenues of French churches. The question was whether the service of the altar ; the education of the priesthood, and the proper support of the clergy ; the care of the sick, the poor, and the orphans ; were to be abandoned for the pecuniary aggrandizement of royal favorites. Not a document has ever been produced in favor of the barefaced assertion that the revenues of a diocese, *sede*

(1) Thus reported in the Paris *Moniteur* of March 22, 1861.

vacante, were claimed by the Holy See. Fifthly, Clement XI. no more “fulminated a Bull” against Louis XIV. than did any other Pope; and if he had done so, his action could not have been rebuked as Favre asserts: “To the Bull which Clement XI. had fulminated against him, he replied by the Four Articles of the Declaration of 1682.” Pope Clement XI. did not ascend the papal throne until the year 1700. It is not improbable that long life is the destiny of the lie which Jules Favre helped to rejuvenate; for such lies nourish the life-blood of the sect which Favre illustrated. Several years after the ebullition had been stigmatized by all sincere erudites, Camille Rousset, a professor in the University, historiographer of the Ministry of War, member and laureate of the French Academy, etc., etc., did not hesitate to say, in a generally profound work on Louvois: “To whom belonged the right of receiving the revenues of vacant benefices; to the king or to the Pope? This *question of money* had quickly become one of general politics. The financial skirmish had ended in a battle between the ecclesiastical and lay powers, between the Church and the Empire.” And Camille Rousset is a historian “crowned by the Institute”—an institution *quantum mutata ab illa!* However, from the school of Favre and Rousset we could expect only such denunciations of papal arrogance; they affect to read history as the Protestant historian, Larrey, a contemporary of the grand monarch, read it when he congratulated Louis on his “not having wished to deviate from the firmness of his royal predecessors, who knew how to maintain their *right of Regalia or of investiture against the tyranny and usurpation of the court of Rome*” (1). But it is painful to find the spirit of party so influencing the pious and learned Cardinal de Bausset, as to make him regret that a Roman Pontiff should have been so zealous “in a question like that of the *Regalia*, which had nothing to do with religion or morality.” Bausset lived at a time when he could have regarded the aberrations of his Gallican predecessors with judicial equanimity; and we wonder that a mind so logical as that of Bausset could have blamed His Holiness for condemning “the conduct of so religious a

(1) *History of Louis XIV.*, vol. v., p. 71. Berlin, 1714.

prince as Louis XIV., one toward whom the Church had incurred so many obligations" (1).

It is a remarkable fact that nearly all modern historians, while they ever display a feverish and frequently unjustified zeal in denouncing the attitude of monarchs whom inclination or force of circumstances has brought into hostile contact with parliaments and constitutions, are always at least complacently silent, when the secular Majesties lay sacrilegious hands on the things of the sanctuary. Especially is this spirit characteristic of most of the moderns who have pretended to unfold the panorama of French history; whether Frenchmen or of other nationality, too many of these authors are imbued with the spirit either of Jansenism, or of Protestantism, or of Rationalism, or of that which is the synthesis of all these pests—the Revolution. Our ears are dinned by lamentations concerning the encroachments of post-medieval French sovereigns, especially of those of the elder Bourbon line, on the privileges of the nobles, on the rights of parliaments, on the franchises of communes, etc.; and when Louis XIV. is brought upon the scene, we are treated to most eloquent tirades on his affected omnipotence (2).

(1) *Life of Bossuet*; bk. vi., § 5. Paris, 1846.

(2) Nearly all English and German historians, not one of whom either does justice to the grand qualities of Louis XIV., or evinces any true appreciation of his reign, eagerly seize on a neat little concoction of certain unreliable French Memoirists—that now incessantly quoted phrase, "I am the State," as a verbal picture of the monarch's entire career. Did Louis XIV. ever use this phrase? Did the self-contained, dignified, and gentlemanly sovereign of then really polite France descend so low as to use such language, and in circumstances and with adjuncts belittling a guard-room, perhaps, but assuredly not appropriate in the presence of a parliament? Voltaire tells us that in 1655 the seventeen-year old King rushed into the parliament chamber, "in top-boots, and whip in hand," and ordered the president to put an end to such assemblages. But Voltaire gives no authority for this assertion, and his own age renders it improbable that he had heard of the event from an eye-witness. If he did, it is strange that not one contemporary author mentions the supposed fact. The younger Lacretelle, writing in 1820 in the *Biographie Michaud* (vol. xxv.), repeats the story of Voltaire, and so does Sismondi in his *History of the French* (vol. xxiv.). Henri Martin carefully notes the king's whip and top-boots; but it is strange that so grave an author should confound the "bed of justice"—a solemn session of Parliament, during which the king sat on a pile of cushions—with a piece of bedroom furniture, and that he should find fault with the royal uncouthness in going to bed with boots and spurs unremoved. (*History of France*, vol. xii., p. 467; Paris, 1858, 4th edit.) Then Martin informs us that Louis prohibited all self-initiated meetings of Parliament, in "four words"; that is, this author insinuates that the monarch cried, "I am the state," when the president pleaded that the good of the country might require such meetings. Lavalée's *History of the French*, vol. iii., p. 197; Paris, 1847; and Bonnechese in the *Biographie Diderot*, art. *Louis XIV.* also harp on the boots, spurs, and whip of the young king, "who could well say, '*L'Etat—c'est moi*;' " that is, according to these writers, if he did not use these very words, he might

These declamations are sometimes justified, to a considerable extent; but the sincere Catholic student of history insists that much of their force might have been exercised in showing how the olden royalty was almost as ready as its modern successor has been in an attempt to enslave the Church. When Louis XIV. took his stand in the matter of the *Regalia*, he experienced too little resistance on the part of the French bishops. The vaunted protector of the "liberties" of the Gallican Church found a body of sycophants at his feet; and he could easily issue his declarations of 1673 and 1675. Louis XIV. was a profoundly religious man, if not such in his personal practice during his early manhood, at least always such at heart; and perhaps, therefore, his success might not have entailed irretrievable damage on the Church of France. But was it certain that succeeding rulers would know when, or would be willing, to put a limit to their encroachments? Fortunately for France, and therefore for Christendom, the gage of battle was lifted by the Roman Pontiff, the true protector of the true liberties of all the Churches. Far from us be any inclination to institute a parallel between Louis XIV., the upholder of the right of

well have done so; "for they were the sincere expression of a belief, and even the simple expression of a fact." Dareste observes (*History of France*, vol. v., p. 353; Paris, 1738), that the first writer to mention the whip in the hand of Louis on this occasion was the Abbé Choisy, who wrote about the year 1700; but who, admits Dareste (who believes in the boots and spurs), was by no means a reliable authority. But in the *Memoirs* of Choisy, published in the *Collection Petitot* (Series II., vol. 63), there is no mention of the whip. As for the top-boots which displease so many, and which Voltaire puts on the king during his supposed outburst against the parliament in April, 1655, one of the most impartial writers of modern France, A. Chenuel, (*Monarchical Administration in France*, vol. ii., p. 32; Paris, 1855) draws our attention to the fact that the king was hunting when he suddenly resolved on facing his parliament; and that, at any rate, if he had not gone in his carriage, he would necessarily have been in top-boots, for these were then the habitual foot-gear of three-fourths of the population. And, after reminding us that Paris still deserved its ancient name, *Lutetia*, this author cites the commissary La Mare, who says that "those of us who saw the commencement of the reign of his Majesty Louis XIV., remember how the streets of Paris were so muddy that it was necessary to wear top-boots." Now, there is no good foundation for this story of whip, boots, and spurs; nor is there any at all for its adoring phrase, "I am the State." The Duke de Noailles, who was the first to draw attention to this matter (*loc. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 667), says: "Louis XIV., resolute in abolishing the political pretensions advanced by the parliament after the Fronde, and in restricting that body to its judiciary functions, may have shown some passion in the execution of his task, but he never acted in the cavalier fashion attributed to him—a fashion so little consistent that his ideas of the royal dignity, and with his respect for the great bodies of the State. He executed his design, firstly, in the session of December 22, 1695, with all the solemnity of a 'bed of justice'; and, secondly, without that solemnity in the session of April 26,

Regalia, and the German emperors who deluged the best part of Europe with blood, rather than loosen their hold on cross and ring in the matter of Investitures ; but it is certain that the policy of the grand monarch, no less than that of the Hohenstaufen, tended to a refusal to the Church of a right to hold property. And from the days of Arnaudd of Brescia to those of Henry VIII. of England, history showed Pope Innocent XI. that an attack on ecclesiastical property was always followed by religious revolution. Innocent XI. was inflexible in his resistance, because his foresight was accurate ; and he appreciated correctly the spirit of the Gallican jurists who were blinding the perceptions of their ambitious sovereign. In 1650, Antoine Estienne, librarian-in-ordinary to the king, had published at Paris, *avec privilège*, a *Remonstrance* to His Majesty, wherein the author, hiding under the pseudonyme of François Paumier, taught that "the kings of France have a sovereign right over the temporalities of all the churches of the kingdom, and the power to use those temporalities, by advice of their Council, in all the necessities of the state ; that the clergy are naturally incapable, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, of acquiring or pos-

1667.... These were the only sessions at which Louis XIV. assisted, and the *Journal* of Olivier d'Ormesson, which enters into minute details of them, makes no mention of the arrogant speech which has been so much censured." And it is to be noted that the *Journal* edited by De Noailles is most favorable to the parliamentary cause, and therefore it would not have omitted to record any arrogance on the part of the monarch. Nothing can be more absurd than the supposition fostered by our modern *doctrinaires*, and almost universally accepted, that all France was submissive to the nod of Louis XIV. "When we see the royal power so extensive and so effective," says De Tocqueville, "we might be led to believe that all independence of spirit had disappeared with public liberty, and that the French had become used to subjection ; if so, we would be greatly mistaken, for the old *régime* was not one of servility. Amid many institutions already prepared for absolute power, liberty survived." (*The Old Régime and the Revolution* ; chap. xi., Paris, 1856). Louis XIV. well knew, remarks De Carné, "how to direct reform without unchaining revolution ; and he was always influenced by the *truly* liberal ideas which had slowly but surely made their way from the time of St. Louis to that of Richelieu." (*The Administrative School of Louis XIV.*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1857). No ruler has ever been so much and perhaps so extravagantly praised by the literary men of his day as Louis XIV. ; but, to use the words of De Noailles, the universal hymn was sincere, and it contained many daring expressions which excluded all servility. The duties of a sovereign have seldom been more clearly enunciated than they were by Racine, in his great play of *Athalie* (act 4, scene 3), which was first presented, before the grand monarch's whole court, in 1691 ; that is, at a period when he was in the very zenith of his glory, and therefore, as is presumed, at the culmination of his arrogance. The same may be said of the address of Boileau to the king, in 1669, one year after the taking of the Aix-la-Chapelle ; and of many sentiments in the *Characters* of La Bruyère. Let the reader examine these passages, and then decide whether it is at all probable that the monarch who permitted, nay gladly acclaimed, such

sessing any immovable property ; that the ecclesiastics are merely *usufructuarii* of one-third of the church estates, and care-takers of the other two-thirds ; that the supreme law on which this principle (of robbing the Church) is founded, is the well-being of the people, a law which does away with every exemption, and which sometimes turns sovereign injustice into sovereign equity ; that one of the chief reasons for which the clergy have ever been allowed to acquire property, was that the kings might, in future necessities, find a present, easy, and powerful remedy for those necessities." This naive document, which may have been studied by the Juarez and the Cavour of our day, appeared during the minority of Louis XIV. ; but its principles were again inculcated in the famous *Letters : Ne Repugate* (y. 1750). In 1669, Vayer de Boutigny, an instrument used by Colbert when he wished to attack the prerogatives of the Church, published his treatise on *The Authority of Kings in the Administration of the Church*, in which he attributed to the king not only a temporal, but also a spiritual supremacy over the Church in France. These may suffice as specimens of the opinions which Colbert, the chief counsellor of the monarch in ecclesiastico-temporal matters, obtained from

sentiments, would have exclaimed : "*L'Etat—c'est moi.*" While Louis XIV. was yet a boy, Cardinal Mazarin said of him that "he had in him the material for four kings and an honest man"; and if we read the *Memoirs* which the king prepared for the guidance of his heir, we shall not only find much truth in the saying of the Cardinal-Minister, but we will agree with the not too partial Sismondi when he says that these *Memoirs* give an exalted idea of the extent and accuracy of the king's views, and show us how hard he labored to perform his duty as a ruler, and also how profound was the moral sentiment which animated him. In these *Memoirs*, Louis XIV. shows us the sense in which he would have used the famous phrase, if it ever could have been uttered by him. He would simply have meant to express the idea of a community of interest subsisting between king and country: "My son, we must think much more of the welfare of our subjects than of our own. It would seem that they are a part of ourselves, for they are the members of a body of which we are the head. It is only for their advantage that we should make laws for them, and our power over them should be exercised solely for their well-being. . . . The position of a king is great, noble, and flattering, when the king feels that he can fulfil all the engagements into which he has entered. . . . When the king has the State before his mind, he labors for himself : the welfare of one is the glory of the other. When the State is prosperous and powerful, he who is the cause of all this, is glorious, and he consequently enjoys, even more than his subjects, the agreeable side of life." Little need be said about that phrase, "I have almost had to wait—*J'ai failli attendre.*" another saying which is often ascribed to the exquisitely polite Louis XIV. Such a *petitesse* would not have escaped the notice of the crotchety duke de Saint-Simon ; but he tells us, on the contrary, in his *Memoires*, vol. xii., that "the king never allowed an uncomplaisant word to escape him, and if he had to reprimand or correct, which rarely happened, he always did so with more or less of kindness, never with anger, and seldom with asperity."

the magistrates, court-theologians, and others of that ilk whom he was wont to consult. Of course the Gallican jurists did not openly advocate the extreme views which we have just cited; they were defended before an Assembly of the Clergy for the first time in 1690, and then by the Councillor of state, Pussort, an uncle and disciple of Colbert (1).

Pope Innocent XI. was convinced, and rightly, that Louis XIV. would never present as principles the heretical notions advanced by publicists like Estienne, Vayer, and Pussort; but he saw that the monarch's practice in regard to Church property was a partial actuation of those theories. The *Memoirs* of the time, especially those of Mad. de Sévigné and the duke de Saint-Simon, speak in such a matter-of-course fashion of the king's disposal of ecclesiastical revenues, that it is evident that his conduct caused no surprise; even the contemporary ecclesiastical writers deplore the evil in a merely perfunctorial fashion. We must not forget, however, that in this matter Louis XIV. followed a course to which he was seemingly invited by the injudicious Concordat which Pope Leo X. had concluded with Francis I. in 1516—a measure which we have frequently been obliged to criticise unfavorably. By this Concordat, *commendes* (2) and pensions from ecclesiastical revenues, which had hitherto been exceptionally allowed for the good of religion, became the order of the day; the kings were enabled to provide comfortable incomes for a horde of parasites by a practical secularization of the patrimony of the poor. Anthony Arnauld, writing in 1681, says: "The abuse of *commende* causes right-minded persons to groan. If the Church could tolerate the *commende* when they were given to pious persons, who, called to the ecclesiastical state,

(1) See the *Memoirs* of the Abbé Le Genévre, p. 118. Paris, 1733.

(2) Even in the fourth century, as we learn from St. Ambrose *op. cit.*, the administration of a vacant diocese or abbey was often entrusted to a person already enjoying another benefice. During the time of the barbaric invasions, the *commende* furnished a means of supporting expelled bishops or religious, they transferring the revenues of their own charges to some powerful person, while reserving their titles, and trusting to resume the revenues in more propitious times. Naturally abuses arose; and after many remedial regulations during the course of centuries, especially by Boniface VIII., Clement V., Gregory XIII., and Innocent X., the Council of Trent proscribed the *commende*, unless as mere titles of honor. In France and Germany, however, where the disciplinary decrees of Trent were not received, the abuses continued. At the Revolution, the *commende* disappeared in France.

made good use of their revenues by aiding the poor, instructing the ignorant, and converting sinners by force of the Gospel preached by zealous men; it is now an abomination to see so many of them in unworthy hands. . . . Abbeys are given to boys of fifteen, who do not intend to become monks. A dispensation is asked from the Pope; and if he does not concede it, they do without it" (1). Take the instance of Cluny, that nursery of saints and doctors, and one of the chief glories of mediæval Europe. In spite of the ancient canons, of the Concordat of Leo X., and of the Council of Trent, Richelieu and Mazarin had been commendataries of this venerable abbey; and on the death of Mazarin it should have passed under the rule of an abbot chosen by its monks, and from among themselves. But Louis XIV. wanted its revenues for that creature of his policy in Italy, Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este. The resistance of the monks was long and energetic; as is evinced by the correspondence of Gaumont, the royal commissioner, with Colbert and Lè Tellier; but finally, after expelling some of the monks, and after the intimidation of others, His Majesty gained his point. When the cardinal died in 1672, the monks elected one of their brethren, Dom Bertrand de Beuvron; but the Council of State annulled their act, and during eleven years the temporalities were administered by Pellisson, the *maitre des requêtes*. In 1670 the king nominated to the grand-priorship of the French division of the Knights of Malta a son of one of the bastards of Henry IV.; and it is melancholy to read in the remonstrance of the knights, already in their decadence, that if M. de Vendome had been a natural *son* of a king, and not merely a *grandson*, they would have concurred willingly in the royal appointment (2). The ancient and glorious abbeys of Chelles and of Fontevrault were delivered to relatives of two of the concubines of the grand monarch. Pope Innocent XI. opposed all such transactions by every possible means; and in the Bull whereby he condemned the *Regalia*, we read his refusal to countenance the gift of the abbeys of Saint-Germain des Prés and of Saint-Denis to the Count de Vexin,

(1) MS. Fr. 12986 in Nat. Library.

(2) DEPPING; *Administrative Correspondence Under Louis XIV.*, vol. iv., p. 700, Paris, 1852.

one of the sons of the king by the Montespan. Unfortunately, the concourse of the French bishops was wanting in the efforts of the Pontiff. We have said enough to convince the reader that Joseph de Maistre did not exaggerate, when he said: "The *Regalia* tended directly to an introduction of the investiture by cross and ring, to change a benefice into a fief" (1). That such was really the disposition of the royal jurists who were then consulted by Louis XIV., is evident to all who are able to examine certain engravings designed by Pierre Lepautre at this period, for the ornamentation of the many works which the dispute on the *Regalia* caused to appear (2). One of these pictures represents Pope Adrian I. and Charlemagne seated under the same canopy, and on chairs of the same height, as though they were potentates of equal rank. The Pontiff holds a Bull whereby he is granting the right of investiture to the king of the Franks, as is indicated by this inscription: "Pope Adrian declares that the archbishops and bishops shall receive investiture from the king." These words are taken from a Constitution which Adrian I. *was said* to have published at Rome in 774; but which was certainly forged in either the eleventh or twelfth century by some schismatics in the interest of the German emperors. The effrontery of the Gallican circulators of this engraving is inexplicable, when we reflect that several years before it appeared, those firm Gallican leaders, Archbishop de Marca and Noel Alexandre, had proclaimed their agreement with Baronio's demonstration that the cited document was a forgery (3). Another engraving tries to show that the bishops of France sympathize with King Louis in his dissension with the Holy See; and the designer hesitates not to compare that monarch, in his fancied laudation of him, with the sacrilegious Philip the Fair. We see the king holding a *lit de justice*, and with his chancellor at his feet, listening to a bishop who is reading to him this passage from the Bull in which Clement V. condemned the Templars: "*Motum et*

(1) *The Gallican Church*, bk. ii., ch. 2.

(2) They are to be seen in the National Library at Paris: *Collection of Fontaineu*, and the *Work of Pierre Lepautre*.

(3) BARONIO; *Annals*, y. 744. PAGE; *ibid.*—DE MARCA; *Harmony of Church and Empire*, bk. 8.—ALEXANDRE; *Hist. Eccl., Cent. VIII.*—BIANCHI; *Ecclesiastical Power*, vol. ii.

zelum regis in hac parte approbamus et laudum præconis effertimus." And we read, by way of a translation of this passage, "We approve and infinitely praise the zeal manifested by the king against the usurpations of Boniface VIII." When such incitations to revolt against the pontifical authority were tolerated by most of the bishops of France, is it wonderful that in his report on the *Regalia*, on Dec. 11, 1681, Archbishop le Tellier was obliged to acknowledge that the king conferred, *pleno jure*, benefices to which the care of souls was annexed? Is it strange that the same prelate was forced to deplore the fact that the titulars of those benefices "were exercising the spiritual functions attached to them, without recourse to the authority of the Church"; and that those beneficiaries "had received from the hand of the prince the spiritual weapons which Jesus Christ had conferred on His Church alone"? (1). Should we not wonder, in fine, on realizing the supineness of so many of the French bishops of that day, not that Louis XIV. went so far on the road to schism, but that he did not continue in that road to its bitter end? With one-half of the encouragement which Louis XIV. received from his prelates and jurists, one of the Hohenstaufen would have embraced Islam.

In 1687 the dissension between the Holy See and Louis XIV. was aggravated by the determination of Pope Innocent XI. to apply to France a prohibition which he had already enforced in regard to other powers. The Pontiff had resolved, at the very beginning of his reign, to put an end to those "franchises" which were preposterously claimed by the foreign ambassadors in Rome, and which, as we have seen, had been the occasion of the lamentable episode of the Corsican Guards; he announced that thenceforth he would recognize no resident envoy who did not expressly renounce the hitherto claimed immunities. In 1680 he had enforced this determination in the case of Poland; in 1683 he had done the same in regard to Spain; and soon afterward the emperor had signified his readiness to observe the general regulation. The agitation consequent on the *Declaration* of 1682 was at its height when, on Jan. 30, 1687, the duke d'Estrées, ambas-

(1) *Procès-Verbal of the Clergy*, vol. v., p. 434.

sador of His Christian Majesty, died in Rome; and Rannucci, the papal nuncio in Paris, informed the king of what would certainly be required of his new envoy, endeavoring also to render compliance more reasonable by the example of the other powers. But Louis was in no mood, at that time, to yield one iota to a Roman demand; he replied to Rannucci that "he was not accustomed to regulate his conduct by that of others; that God had put him on his throne to give, not to receive example" (1). The marquis de Lavardin was accredited to the Holy See, and he was instructed to maintain the obnoxious "franchises." This action of the grand monarch was reprobated by some of his grossest flatterers. Thus, Bussy-Rabutin wrote to Mme. de Sévigné: "Let us tell the truth; these 'franchises' are condemnable, since they procure impunity for criminals" (2). And Mme. de La Fayette (Marie Proche de la Vergne), one of the stars of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, says: "We may defend the course adopted by the Pope in the affair of the 'franchises'; and we may also excuse his being offended at everything done in the Assembly of the Clergy" (3). The new envoy was a vainer and more presumptuous man than even that Créquy who had embroiled his master with Pope Alexander VII.; and it is not improbable that these qualities prompted his selection. Rome must have been astonished, when this ambassador entered her gates with an escort of eight hundred armed men; but she did not then know that previous to his arrival, he had sent into the city four hundred other soldiers, disguised as travellers, who were already quartered in houses near the Palazzo Farnese. Quite naturally the Pontiff refused to grant an audience to this singular envoy; but the unabashed man, ignoring the censures which his *quasi* brigandage had brought upon him, entered the French national church of St. Louis on the eve of Christmas, under pretext of devotion, though probably in a spirit of bravado. The *Memoirs* of Avrigny, Le Gendre, and of Coulanges inform us that Lavardin constantly kept up an appearance of being encamped in an en-

(1) SISMONDI; *History of the French*, vol. xxv., p. 554.—AVRIGNY, *Chronological Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 304. Paris, 1720.

(2) ROUSSET; *History of Louvois*.

(3) *Memoirs on the Court of France in 1688*. Paris, 1690.

emy's country ; *reveille* in the morning, calling of roll, relieving of sentinels, etc., and even trenches dug at the exit of every street leading into the Piazza Farnese. Meanwhile the Romans simply laughed at the poor man's theatricals ; and the Pope thought it wise, says Arrigny, "to let him cool down in his palace." When the French court learned that the Pontiff refused to grant an audience to Lavardin, its first impulse urged it to declare war on Rome. Prompted by Colbert, the advocate-general, Talon, as violent as he was servile, pronounced in parliament a discourse, of which the following passages are not the most worthy of the reprobation which they have received from even publicists who were hostile to the Church (1). "A king whom victory follows everywhere, and whose moderation alone has placed limits to his conquests, will not suffer the Pope to rob the ambassadors of all sovereigns of their franchises, and to include among those envoys the representative of him whose prerogatives should be superior to those of other monarchs. We may rest assured that the king will take every vigorous resolution, during his entire reign, which will ward off this disgrace from France. Is it not just that *he who has the right to compel Rome to recognize him as her sovereign*, should receive, in the person of his ambassadors, all the marks of respect and of deference which are due to the dignity of his crown, and to his own sacred person ?" It is not strange that, after this outburst from one of the royal cabinet, Louvois should have sent orders to the intendant of Provence to prepare transports for fifteen battalions which were to sail for Civita Vecchia at the dawn of spring. But this army was not sent. When spring arrived, the League of Augsburg was being prepared against France ; and Louis XIV. deemed it prudent to secure the electorate of Cologne for Cardinal Furstemberg—a measure which could not succeed, without the aid of the Pontiff. The effort of the Most Christian king to conciliate the Pontiff reminds one of the "diplomacy" exercised in later days toward the Holy See, by the German emperor, Joseph II., by the two Napoleons, and by Ca-

(1) For instance, the Jansenist, Feydeau, in his *Diary*, at date, Jan. 29, 1688 ; and Sismondi, *loc. cit.*, vol. xxv., p. 557.

your. Camille Rousset has revealed the secrets of this negotiation; and they were certainly unworthy of a Son of St. Louis (1). The royal wiles having failed, His Majesty, in the presence of his confessor, the Jesuit La Chaise, and of the archbishop of Paris, ordered his *procureur-général* to file a notice of an appeal to a future General Council against all past or future acts of the Holy See in derogation of the royal claims. The act of appeal was drawn on Sept. 27; and the Gallican jurists and parliamentary theologians urged the king to convoke a National Council. Louis perceived that he was being impelled toward schism, and he bluntly refused to follow the insidious counsel; and it is noteworthy that while he caused the act of appeal to be read to all the bishops who were then in Paris, *he did not request one bishop*

(1) " Louis XIV. resolved to make an extraordinary effort to conciliate the Pope; and he entrusted the delicate task to Chamlay (afterward marshal-general of the royal armies). Chamlay, disguised as a Flemish gentleman, and under the name of the Viscount d'Orchamps, received his instructions from M. de Croissy on July 6. Nothing is more strange than these instructions; all is mystery. The negotiator was to leave Paris stealthily; he was to reach Venice, and there remain hidden, until the postulation of Cardinal de Furstenberg, and then he was to hurry to Rome. Then all sorts of precautions were to be taken; he was to be seen neither by the marquis de Lavardin, nor by Cardinal d'Estrées, nor by any other Frenchmen. In case of discovery, he was to preserve his secret; he should pretend that he wanted to see the Pope on account of certain heavy sins he had committed, as he needed some special graces for the repose of his conscience. Then, still disguised as a Flemish gentleman, he was to seek an audience of the Pope in his private apartment. Having obtained the audience, he was to discover himself to the Pontiff, and then he should hand to his Holiness the king's letter, providing that the Pope was willing to receive it as though under the seal of confession, promising solemnly to speak of it to no person. If the Pontiff made this promise, Chamlay was to arrange the peace of Europe, the question of the Bulls for the new bishops, and the difficulties concerning the *Regalia*. . . . These three points having been settled, he was to approach the question of the franchises. . . . If the Pope refused, he was to withdraw; but before taking leave, he was to be careful in obtaining the royal letter, and not to conceal from his Holiness that if he were ever to make known the advances made by the king, both his Majesty and Chamlay would give him the lie. . . . The Viscount d'Orchamps arrived in Rome. Cassoni, on whom he had relied for a secret introduction to the Pope, remained deaf to all arguments, insensible to every seduction. Then he addressed himself to Cardinal Cibo; but his Eminence was as inflexible as Cassoni. Not knowing what to do, and in spite of his instructions, he revealed himself to the marquis of Lavardin. Then they took Cardinal d'Estrées into their confidence; and he, after another unsuccessful application to Cardinal Cibo, went straight to the Pope, and asked for an audience for a secret envoy from Louis XIV. He obtained only an abrupt refusal, and an order to never again touch such a subject. . . . On Aug. 18, Louvois and Croissy sent separate orders to Chamlay to return to Paris. . . . On Sept. 6, a royal letter was sent to Cardinal d'Estrées; it was most virulent, full of recriminations and threats, and declaring that the king now broke off all relations with Innocent XI. When the Pontiff had heard the letter, his sole reply was an invocation of the Justice of God. Then he summoned his secretary; and there, before Cardinal d'Estrées, he arranged for the expedition of the Bull conferring the archbishopric of Cologne on Prince Clement of Bavaria, exclaiming: ' Let the world fall; God will punish the guilty.' " *Loc. cit.*, pt. II., vol. II., p. 63 *et seqq.*

in the realm to adhere to it. This fact must be remembered; many of the French prelates had strained their orthodoxy to its utmost limits, but neither now nor afterward did they pass those limits, as was acknowledged by the papal counsellors when, on the occasion of the nomination of Forbin-Janson to the cardinalate, the question was raised as to whether he had incurred the censures pronounced by Pius II. against appellants from the Pope to a General Council. In fact, the courtier-bishops had reflected seriously on their position. "They had sounded," says Joseph de Maistre, "the abyss which yawned before them. They were wise; they merely thanked His Majesty most humbly for the honor which he had conferred on them by informing them of his acts. There was certainly weakness and even servility in this reply, thanking the king for honoring the bishops by informing them of an act which referred exclusively to religion; but that was not a period of religious intrepidity, and of priestly devotedness. We may praise these bishops for having ward-ed off a blow which was aimed at religion, even while they observed the exterior forms of respect for the dealer. When there is no rampart to defend one from bullets, a sack of wool is of some value" (1).

The zeal of the Gallican jurists in Paris had many dangerous imitators in the provinces. A magistrate in Poitiers hesitated not to declare publicly that "Louis XIV. was the visible head of the French Church" (2). The diatribes which the court encouraged were scarcely less virulent than this ebullition, even though they were flimsily orthodox. One of these appeared at Versailles under the form of a letter addressed by the king to Cardinal d'Estrées, which His Eminence was supposed to read to the Pontiff. By order of His Holiness, but without any official signature, an answer to this document, refuting the royal assertions, point by point, was prepared at Rome, and with good consequences; for the Protestant Leibnitz, a witness of them, says: "The public is satisfied with the reply of Rome to the letter to the Cardinal d'Estrées" (3). In 1689 the king manifested a sincere de-

(1) *Loc. cit.*, bk. ii., ch. 7.

(2) *Memoirs of Nicholas Foucault*, p. 541. Paris, 1730.

(3) *Works of Leibnitz*, vol. iii., p. 152. Edit. Foucher de Careil.

sire for reconciliation with the Holy See. Lavardin was recalled; and his successor, the duke de Chaulnes, was instructed to renounce all claim to the "franchises," and to promise the retrocession of Avignon, which the royal troops had occupied. A new Pontiff, Alexander VIII., now sat on the throne of St. Peter; but the king was disappointed, if he thought that his schemes would now be viewed in any different light from that in which they had been judged by Innocent XI. Alexander VIII. refused to issue the Bulls for the consecration of the many bishops-elect who were waiting for the papal confirmation of their royal nominations; promising to comply with the king's request, only when the candidates, all of whom had signed the *Declaration* of 1682, would have made a retraction of that act. By his Constitution *Inter multiplices*, the Pontiff "annulled, invalidated, and quashed" all the acts of the famous Assembly which concerned the ecclesiastical power; but hoping that the French bishops themselves would soon spontaneously make the desired retraction, he deferred the publication of the document. However, finding himself, a few months afterward, in imminent danger of death, he summoned to his room twelve cardinals, and promulgated the Constitution; then, two days before he died, he wrote to King Louis, informing His Majesty of this, the "last act of his apostolate," and begging the prince to see that it was enforced throughout France. This letter was carried to the king by the already famous abbé (afterward cardinal) Melchior de Polignac; and the young priest added his own eloquence so convincingly to that of the deceased Pontiff, that when he had departed, Louis said: "I have just been arguing with a man, and a young one, who continually contradicted me, without angering me for one instant" (1). The next Pope, Innocent XII., although Louis XIV. expected much from him, having favored his election, was as firm as Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. in defending the interests of the Church. He was, personally, very favorable to the House of Bourbon; thus, when Charles II., the childless king of Spain, consulted him as to his choice of an heir, he designated the grandson of Louis XIV., him who

(1) TOPIN; *Europe and the Bourbons Under Louis XIV.*, p. 23. Paris, 1830.

afterward obtained the Spanish crown (1). But when the French monarch touched on the matter of confirming the episcopal nominations which were awaiting his decision, Innocent XII. repeated the injunctions of his two immediate predecessors, refusing the necessary Bulls until the acts of 1682 had been disavowed. How the firmness of the Pontiff was rewarded; how the French bishops disavowed the *Declaration* of 1682; and how the grand monarch made a complete retractation of the acts which were unworthy of the Eldest Son of the Church; we shall show in the following dissertation on the famous Assembly.

CHAPTER X.

GALLICANISM. THE DECLARATION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FRENCH CLERGY IN 1682.

During the course of our disquisitions we have found so many occasions for comment on the theories of Gallican polemics concerning the relations of the Holy See with its spiritual subjects, and in regard to the relations of the spiritual hierarchy with the state, that no introduction to the study which we now approach is needed. We would remark, however, that although long usage has consecrated the application of the term "Gallican" to the principles once defended by so many "cismontane" publicists, and which were formally adopted by the Assembly which now claims our attention; that term is, nevertheless, a misnomer. Courtier-theologism and its consequent quasi-deification of the sovereign (or in the case of a republic, statolatry) have never been peculiarly French. But the term "Gallican" is especially misleading when it is applied to those who held anti-Roman views in regard to the internal government of the Church, and concerning the determination of matters of doctrine; for there was proportionably no larger number of decentralizing and anti-infallibilist theorizers in France than there was in any other country on this side of the Alps. Accuracy, therefore, would

(1) MIGNET; *Introduction to the History of the Spanish Succession*, Paris, 1845.—RANKE; *Papacy*, bk. viii., 17.—MOROSINI; *Relation on Rome*. Florence, 1707.

be attained more readily if, instead of the term "Gallican," we would apply the adjective "ecclesiarchist" to the school which, before the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, held that the supreme definitory and governmental power of the Church resided in the Church taken in her universality, the Pope being the centre of unity and enjoying a primacy of honor and of (strange admission, in the premises) jurisdiction; and the same ratiocination would assign the term "cathedrarchist" to the more ancient teaching of the papal effective supremacy (1). Such or similar terms would probably have been employed by Catholic publicists, had they not been influenced by the pre-eminent position which France has continually held in Christendom, almost from the day of her baptism at Rheims; and by the ability of the French anti-infallibilists, which was always far greater than that of those of other nationalities.

Before we enter upon a study of the famous Assembly of 1682, we would remind the reader that before the thirteenth century, history makes no mention of those "liberties of the French Church," in the name of which the Assembly was convoked; and that, far from being understood by the subjects of King St. Louis as the Gallicans interpreted them, those words then signified the immunities or franchises which the holy monarch and his successors accorded to the ecclesiastics, by way of protection against the exactions of the royal officers and the feudal lords. In his ordinance of April, 1228, St. Louis, or rather, his mother, Blanche of Castile, then regent, says not a word about the relations of the clergy or the laity with the Roman Pontiff; and so favorable did it prove to the Church, that we find, in 1250, Pope Innocent IV. thanking the queen-mother for having issued it. But long afterward, during the Great Western Schism, which, as we have seen, can be charged, in last analysis, to the tyranny of Philip the Fair; the French clergy sought to protect themselves, by means of the royal authority, against the demands of rival Popes whose titles they could not satisfactorily weigh, again styling their ancient customs "liberties of the

(1) LE NOIR: *The Theological Dictionary of Bergier Adapted to the Intellectual Movement of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, art. Gallicanism. Paris, 1876.

French Church." Then the legists adopted the phrase to cover their usurpations of the rights of ecclesiastics and of the Holy See. Thus came into existence parliamentary Gallicanism, a very different thing from the episcopal, as Bossuet wrote to Cardinal d'Estrées: "In my sermon I was necessarily obliged to speak of the liberties of the French Church, and I proposed two things to myself; firstly, not to diminish at all the veritable grandeur of the Holy See, and secondly, to explain those liberties as the *bishops* understand them, and not as the *magistrates* interpret them" (1). The reader cannot too carefully bear in mind the delinquencies of the parliamentary jurists which were covered by the specious cloak of "liberties of the French Church." Fleury, than whom few Gallicans were more zealous, says: "They who cry so loudly about these liberties attack them bitterly when they push the claims of the king to excess; and herein the injustice of Dumoulin is insupportable. When there is a question of blaming the Pope, he talks only of ancient Canons; and when the king is concerned, no usage is either new or abusive. Dumoulin, as well as the jurists who follow his maxims, are like the modern heretics; and they would willingly subject even the spiritual power to the temporal sway of the prince. If some foreigner, zealous for the rights of the Church, and not disposed to flatter the secular power, were to undertake a treatise on the *Servitudes* of the French Church, he would find abundant material. . . . They who think that because the Pope is not their temporal ruler, they need observe no restraint when speaking of his rights, cause us to suspect that their zeal for the king comes from either interested flattery or servile fear" (2).

Gallican publicists generally laud the Assembly of 1682 as having been composed of men who were eminent in both piety and learning. The famous jurisconsult, Dupin (*l'ainé*), ventures the assertion that "no assembly ever contained so many bishops and ecclesiastics who were noted for virtue and enlightenment" (3); and he adduces, as corroborative of his opinion, the brilliant picture which the most satisfactory bi-

(1) Letter of Dec., 1681.

(2) *Minor Works* (New); p. 156, *et seqq.*

(3) *Manual of French Ecclesiastical Law*. Paris, 1845.

ographer of Bossuet presents to our gaze, as he descants on the French Church of that day. "The Church of France was then distinguished, in an eminent degree, for those virtues, talents, regularity of morals, and a spirit of order and submission, which assure the success of religion, and the peace of empires. In the first rank were seen bishops whose names have been consecrated by the respect and admiration of posterity; or whose virtues, perhaps less striking, but no less useful, have rendered their memories dear to the dioceses which they governed. In a lower rank was a multitude of ecclesiastics spread throughout France, many of whom, by their example and their writings, incited all classes of society to love of religion, to a taste for virtue, and to respect for morality; while others founded or directed establishments of all kinds, which Christian charity had prepared for poverty, misfortune, and every human infirmity. Religious Orders or secular Congregations devoted themselves with as much zeal as disinterestedness to every branch of public instruction; or consecrated themselves to those profound investigations which still enrich every great library in Europe. Such was the beautiful spectacle presented by the Church of France at the time when the Assembly of 1682 was opened" (1). Bausset has good reason to admire "the beautiful spectacle presented by the Church of France," no less in the seventeenth century than at any other period since it issued from the Baptistry of Rheims; but his implication that the Assembly of 1682 was composed of the *élite* of that generally pious and enlightened body, in fine, that it well and properly represented the Church of France, is contradicted by the cold facts of history. It shall be our task to show that most of the thirty-six bishops, and most of the thirty-eight priests, who formed the famous Assembly, were by no means of a calibre which would justify a favorable comparison of them with the members of "any other ecclesiastical assembly." In the first place, we must note that at the time of the opening of the Assembly of 1682, the Church of France was in a state of decadence; Louis XIV., sincerely pious though he was, especially at that time, thanks to the influence of Mme. de Maintenon, had neverthe-

(1) BAUSSET; *History of Bossuet*, bk. vi. Paris, 1846.

less delivered or allowed to be delivered, many blows against the purity and liberty of the French episcopal body. The progress of reformation, incited by the Council of Trent, and which even the philosophistic Cousin acclaimed with admiration (1), had been arrested. Sts. Francis de Sales and Chantal, Sts. Vincent de Paul and Francis Regis, Eudes and Condren, Olier and Bourdaloue, had gone to their reward; and their places were not filled. Certainly there remained one of that galaxy of saints which will ever be the chief glory of the France of the seventeenth century—that holy canon of Rheims, whom we now venerate as Blessed La Salle, the founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; but such an abbé was not of the material which the Gallican jurists desired for the Assembly which was to defend the “liberties” of their Church from the “encroachments” of Rome, and instead of nominating him, they procured the election of his unworthy fellow-canon, the epicurean, Maucroix, of whom the best thing that could be said was that, in the words of Le Gendre, he was “*homo lepore et venustate affluens, non tam suis quam alienis luminibus clarus*—fit, in fine, to become the secretary of the Assembly. None of the holy ecclesiastics just mentioned would have served the cause of Gallicanism; all of them, and all who were at all similar to them, whether regulars or seculars, religious or women of the world, ever demonstrated their childlike fidelity to the Holy See. There were the communities instituted by Olier at Saint-Sulpice, by Bourdoise at Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, and by Claude Bernard at the Seminary des Trente-trois; all destined to bind France and

(1) “The religious spirit, after having overflowed in the civil wars, and given birth to the great crimes and great virtues of the League, purified but not weakened by the Edict of Nantes and the policy of Henry IV., found new force in peace, and covered France no longer with factions armed against each other, but with pious institutions in which tired souls hastened to find a refuge. Everywhere the ancient Orders were reformed, and new ones founded. Richelieu undertook courageously a reformation of the clergy, created seminaries, and fixed the Sorbonne as their model and tribunal. Berulle instituted the Oratory, and Caesar de Bus the Christian Doctrine. The Jesuits, born in the middle of the sixteenth century, and who had so quickly spread over France, and who had been momentarily decried and even banished because of their share in culpable excesses (?), gradually regained favor under the aegis of the immense services which their heroism was rendering, every day beyond the ocean, to Christianity and civilization. The Order of St. Benedict revived in a salutary reform, and the Benedictines of Saint-Maur foreshadowed their gigantic labors. But who could enumerate the beautiful institutions destined to women, during the first half of the seventeenth century?” *Studies on the Celebrated Women of the 17th Century.* Mme. de Longueville, ch. 1.

Rome more closely. No "ultramontane" ever spoke more fervently against Gallicanism than did St. Vincent de Paul, the friend and disciple of that champion of the Papacy, the dean of the Theological Faculty of Paris, the Carmelite Duval; and so odious to the Gallican jurists, for many years, was the very memory of the apostle of charity, that on Jan. 4, 1738, the Parliament of Paris ordered the suppression of the Papal Bull for his canonization. The grand institution of the Foreign Missions, founded by the Abbé Vincent de Meurs in 1663, was ever distinguished for its "ultramontanism"; and the Jesuit Bagot, its spiritual director for many years, was bitterly censured by his Gallican contemporaries. The records of the time tell of the parliamentary persecutions which afflicted the last years of Jean Eudes, the founder of the Eudists. In fine, none of the founders or reformers of religious communities in the France of the seventeenth century held the doctrines which were formulated in the Four Propositions; and it is certain, from the admission of the bishops of 1682, that "ultramontane maxims" were very prevalent in ecclesiastical circles during the reign of Louis XIII. and during the minority of Louis XIV.—precisely the period when the Catholic renaissance in France most flourished.

Joseph de Maistre tells us of an archbishop of Mohilew, who, in the hearing of the entire Russian court, cried out, as the crowned ecclesiastico-political autocrat of the Muscovites entered the hall: "Behold my Pope!" (1). And Gérin asks his reader whether there was much difference between his Grace of Mohilew and the two prelates who were successively presidents of the Assembly of 1682. The judgments of that interesting anecdotist, the duke de Saint-Simon, but too frequently need revision; but his portrait of François Harlay de Champvallon, archbishop of Paris, duke de Saint-Cloud and peer of France, commander of the royal orders, provost of the Sorbonne and of the College of Navarre, abbot of Jumiège, etc., etc., is confirmed by contemporary evidence. Speaking of the disgrace and death of the prelate, Saint-Simon says: "Harlay had reigned over the clergy through the declared favor of the king. . . . His course during the famous

(1) *Letter to the Archbishop of Ragusa*, 1816.

Assembly of 1682 had confirmed him in the favor of the monarch. His profound learning, the eloquence and ease of his sermons, his happy choice of subjects, the able government of his diocese, and his capacity for business, were counter-balanced by his private conduct, his habits of gallantry, and his manners *de courtisan de grand air*. His broad, just, and solid intelligence, which made him a grand bishop, so far as government was concerned, and which made him an amiable *grand seigneur* and a perfect courtier, could not reconcile him to sudden disgrace. . . . He was abandoned by all, when he could no longer dispose of bishoprics and abbeys. All the charms of his body and mind, which were very great and natural to him, disappeared. . . . Father Gaillard preached his funeral eulogy at Notre-Dame ; the subject was very delicate, and the end had been terrible (1). The celebrated Jesuit made up his mind ; he praised what could be praised, and cut short the matter of morality" (2). Nearly all the public acts of Harlay were redolent of his abject servility to the will of the king ; and he continually sought for occasions for demonstrations of his "loyalty." One instance of this propensity is very eloquent. Alexander VII. had canonized the holy bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, on April 19, 1665 ; and for more than a year Harlay, then archbishop of Rouen, had taken no official cognizance of the fact. On Nov. 5, the prelate wrote to Le Tellier, the secretary of state : "The Daughters of the Visitation of this city have sent to me the Bull of Canonization of M. de Sales, bishop of Geneva ; at the same time urging me to perform a function in his honor. Having read the Bull, I found therein two things which appear to me to be worthy of consideration. Firstly, this Bull is not addressed to the bishops—a procedure which is contrary to the customary form when Apostolic Constitutions are sent for promulgation : ' Wherefore we command our venerable brethren, the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, etc.' Secondly, accompanying this Bull *there are no letters-patent*

(1) After the sudden death of Harlay, on Aug. 12, 1695, Mme. de Coulanges wrote to Mme. de Sévigné : " They are trying to find some one who will undertake to deliver a funeral oration : and they say that only two little matters render the task difficult—the prelate's life and his death."

(2) *Memoirs*, vol. i., ch. 17.

of his Majesty: in spite of the fact that the Royal Council has declared that this formality is so essential, that only the Bulls for Jubilees and the private Briefs of the *Penitentiaria* are exempted from it. I may add, in the third place, that *this Bull has not been sent to me by a person who has the power, in this kingdom, to forward to me any Papal Bull or Brief.* Therefore, Monsieur, in order that I may do nothing in this matter which might derogate from the rights or intentions of his Majesty, I beg of you to acquaint his Majesty with my scruples; etc.," *usque ad nauseam* (1). If the reader still thinks that Harlay may have been one of those prelates whose "spirit of order and submission" is so extolled by Bausset, let him meditate on the readiness of this future president of the Assembly to insult the Supreme Pontiff in the person of a Papal ambassador. In Nov., 1678, the nuncio, Varese, died at Paris, after having received the Last Sacraments from a Capuchin friar, his ordinary confessor, and after having requested the burial of his body in the church of the Theatines. Pretending that the "liberties" of the Church of France had been violated by the friar and his superior, Harlay ordered the arrest of the former, and transported the latter's body to the parochial church. The poor Capuchin was tried in the archiepiscopal court for having "usurped" the prerogative of the parish clergy, and he was prohibited to administer any Sacraments in the diocese of Paris; although it is certain that then as now, as even the panegyrists of Harlay admit, papal nuncios exercised episcopal jurisdiction in their own residences, being subject to no territorial episcopal authority (2). Two years after this exhibition of his "spirit of submission" to ecclesiastical law, Harlay dared to boast of his alleged moderation, telling the members of the Assembly of 1680 that "they would undoubtedly agree with his belief that the culprit might properly have been punished more severely." And that Assembly, a worthy forerunner of that of 1682, thanked its president "for having, on the said occasion, sustained so justly and temperately the authority of the ordinaries, and the rights of the

(1) MS. Fr. 20,740, in the National Library at Paris.

(2) LE GENDRE: *Mémoires*, p. 153.

parish-priests" (1). Truly this archbishop must have been one of those of his Gallican brethren who gave Bossuet "good reason to fear" for the future of the French Church (2); and it is not strange that the Eagle of Meaux afterward declared: "In all these things the late archbishop of Paris merely flattered the court, hearkened to the ministers, and blindly executed their wills, just like a valet" (3). Well might Fénelon, writing to Louis XIV., say of this prelate, who, together with Colbert, influenced the Assembly of 1682 more than any other: "You have an archbishop who is corrupt, scandalous, incorrigible, false, malign, astute, an enemy of every virtue, and one who causes every honest man to groan. You make good use of him, since he dreams of nothing else than how to gratify you by his flatteries. For more than twenty years he has enjoyed your confidence by prostituting his honor. You deliver honest men into his hands, and allow him to tyrannize over the Church. You treat no virtuous prelate so well as you treat him." Need we say any more concerning this first president of the Assembly of 1682? He must have been indeed a disgrace to the Church of France, when his character compelled the gentle Fénelon to thus upbraid his royal protector. In fine, Harlay was a perfect specimen of a courtier-bishop, one of that class which so commonly glittered at the court of the Hohenstaufen in the olden time, and the perpetuation of which was to become one of the chief reasons for the German religious rebellion of the sixteenth century. In the words of Sainte-Beuve, in Harlay "the Catholic and the Christian yielded precedence to the subject. God and the Pope came afterward. 'The king above all' was his motto" (4).

The second president of the Assembly of 1682 was Charles-Maurice le Tellier, a son of the celebrated chancellor, a brother of the marquis de Louvois, and archbishop of Rheims. Born in 1642, he was in his eleventh year when the king conferred on him the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Pierre de Lagny; and when the Pope refused to confirm the nomination,

(1) *Procès-Verbal of the Clergy*, vol. v., p. 327.

(2) *Letter to M. de Rancé*, Sept., 1681.

(3) So says his secretary, Ledieu, in his *Diary*.

(4) *New Monday Chats*, vol. v.

the Grand Council of State issued a decree empowering the boy to enjoy the revenues of the abbey, "just as though the Papal Bull had been expedited" (1). The lad made his ecclesiastical studies with distinction, and four years after his ordination, he was made coadjutor to the archbishop of Rheims. When he succeeded to the see of Rheims, he immediately manifested his contempt for the pontifical authority, and for the ecclesiastical canons, by an act which scandalized even Harlay. Writing to Colbert on Aug. 10, 1671, Harlay says: "Monseigneur the coadjutor of Rheims is the first in the Church of God to cause the cross to be borne before him, ere he has received the *Pallium*, according to the rules of the *Pontificale*, from the hands of a commissary-apostolic. Whether he has done well or not, I leave to you" (2). Pope Innocent XI. deemed it prudent to ignore this indication of insubordination, probably because the prelate took care to assure his Holiness that he regarded the Roman Pontiff as being thenceforth to him "*unam hanc lucem in tenebris, hoc robur apostolicum in infirmitate, et summum illud discipline studium*" (3). But we find him writing to the royal procurator-general, on June 24, 1681, as follows: "I deserve the good opinion of me which you entertain, only because of my sincere desire to do my duty always with the firmness and dignity which befit one whom fortune has raised to a position so eminent as mine. In every difficult contingency of my life, I shall always regulate my conduct by your advice and example. This is not at all a compliment, but my sincere intention" (4). The spirit of this letter precludes any necessity of dilating on the character of this second president of the Assembly of 1682. Our limits forbid a notice of all the members of this convention; but our object, a refutation of the too prevalent idea that they represented the piety and ecclesiastical learning of France, demands a brief sketch of the most prominent among them. Jacques-Nicolas Colbert, titular archbishop of Carthage, and coadjutor to the archbishop of Rouen, was a son of that great Colbert whom Mazarin bequeathed to Louis XIV., just as Richelieu had bequeathed the Italian diplomat to Louis

(1) MS. Fr. 20,750, in the National Library at Paris.

(2) *Correspondence of Colbert*, 157.

(3) MS. Fr. 20,709, Nat. Libr.

(4) MS. Fr. 17,416, Nat. Libr.

XIII.; and who, although he performed inestimable services for France in the political order, greatly injured her by the avidity with which he ever seized on her richest benefices for the endowment of his relatives (1). The young Nicolas was only twenty-six years of age, when his father persuaded the king to ask Pope Innocent XI. to appoint him to the coadjutorship of Rouen. His episcopal novitiate was signalized by his signature to the Four Articles, the Assembly having admitted him to a seat as alternate for the incumbent of Rouen. When he succeeded to that see, he tried, like Le Tellier, to evade the obligation of receiving the *Pallium* from the Pontiff, who had refused to accord that essential until Colbert would have given the satisfactions which the Holy See had imposed on all the deputies of 1682 who had been promoted to the mitre since that date. He commissioned a number of experts in history to delve into the records of the past, in order to find, if possible, examples which might justify his disobedience. Among these experts was the famous Baluze, who seems to have been dismayed at the probable consequences of his complicity. On Sept. 24, 1691, Baluze writes: "According to my promise, Monseigneur, I send whatever I have been able to gather in reference to your difficulty with Rome in the matter of the *Pallium*. I now take the liberty of repeating what I have already told you; that this memorial should be kept secret. You might write to Rome that you have discovered proofs that the Popes have not always insisted on the necessity, as an essential, of an archbishop's receiving the *Pallium* before he exercises his functions; and you might say that the ancient bishops of France thought that when the *Pallium* was refused without legitimate cause, the archbishop was not bound to abstain from the exercise of his ministry. I beg you most humbly, Monseigneur, to reply as soon as you receive this memorial, so that I may not suffer because of it" (2). Joined to this document is a memorandum in the writing of the perturbed pre-

(1) Two of his sisters held the great abbeys of Sainte-Claire de Reims, and of Lis, near Melun. One of his brothers, bishop of Auxerre, having died in 1676, he put in his place his cousin Andrew, who, together with another cousin, the bishop of Montauban, attended the Assembly of 1682. His son Anthony wore the grand-cross of Malta. The eldest of all his sons, the marquis de Seignelay, enjoyed many benefices, although he remained a layman.

(2) *Correspondence of Colbert*, vol. vii.

late: "To write to the Pope, skilfully giving him to understand that I can exercise my functions without a *Pallium*. . . . To make him understand that I shall officiate, even if he refuses the *Pallium*." His Grace of Rouen finally yielded; but it was only in obedience to the command of Louis XIV., and not because he wished to obey "the prescriptions of the Canon Law, and the usage of France," which he recognized as admitting his need of the *Pallium* in order to officiate legitimately as an archbishop (1). Like the archbishop of Rheims, Colbert was fond of luxury; and this trait caused Fénelon, not yet a bishop, to write to him on April 8, 1692: "Will not those two mansions (2), which were regarded as beautiful by so many cardinals and by so many princes of the blood-royal, suffice for you? Have you no more urgent use for your money? Remember, Monseigneur, that your ecclesiastical revenues are the patrimony of the poor, that those poor persons are your children, and that on every side they are dying of hunger. I tell you what Dom Bartholomew said to Pius IV. when that Pope showed his buildings; '*Dic ut lapides isti paucos fiant.*'" Saint-Simon, in his eulogy on this Archbishop Colbert, observes that the prelate was "often at loggerheads with the Jesuits"; but he might have added, observes Gérin, that therein he was like Le Tellier, who "kept up an extensive correspondence with Quesnel"; and that he threw himself into the arms of the Jansenists, like his cousin, Colbert de Croissy, bishop of Montpellier. "What a pleasant Jansenism," exclaims Le Gendre, "was that of this archbishop! In his pastorals he thundered against laxism; but he kept a corps of musicians, and no furniture was sumptuous enough for him. He cried out against ecclesiastics who were too worldly; and he was an inveterate gambler. He loved the company of women, and he was a high liver. Having lived too fast, he died young, and of a cancer. His Jansenism consisted in a supreme hatred of the Jesuits, and in allowing his grand-vicars, very depraved men, to rule his vast diocese according to the maxims of the Jansenist fac-

(1) Letter to the King. *Ibid.*

(2) The chateau de Gaillon, built by the great cardinal d'Amboise, and another archiepiscopal residence.

tion" (1). Another metropolitan worthy of mention was Phélypeaux de la Vrillière, archbishop of Bourges, a brother of the marquis de Châteauneuf, secretary of state. Châteauneuf was the minister who had been charged with the execution, in the diocese of Pamier, of the edicts concerning the *Regalia*; and he was persuaded that his brother would defend his acts in the Assembly. Brulart de Genlis, archbishop of Embrun, should not be forgotten. Son of a lieutenant-general, and brother of three colonels and of a captain of a ship of the line, he had in his diocese a reputation more military than ecclesiastical. He was so much of a flatterer, says Racine (2), that Louis XIV. was wont to ridicule him before the court. Louis d'Anglure de Bourlemont, archbishop of Bordeaux, had been an auditor of the *Ruota* in Rome during the affair of the Corsican Guards, of which we have treated in the previous chapter. During the entire controversy, he held with Colbert a correspondence which shows that like his brother, the archbishop of Toulouse, whom we have already met as an antagonist of Pope Alexander VII., he was ever ready to sacrifice the dearest interests of the Church to every unjust pretension of the civil power. Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Saint-Pouange de Villecerf, bishop of Montauban, and a cousin of the great Colbert, was more of a financier than a bishop; and according to the authors of *Christian Gaul*, he was in constant altercation "with his Chapter and with all of his clergy, both secular and regular, on account of his extravagant contributions to the royal exchequer" (3). François Bouthillier de Chavigny, bishop of Troyes, was a man of fine intelligence, but a thorough worldling. Very little of his time was spent in his diocese; he preferred the society of Paris, especially that of its ladies, who were very fond of him, but would call him "that dog of a bishop," when he won their money at play. It is edifying to learn that in 1697 he resigned his diocese, and entered on a life of penance (4).

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 75.(2) *Historical Fragments*.

(3) Vol. xiii., col. 71.

(4) "Reflection began to disturb his pleasures, and he disputed with it; but finally experience taught him that he would always be conquered, if he did not cast off his chains in such fashion as would prevent his resuming them. . . . He informed the king that he needed retirement and penance; and that he would never have the strength to seek them, so long as any pretext whatever retained him in society. He tendered to the king the resignation of his diocese, telling His Majesty that if he wished to fill his servant with gratitude, he would

Gilbert de Choiseul du Plessis-Praslin, bishop of Tournai, was the first Frenchman to occupy that see after the French conquest of the Low Countries. He had been bishop of Comminges; and as such he had played an equivocal part in that period of the Jansenistic troubles which preceded the "Peace of the Church." He had arranged a scheme of compromise which paved the way for doubts in faith; and consequently, says Racine, "the bishop of Comminges was piqued by the contempt which the Pope manifested for him" (1). His character is indicated in his correspondence with Archbishop Le Tellier, in reference to an intrigue which the precious pair were conducting to the detriment of Choiseul's metropolitan, the archbishop of Cambrai. "I send you, Monseigneur, the consent of our Chapter, and that of the community of Saint-Amant. Only with great difficulty have I obtained them; *it was only respect for the will of the king that procured them. . . . When I told the Chapter that the king so willed, all submissively obeyed.* The community of Saint-Amant at first proposed to remonstrate with his Majesty, but when I showed them that such action would probably displease the king, they gave to me the document which I now forward to you. . . . *When the present abbot was about to be blessed by me, just before the ceremony, I was informed that the Pope had prohibited it. The prince was then here in command of the forces; so I sent to him to learn what was to be done. He summoned the governor and the intendant; and having heard their opinion, he told me to proceed with the function. I proceeded.*" (2). It was to be expected that one so subservient to the royal wishes would not fail the king in the important Assembly of 1682; indeed, the zeal of Choiseul carried him so much further than his Majesty had intended, that the Assembly, seeing that he was about to advance downright her-

give the bishopric to the Abbé de Chavigny, his nephew, who had enough of age, and much more of virtue and learning. The king loved my lord of Troyes, in spite of his dissipation; and he accorded his request on the spot. After the audience, the bishop returned to Paris, but would not speak to a soul; and on the next day he departed for Troyes, where he effected all that he had proposed, never afterward seeing any person saving his nephew and his priests, even on matters of business, but remaining entirely consecrated to prayer, penance, and perfect solitude." SAINT-SIMON; *Memoires*, vol. 1., p. 271.

(1) *Abridgement of the History of Port-Royal*, Edit. Regnier, vol. iv., p. 542.

(2) MS. Fr. 6,901, Nat. Libr.

esy in the composition of the Four Articles which had been entrusted to him, withdrew the commission from him, and confided it to Bossuet (1). Antoine de Noailles, bishop and count of Chalons, and destined to be archbishop of Paris, was a man of real virtue ; but he neutralized its effects by a weakness of character which made him a plaything for the Jansenists, no less than for the court. Sebastien de Guémadeuc, bishop of Saint-Malo, was so hare-brained, that Mme. de Sévigné, a relative, styled him “ a mitred linnet,” when he was sixty years old. Complaining of the dearth of amusement in Brittany at that time, she says : “ But my lord of Saint-Malo, a mitred linnet at his sixtieth year, has begun to amuse us. Do you think he does so with the prayers of the Forty Hours ? He gives a ball and a grand supper to all the ladies—a public scandal ” (2). Alphonse de Valbelle, bishop of Alet, was a cousin of the husband of that daughter of Mme. de Sévigné to whom the charming writer addressed the best of her letters. She often speaks of him as a coxcomb—*un freluquet* ; as one “ who is a flatterer, who gambles, who sups with the ladies, who goes to the opera, and who resides not in his diocese—things which surprise one at first, but to which one grows accustomed ” (3). This is the Valbelle who tried to add to the troubles of Fénelon, his metropolitan, in the matter of the *Maxims of the Saints*. “ He suggested to the Assembly that it was not enough to condemn the *Maxims* ; that at the same time they should censure all the writings in which my lord of Cambrai had defended that work. The archbishop responded modestly that he agreed, with all his heart. This reply did not satisfy my lord of Saint-Omer (4), who yearned to distinguish himself, and to be a subject of conversation. He took fire, and emitted a lot of lengthy and violent arguments to which my lord of Cambrai listened serenely, and returned not a word. When the Provencal was tired, my lord of Cambrai observed that he had nothing to add to the reply he had already made to the suggestion of his lordship of Saint-Omer ; that it was for the other prelates

(1) *Notes of Fleury.*

(2) Letter to Mme. de Grignan, Dec. 8, 1675.

(3) To same, Aug. 4, 1680.

(4) Valbelle had been transferred to the see of Saint-Omer shortly after the Assembly of 1682.

to decide in the matter. Then my lords of Arras and Tournai hastened to range themselves on the side of my lord of Cambrai, indignantly imposing silence on his lordship of Saint-Omer, who continued to mutter and gnash his teeth" (1). Roquette, bishop of Autun, whose name occurs frequently in the writings of the seventeenth century, was a man of any and every party, according to his interests of the moment. If we do not wish to credit Daniel de Cosnac, bishop of Valence, himself a champion intriguer, when he describes Roquette as "uniting in himself all the characteristics of *Tartuffe*" (2), we may at least believe the authors of *Christian Gaul* when they represent him as despoiling his clergy at every dictate of royal caprice. Daquin, bishop of Frejus, was indebted for his mitre to the influence of his brother, the chief physician of the king. Le Gendre says that "he was odious to his people, and a man of bad reputation." François Placide de Baudri de Piancour, bishop of Mende, had been abbot of the monastery of Croix-Saint-Leufroi (Evreux), a celebrated nursery of monastic learning and virtue founded by St. Leufroi in the eighth century. He was a friend of Harlay; and therefore it is not surprising that, in return for a rich bishopric, he should have resigned his abbatial crozier in order that the *commende* might be given to Pelot, a son of the president of the parliament of Rouen. Fear of fatiguing the reader leads us to omit any notice of several other episcopal members of the Assembly of 1682, whose records might well be adduced in refutation of the too prevalent idea which would make French Christianity responsible for the aberrations of Gallican jurists and court-theologians. A word, however, should be devoted to Forbin-Janson, bishop of Beauvais, who was entrusted, together with Cardinal d'Estrées, with the negotiations at Rome which were entailed by the events of 1682. Janson would have been enrolled in the Sacred College by Pope Innocent XI., as that Pontiff declared in full Consistory, had he not demonstrated his unworthiness by his conduct while representing the Most Christian King in Poland. He had concluded a secret treaty with the Sublime Porte, whereby the Turks were invited to occupy Poland;

(1) SAINT-SIMON; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 3.

(2) *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 195.

and this action merited for him, on the part of Innocent XI., the name of "the Turkish prelate" (1). We may also observe that when Pope Alexander VIII., in order to humor Louis XIV., raised Janson to the Sacred College, the wits of Paris termed him "Cardinal Bontemps," because Bontemps, the favorite valet of the king, had chiefly contributed to his elevation. When he was sent to request Pope Clement XI. to invest Philip V. (grandson of Louis XIV., whom that monarch had made king of Spain) with the crown of Naples, he conducted himself so insolently that he nearly failed in his object. The marquis of Louville, an agent of Philip V., narrates the strange proceedings of Janson and the duke d'Uzeda, another agent of Philip, whom the prelate had imbued with his own animosities against the court of Rome. "They had both adopted a singular method of ingratiating themselves with the Roman court. They would frequently and everywhere, even at the table before their servants, remark that the Pope was a knave; that the cardinals were robbers; that the sovereigns ought to throw off the yoke of such rascals; and they would utter other observations of similar diplomatic tenor" (2). Such was the material of which the majority of the episcopal members of the Assembly of 1682 was composed. France was filled, at that time, with prelates and priests who exercised a salutary influence over their countrymen, and whose memories are still held in benediction by those whom the fell spirit of the Revolution has not rendered unworthy of the Land of the Lilies. For instance, there was Henri de Barillon, bishop of Lugon, who supported himself on his own patrimony, turning over the revenues from all his benefices to the poor; who, from his private funds built and endowed a seminary and three hospitals; and who, with the same money, continually aided the persecuted Catholics of England and Ireland, and encouraged the mis-

(1) "The bishop of Marseilles (at this time Janson occupied that see) did not boast only to the French court that he had effected the Peace of Zurawno; he proclaimed the fact to all Poland. The whole world believed it, for the Peace favored the designs of Louis XIV. and the emperor was made to fear that the Turks were about to annex his hereditary states." SALVANDY; *History of Sobieski*, vol. ii., p. 69. Paris, 1850—Writing to her daughter on April 29, 1676, Mme. de Sévigné asked: "What do you think of our happiness in having our friend, the Turk, come into Hungary?"

(2) *Mémoires of Louville*, vol. i., p. 253. Edit. 1818, Paris.

sionaries in the Indies. There was Armand de Béthune, bishop of Puy, who, when raised to the mitre, would not retain his commendatary abbey of Vernouse ; who did not once visit the court, but passed his episcopal career among his people, founding asylums, reforming monasteries and nunneries, and beautifying churches. There was François de Nesmond, bishop of Bayeux, who would accept no benefice save that of his bishopric, but who nevertheless erected two seminaries and a hospital. There was Jean-Baptiste de Beaumanoir de Lavardin, bishop of Rennes, of whose sanctity we have the following attestation, written in the register of their hospital by the gentle Sisters whom he aided in their work of mercy : "He lived and died a saint, seeking only the glory of God, the good of the province, and the prosperity of those who had the honor of his guidance. His was a straight-forward soul, never influenced by favor or interest. His charity exceeded his other virtues ; two years before his death he sold all his family silver, distributing the proceeds among the poor, his cathedral, and the poor scholars who were preparing for the priesthood. In short, he was the first bishop of the kingdom. Louis XIV. rendered him justice after his death, although he had not been very well pleased with him, on account of his course in that Assembly of the Clergy which was held to treat of the matter of the *Regalia*, where only he, my lord of Grenoble, and a third, defended the rights of the Pope. Speaking of the action of these three prelates, the king said concerning the others : '*It is not the fault of those gentlemen that I have not donned the turban*'" (1). We need devote no space to the ecclesiastics "of the second order," since their voices in the Assembly were merely consultative, not deliberative. Suffice it to say that, just as in the case of the episcopal members, so their election was not a free choice of the French clergy ; all were designated, and practically chosen, by Louis XIV. But this matter of the election of members to the famous convention merits special consideration.

When his Most Christian Majesty of France had resolved on a convocation of the clergy of his kingdom in order to terminate, if possible, his dissension with the Holy See in

(1) DOM PIOLIN ; *History of the Church of Mans*, vol. vi., p. 358. Paris, 1870.

the matter of the *Regalia*, he was confronted by a serious difficulty. Of course he wished that the projected convention should present an authoritative front to expectant France, and that it should produce a powerful impression on the mind of the Holy See. Only a National Council could serve this double purpose ; but if such an assembly were proposed, his object would be frustrated by an observance of the canonical forms without which it would be illegitimate. Firstly, the consent of the Roman Pontiff would be necessary ; and it was not to be expected that the Head of the Church would authorize a reunion which was ostentatiously designed to deny his prerogatives. Secondly, a National Council would entail the necessity of inviting every bishop in France ; and the royal counsellors knew well that such a convention would not approve their schemes. There remained, therefore, only the alternative of convoking one of those quinquennial Assemblies which the laws of the kingdom prescribed, and which were attended by only a portion of the French clergy. But here there arose another difficulty. The king was seeking for a theological decision ; and an Assembly of the Clergy, so called, was summoned simply as an order of the state, and under the protection of the monarch, not as an episcopal body to judge of doctrine and to promulgate canons of discipline. In spite of this cold fact, the royal jurists intended to give to the coming Assembly a spiritual character ; and when they met, the episcopal members solemnly claimed that character, when they refused the demand of their priestly colleagues to be accorded deliberative votes. By the mouth of the archbishop of Paris, the bishops declared : “ The members of the second order have deliberative votes in temporal matters ; *but since the object of this Assembly is nearly entirely spiritual,*” the demand should be rejected (1). The manifest incompetence of the Assembly in spiritual matters has been plain to nearly all Gallican apologists ; but they have feigned to discover in the “ precautions ” taken by the king an assurance of the authority of the men whom he summoned—a position worthy of those who, to use the words of Gérin, “ had less of respect for the Councils of Nice and Trent than for the Assembly of

(1) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 369.

1682, and who would have abandoned a half of the *Creed* for the Four Articles" (1). As for the "precautions" taken by Louis XIV., we shall show that they served not to secure a representation of the Church of France, but rather to secure an attendance of men who would do the will of the court. In all the Assemblies of the Clergy since the minority of Louis XIV., the court had signified to the Provincial Assemblies the names either of those whom it would like to see in the General Assembly, or of those whom it would reject, if they were sent to it. Here is a specimen of these warnings: "To our loving lieges. Having learned that in the last Assembly of your province measures were taken to depute N.... to the General Assembly of the Clergy, we send you this letter to inform you that for very important reasons concerning the good of our service, we will that notwithstanding any engagement which you may have made in regard to the said N...., you choose another deputy in his place. Fail not in this, for such is our pleasure" (2). And here is a specimen of the obedience always accorded to such missives: "Monsieur, to-day was held the Provincial Assembly of the Clergy, in which my lord the archbishop of Bourges was appointed a deputy to the General Assembly, after the members had learned that such was his Majesty's desire" (3). For the General Assembly of 1682, however, other "precautions" were taken. The court not only designated the deputies, but it furnished to each Provincial Assembly a model of the instructions, *procurations*, which it was to give to its deputies. This *procurations* had been composed by Harlay, under orders from the king; but his Majesty delicately desired that his part in the matter should be veiled. On June 16, 1681, Colbert wrote to Harlay: "My lord, as his Majesty has deemed it best that he should not appear to have determined the matters to be treated in the Assembly, he has resolved to give orders, *by word of mouth*, to the agents-general of the clergy that they send this *procurations* to the archbishops, explaining to them that it has been drawn by commissioners appointed in the last Assembly, ... His Majesty will see that the provincial intendants re-

(1) *Historical Researches on the Assembly of the Clergy in 1682*. Paris, 1868.

(2) *Register of the Secretariate of the King's Household*, 1675, in the National Archives.

(3) Ponceet de la Rivière to Colbert, dated Bourges, May 14, 1675; in the *Mél. Colbert*, 171.

ceive orders to explain to the archbishops *his intentions* in regard to the said *procuracion* " (1). The king was very careful that the Provincial Assemblies, which were to choose deputies for the general convention, should be composed of men who would do his bidding. Writing to the archbishop of Besançon, on Aug. 10, 1681, he says: "I make known to you that I consider it necessary that you call to your Provincial Assembly the bishop of Belley and *such abbés as have been beneficed by me*, and only those of high dignity. . . . I doubt not that you will effect all that I ask of you " (2). And Colbert takes care to say to the prelate at the same time: "You will see by the accompanying letter from the king *what are his Majesty's intentions as to the persons who are to be admitted to your Provincial Assembly in order to name, etc.*" On Sept. 21, 1681, Colbert signified to the archbishop of Rouen the royal desire for the nomination of the bishop of Lisieux as a deputy from that province; and the prelate having been named, but being prevented by an accident from going to Paris, his Majesty considerably relieved the electors of trouble by himself nominating the bishop of Avranches. We could examine, one by one, the records of the election of every other member of the Assembly of 1682; and in nearly every case the result would be a corroboration of the assertion that the signers of the Four Articles cannot be regarded as representatives of the Church of France. Only one additional testimony do we wish to adduce, that of the intrepid Cerle, the legitimate administrator of the diocese of Pamiers, whom we have seen executed in effigy because of his defense of the real "liberties" of ecclesiastical France. On Aug. 4, 1681, in accordance with the orders Cerle had given from his place of exile, there was found affixed to the portal of the archiepiscopal palace in Toulouse the following protest: "The nomination of deputies is not free; for it is notorious that his lordship of Toulouse has been ordered to procure the nomination of the bishops of Montauban and of Lavaur, although they are absent, and of the official and theologal of Paris, who do not belong to the province of Toulouse, and have no benefices in that province " (3).

(1) *Register of the Secretariate*, 1681.

(2) MS. Fr. 6,657, Nat. Libr.

(3) MS. Fr. 6,902, Nat. Libr.

When the event had proved the truth of Cerle's assertion, he caused to be nailed on the door of the archiepiscopal palace in Paris his second protest: "Jean Cerles, priest; vicar-general and official of the Church of Pamiers, in the vacancy of the see, confirmed by the Apostolic authority: The care taken by my lord the archbishop of Toulouse to cause the parliament to condemn to the flames our act of protestation against his Provincial Assembly, has given such publicity to our opposition, that now there is undoubtedly no bishop in the kingdom unacquainted with it. The event has confirmed our prediction concerning the nomination of their lordships the bishops of Montauban and of Lavaur for the first order of deputies, and of the official and theological of Paris for the second. Our protest against the choice of these deputies has been justified; it is notorious that these nominations were inspired and even specified by the court. Therefore they are suspicious in the eyes of the churches, since the question is one of defending the interests of the churches against the pretensions of his Majesty. . . . The matters in question cannot be discussed in a General Assembly; since a decision concerning them is now pending at the tribunal of the Holy See. Again, even though the Holy See had not reserved this decision to itself, the matter, being of a general nature, could be considered only in a National Council; and the convocation of such a convention would need the approbation of the Pope" (1). Concluding his protest, Cerle applied to the other Provincial Assemblies the reasonings he had advanced in regard to that of Toulouse.

A very eloquent illustration of the character of the Assembly of 1682 is found in the care taken by the court to prevent the attendance of the archbishop of Lyons, whose primatial dignity—attached to that see down to the time of the Revolution—would have given to him the presidency of the convention. The firmness of Camille de Neuville de Villeroy, uncle of the marshal de Villeroy, was too well known to the Gallican jurists of the day; and he had openly declared that the future Assembly could never be regarded as, in any sense, a National Council. "He commanded at Lyons," writes Saint-Simon,

(2) *Ibi*, and No. 25,043.

“and with an authority of the olden time. The intendants bore their being of no importance with bad grace ; the archbishop continually watched their conduct. Several were recalled, because of their troubles with the prelate ; and finally the king, being tired of changing his intendants without success, sent to Lyons the duke de Villeroy, the governor of the province, having given full powers to him, and also a list of counsellors from which his uncle might select an intendant, and thus give a little rest to his Majesty. But the good little man told his nephew at once that he was a fool ; that he might put his list in his pocket, and inform the king that the archbishop esteemed all the counsellors so highly, that he could not prefer any one of them ; that he would not be tricked into asking for a certain intendant, knowing that such a course would close his mouth when he should afterward find it necessary to complain of the officer ; that his mouth was a door which he himself would never close, and a means whereby to keep the intendants in check or to have them removed, so that he might remain the master. He kept his word ; and no one was ever so much the master in Lyons as he was, until the day of his death ” (1). It is not strange that the Provincial Assembly of Lyons received orders to not depute their archbishop to the General Assembly. And such orders ensured their own observance. Listen to the cool warning which the chancellor, Le Tellier, administered to Le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, when that prelate, a suffragan of Vienne, showed signs of an opposition to the royal choice of deputies from that province : “As for your own conduct, I must remark that having noticed your belief that a province cannot yield the right of *Regalia* to the king, and your conviction that the health of my lord of Viviers will not permit the province of Vienne to entrust its interests to his care, I fear lest you, when you attend the Provincial Assembly, *may propose to insert in the instructions a prohibition to grant the Regalia, and that you may protest against the nomination of my lord of Viviers—things which would indicate, on your part, an opposition to the general sentiment, and which would not at all avail you in an attempt to actuate your own; My Lord of Viviers*

(1) *Diary of Dangeau*, Sept. 29, 1686.

will certainly be made a deputy, in spite of your opposition, and of that of my lord, the archbishop of Vienne" (1). Sometimes the chancellor, in order to secure the co-operation of a recalcitrant prelate, stooped to the lowest chicanery, making solemn promises which he knew that he could not and would not fulfil. One of the holiest prelates in France was Cardinal Grimaldi, archbishop of Aix, who was, like Mazarin, "an Italian by blood, but a Frenchman in heart." When he received the order to convoke the Assembly of his province in order to select four deputies to the General Assembly, he wrote to Le Tellier a letter from which we take the following passages. "In the discourse which he delivered to the last Assembly of the Clergy, the archbishop of Rheims very judiciously remarked that all the bishops have always regarded the right of *Regalia* as a servitude, which, especially in all that concerns the collation of benefices, can be conceded only when the Church herself consents. Therefore, Monsieur, it would seem that since the Assembly designed by you will not be canonical, it will not represent sufficiently the sentiments of the Church of France in regard to the present questions, since the voice of that Church can be heard only in a National Council: and that therefore whatever that Assembly effects will not terminate the affair of the *Regalia*, but rather, instead of pacifying matters, it will augment the present dissension. . . . Believe me, Monsieur, that the archbishops and bishops cannot follow the instructions (the procuration) sent to them, without a violation of the solemn oath which they took at their consecration: for in those instructions the Pope is plainly condemned, and they are asked to act against the interests of the Holy See." The reply to this letter was written by the king himself. His Majesty enjoined on "his good cousin" (2) a convocation of the Assembly of Aix, "setting aside all other considerations." It would seem, however, that Le Tellier realized that not even the direct command of the king would cause Grimaldi to swerve from his duty; for he joined to the royal letter a note by himself, promising that the affair of the *Regalia* should

(1) *Archives*, G 8.

(2) Since the days of Henry IV., such was the style with which the French kings always addressed a cardinal.

not be touched in the imminent General Assembly (1). The inflexible cardinal was even allowed to present to the members of his Provincial Assembly a form of instructions for their deputies to the general convention, which expressly ordered those deputies not to even allude to the *Regalia*. Grimaldi therefore convoked the Provincial Assembly; but his indignation must have been great, when he found that, immediately after the meeting of the members, Morant, the royal intendant of Aix, presented to them a copy of the *procur-ation* which had been drawn at Paris. Grimaldi was firm to the last; he refused to sign the instructions; and the deputies of Aix went to the Assembly of 1682 without the countenance of their metropolitan.

On Feb. 3, 1682, the so-called General Assembly of the French Clergy formally recognized the right of *Regalia* as a royal prerogative; and not content with having thus defied the Roman Pontiff, it had the audacity to ask for the Papal blessing on its action (2). By a Brief dated April 11, Pope Innocent XI. condemned this concession; and he thus rebuked the sacrilegious presumption of the prelates: "Not without horror did we read that part of your letter in which you tell us that having abandoned your right, you have conferred it on the king; as though you were the disposers, not the guardians of the churches committed to your care; and as though those churches and their spiritual rights could be granted to the secular power by the bishops who ought to devote themselves to slavery, if it were necessary to preserve those churches and rights." Like many other publicists, Dupin asserts that this Brief of Innocent XI. was the cause of the promulgation of the Four Articles. "The affair of the *Regalia* was soon terminated, to the satisfaction of both the king and the Assembly. Nevertheless, the Pope refused his approbation, and thus he rendered it more necessary to settle the principles of ecclesiastical power by a declaration." But it is certain that the Assembly, which was opened on Oct. 1, 1681, took up the project of the Four Articles on Nov. 24; that on Nov. 26, it appointed the commission for the Six Articles of the Sorbonne; and that it subscribed the Declar-

(1) *Archives*, G 8.(2) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 453.

ation on March 19, 1682, three weeks before the date of the Papal Brief. Coming now to the history of these famous propositions, we must first observe that many of the counsellors of Louis XIV. had urged him to force the Assembly to not limit itself to a preference for "cismontane" doctrine on the Papacy, but to pronounce theological censure on the contrary maxims. Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed; and Bossuet had the satisfaction of beholding the Assembly restraining itself within the comparatively moderate limits which he had indicated in his opening address. We now give the text of the charter of Gallicanism, so far as it can be said to have had a charter—the famous *Declaration of the French Clergy on Ecclesiastical Power*. "Many persons endeavor to overturn the decrees of the Gallican Church, her liberties which our ancestors upheld with so much zeal, and the foundations of those liberties which are based on the holy Canons and on the tradition of the Fathers. And there are also some who, under the pretext of these liberties, do not hesitate to attack the primacy of St. Peter and of his successors, the Roman Pontiffs, which was instituted by Jesus Christ; and to deny that obedience which all Christians owe to the venerable majesty of the Apostolic See which teaches the faith and preserves the unity of the Church. On the other hand, heretics omit nothing which may represent this power, which includes the peace of the Church, as insupportable to kings and peoples; trusting by this artifice to separate simple souls from the communion of the Church and of Jesus Christ. With the intention of remedying these evils, we, archbishops and bishops, and other deputies, representing the French Church, assembled in Paris by order of the king—*mandato regio*, have deemed it proper to establish and declare: I. That St. Peter and his successors, the vicars of Jesus Christ, and the Church herself, received power from God, over spiritual things alone, and not over temporal and civil things; the Lord teaching that His kingdom is not of this world, and also that the things of Caesar should be given to Caesar, and the things of God to God; and the saying of the Apostle remaining, that 'every soul be subject to higher powers, for there is no power but from God, and those that are, are or-

dained of God, and therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God.' We declare therefore that kings and rulers are not subjected by order of God to any ecclesiastical power in temporal matters ; that they cannot be deposed, either directly or indirectly, by the authority of the keys of the Church ; that their subjects cannot be dispensed or absolved from the submission and obedience which is due to them, and that this teaching, so necessary for the public tranquillity and for the peace of both Church and State, should be firmly upheld as consonant with the word of God, with the tradition of the Fathers, and with the examples of the saints. II. That the fulness of power over spiritual things, enjoyed by the Holy Apostolic See and the successors of St. Peter, the Vicars of Jesus Christ, is that which is indicated in the fourth and fifth sessions of the Holy Œcumenical Council of Constance, approved by the Holy Apostolic See, confirmed by the practice of the entire Church, and in all times religiously observed by the French Church ; and that the Church of France does not approve the opinion of those who attack these decrees (of Constance,) or who weaken them by saying that their authority is not well established, that they have not been approved, and that they were meant only for cases arising during times of schism. III. That therefore the use of the Apostolic power ought to be regulated according to the Canons which have been made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by general respect ; that the regulations, customs, and constitutions of the kingdom should be maintained, and that the limits fixed by our forefathers should remain immovable ; that it is for the grandeur of the Holy Apostolic See, that the laws and customs introduced with the consent of that eminent See, and of the churches, should preserve their stability. IV. That although the Supreme Pontiff has the principal part in questions of faith, and although his decrees affect all the churches and each particular church ; nevertheless, his decision is not irreformable, until the assent of the Church has been given." The *Declaration* was subscribed on March 19 ; on the following day Louis XIV. signed an edict whereby the teaching of the Four Articles became obligatory throughout France ; and on the 25th the

parliament registered the edict. Immediately after he had read the Declaration, Pope Innocent XI. addressed to all the bishops of France a Brief, *Paternæ caritati*, annulling the acts of the Assembly which referred to the *Regalia*.

The Pontifical Brief was received by the Assembly with dismay; and many of the members appeared to be ready for open rebellion. The archbishop of Rheims made some annotations on the margin of his copy of the Brief which plainly indicate how much of the "piety and spirit of submission," discerned in this prelate and most of his comrades by La Luzerne, Bausset, and other Gallican apologists, really subsisted (1). One of the passages of the Brief is qualified as "a malicious equivocation." Another is said to have been prompted by "a desire to say something smart." One sentence is characterized as "pitiable." In another the Pontiff is said to "insult without motive." According to the archbishop, the members of the Assembly had spoken "with sincerity; but the author of the Brief was in very bad faith." Then the prelate quibbles by asking why, if the *Declaration* "is manifestly null," the signers should be asked to retract it. Le Tellier consoles himself with the thought that if "the counsellors of the Pope have exposed the Church to grave dangers, the Assembly, by its good conduct, will obviate them"; and he declares that "in good time and place the remedies of law will not fail the Assembly." But if many of the bishops seemed to be willing to plunge into an abyss of schism, Louis XIV. was not so foolish. On May 6, the Assembly signed a *Protest* against the Brief *Paternæ caritati*, declaring that "the French Church governed itself by its own laws"; and it prepared to send a copy of the document to every bishop in the realm. But the king prohibited the rash act, and suspended the sessions. Finally, on June 29, although the Assembly had by no means finished the business which its programme had announced (2), his Majesty ordered his sycophantic prelates to return to their dioceses. "He broke up the Assembly," says Joseph de Maistre, "with so much wisdom and timeliness, that one almost pardons him for

(1) MS. Fr. 20,765, Nat. Libr.

(2) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 375, *et seqq.*

having convoked it " (1). But the prelates knew not how to retire with dignity. Before they separated, says Le Tellier, who himself probably drew up the insolent manifesto (2), they declared that " they had abstained from formulating a resolution against the Brief of his Holiness, *only out of obedience to the king*," and that they might have "*shown to all Christendom*" how his Holiness had "*manifested little regard for the dignity of the episcopate*." Louis XIV. was certainly ashamed of the conduct of his courtier-prelates; for he would not allow the *Procès-Verbal* of their sessions to be deposited in the Archives of the Clergy. Only after the death of the archbishop of Rheims, did his nephew, the Abbé de Louvois, succeed in consigning the *Procès* to that sanctuary of French ecclesiastical history. It is worthy of note that this record of the acts of the famous Assembly of 1682, now exhibited under glass to the curious visitor, and opened at the page where the signatures to the Four Articles are recorded, terminates with the words which Fulbert of Chartres, writing in the tenth century, addressed to the pusillanimous bishops of his day: "There is not in France a bishop whose heart is accessible to pity, or whom zeal for religion will so inflame as to induce him to resist the onslaughts of error, and to excite hope in the grief-stricken. The courage of Denis is dead, and the piety of Martin is not seen. Thou also, Blessed Father Hilary, who once didst defend the unity of the Church with the sword of the Holy Ghost; thou also hast abandoned us. O sorrowful and desolate Church of France!" (3).

Bausset, echoing the voices of the great majority of Gallican apologists, and naturally of all Protestant publicists who have treated of the history of the doctrine of papal infallibility, insists that "The *Declaration of the Assembly of 1682* did not encounter, and could not encounter, any opposition in France" (4). Bausset wrote at a time when courtier-theologism, only stunned by the Revolution, and not as yet convinced that its days were numbered in France, still paraded a travesty of true devotion to the heir of St. Louis as the

(1) *The Gallican Church*, bk. ii., ch. 11.

(2) A copy of this puerile pronouncement, with annotations in the writing of Le Tellier, is preserved in the National Library at Paris, MS. Fr. 20,765.

(3) *Epist.* 21, to *Abbo*.

[(4) *Loc. cit.*, bk. vi., § 15.

chief characteristic of French Catholicity ; and we must remember, also, that many of Bausset's judgments on the famous Assembly were formed without the aid of the documents which publicists of our day are able to consult. The truth is that the anti-Gallican opposition in the Faculty of Paris—that “ permanent Council of France,” as it was then termed—was, at the time of the Assembly, composed of the majority of its members, and of men who were the most learned and pious in the capital. This claim is easily established. I. That the “ ultramontanes ” in the Faculty outnumbered the Gallicans is evinced by an examination of the papers of Colbert, among which there is a list of those who were “ for or against Rome ”—a document prepared for the minister by his Gallican confidants (1) ; and by consulting the admissions of his *procureur-général* to the parliament (2). The Colbertian list assigns 753 doctors to the Faculty, who were divided as follows. Archbishops and bishops, nearly all from the Sorbonne, 44 ; The House of the Sorbonne, 169 ; College of Navarre, 83 ; Mendicant Friars (Franciscans, 34, Dominicans, 38, Augustinians, 33, Carmelites, 19), 124 ; Bernardines and Monks of Chuny, 43 ; Canons of St. Victor and Premonstratensians, 6 ; Cholets, 10 ; Cardinal Lemoine, 1 ; Saint-Sulpice, 12 ; Seminary of the Foreign Missions, 3 ; Miscellaneous, 258. Now concerning the House of the Sorbonne, the *procureur* (Achille de Harlay) says : “ With the exception of six or seven, all of the House of the Sorbonne are hostile to the *Declaration*. The professors, with the exception of Pirot, the syndic (3), are so opposed to it, that even those who are paid by the king will not teach any of the propositions which were presented to his Majesty in 1663. . . . The residents in the House of the Sorbonne are very numerous ; and excepting five or six, they are united in their ultramontane sentiments.” As for the House of Navarre, the list tells us that “ Guyard is entirely devoted to Rome, the

(1) *MSS. Colbert*, vol. vii.

(2) *Project of Reformation for the Faculty*, 1682 and 1685, among the papers of Harlay.

(3) Pirot had been nominated by Archbishop Harlay ; and in violation of the statute which reserved this election to the professors. In violation of another statute which prescribed a term of two years for the syndic, Harlay procured the retention of Pirot for many years.

Jesuits and the monks. He knows well his business of doctor, although *he has not studied the originals*, and is therefore obstinate in the opinions received beyond the mountains (1). Navarre, the monks, and all the ignorant follow him. Saussey is a good Thomist; I never hear him say anything in the Faculty but what favors Rome. Ligny belongs entirely to Guyard. Vinot knows something, but he also belongs to Guyard." Achille de Harlay says that only one professor in the House of Navarre teaches the "maxims of the kingdom." Saint-Sulpice, the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, and the community of Saint-Nicolas de Chardonnet, are noted in the list as "extremists for the papal authority." The same authority says that "nothing can be expected from the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and least of all, from the Franciscans, who make profession of following Rome in all things." But we need enter into no more details; Archbishop Le Tellier, in a letter dated March 29, 1681, told the royal ministers that if the Parisian Faculty of Theology was "not forced to teach sound doctrine"; if those professors who died were not "replaced by good ones"; if the Gallicans "were not well treated"; if, in fine, "things remained in their present condition, our maxims would be forgotten." II. That the "ultramontanes" in the Faculty of Paris were, to say the least, among its most illustrious doctors, is proved by the confidants of Colbert, when they rank among the prize members such prominent "papalists" as Cornet, the grand-master of Navarre; Grandin, syndic and professor in the same establishment; and the professors Chamillard, Lestocq, Leblond, Despérier, Guyard, Saussey, Vinot, and Ligny. Certainly our position is unassailable, if "ultramontane" doctrines were taught in 1682 by all the professors of the House of Navarre, excepting Lefèvre; and by all those of the Sorbonne, excepting Pirot. III. The piety of these "ultramontanes" is guaranteed by the Colbertian list. One is qualified as being "of exemplary virtue." Another is "the director of several nunneries." One is described as "selling his patrimony in order to succor poor scholars." The edifying life of another "has

(1) Archbishop Le Tellier ascribes the ultramontaniam of Pope Innocent XI. to the same neglect—"he has never read reliable books." Let us pity Le Tellier.

procured for him the reputation of an apostle." But listen to Fleury, whose Gallicanism was a part of his being, as he compares the two schools in his *Discourse* on the Gallican "liberties" (1). "In France there are no regulars who do not believe in the infallibility. And not only the regulars, but even the communities of priests which have no privileges and are subject to the bishops, lean to this side as being more conformable to piety. The regulars, who almost alone have preserved the traditions and practice of devotion, have caused this doctrine to pass into the direction of consciences. The ancient doctrine (*of course Fleury terms his school ancient*) has remained among doctors who are often less pious and exemplary in their conduct than those who teach the new. Sometimes the opponents of the new are profane and libertine jurists and politicians, who render odious the truths which they defend."

On May 2, 1682, a parliamentary deputation, composed of the first president, the *procureur-général*, and six counsellors, visited the Sorbonne, for the purpose of ordering the Faculty to inscribe the *Declaration* on its registers. An eye-witness of what followed (2) tells us that Bétille, the senior doctor, to whom belonged the right of presiding over the meetings, and of announcing the decisions of the Faculty, was a very old man; and that when the president of the deputation signified the royal wish, "the good man simply answered: '*Gratias agimus amplissimas*': that then the president did not appear content, and the good man added: '*Facultas pollicetur obsequium*': whereupon the president arose and departed with his companions." However, the three hundred doctors in attendance were not disposed to acquiesce in this high-handed

(1) We speak of the *Discourse* as Fleury really wrote it; not as the Gallican versions of the last century mutilated it. In 1807, M. Emery, superior of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, discovered and published the original manuscript, which Fleury had never sent to the press. The Abbé de Bonnaire, a Jansenist, had got possession of this manuscript after the death of Fleury, and had printed it, adding notes by himself which were so injurious to the Holy See that on Sept. 9, 1723, the royal council condemned the book. This addition by Bonnaire was often reprinted; and it was, as to text, nearly as Fleury had written, the notes by Bonnaire having been directed against many of the passages in that text which the Jansenist regarded as too favorable to the Pope. But in 1743, Boucher d'Argis printed another edition, in which were modified or omitted the many passages in which Fleury had condemned the parliamentary Gallican theories.

(2) *MS. of Saint-Sulpice*, vol. IV., cited by Gérin.

proceeding; and they proposed to their syndic, Pirot, that a deliberation should be ordered. Pirot replied that a royal order should not be discussed; and the doctors separated. A few days afterward the *procureur-général* asked for a copy of the act of registration; and he received the reply that a custom of the Faculty required that anything done by it should not be considered as valid, until it should have been approved in a subsequent session. The next meeting would be held on June 1. When that session had been held without any attempt to actuate the royal wishes, Colbert resolved to intimidate the Faculty. Meanwhile, on June 15, one of the doctors, Chamillard, vicar of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, delivered in the Sorbonne a discourse in which the following passage occurred. "Many great personages of this kingdom and even of this Faculty, persons who are celebrated for both learning and piety, and who are warm defenders of the interests of the Most Christian King, have vigorously sustained propositions which are contrary to some of these (of the *Declaration*). The clergy of France were unable, in their last Assembly, to so determine these propositions, that they would necessarily demand unwavering assent. Such power can be found only in an Œcumenical Council of all the bishops. Our Assembly was unable even to so determine the propositions, that this Faculty should be obliged to receive them. If one of our bachelors or professors is firmly convinced of the truth of the contrary propositions, how can you force them to defend in public things which they do not believe? It is our duty, therefore, to deliver our bachelors and professors from a burden which would weigh as heavily on their consciences as on our own" (1). Such sentiments, applauded by a majority of the Faculty, showed to the court the futility of waiting for that body's voluntary registration of the *Declaration*. On June 16, at six o'clock in the morning, an usher from the parliament served the dean of the Faculty with an order for a discontinuance of its meetings, and with a summons for the dean and certain specified professors to appear before the parliament in an hour's time. When the cited individuals showed themselves at the bar of

(1) *MS. of Saint-Sulpice*, vol. iv., p. 2,405.

the House, the first president thus addressed them: "The court would never have believed that you would defer the registration which it ordered. Your disobedience causes it to regret that it has honored you with its esteem. Persuaded that you do not deserve its confidence any longer, it now forbids you to assemble again, until it shall have prescribed the manner of your meeting—which it will take care to do, before July 1." Then the president asked whether the registrar of the Faculty was present with his books; and when that officer appeared, he was ordered to record the *Declaration*, then and there. Such was the fashion in which "the Faculty of Paris registered the *Declaration* of 1682"; and Harlay announced his victory to the chancellor, Le Tellier, declaring that he had executed the orders of the king the more willingly, because he had been assured that "the *mauvais parti* had a majority of fifteen votes" in the Faculty (1). On June 21, eight of the most outspoken "ultramontane" doctors were arrested, and exiled to different parts of France. Then twelve doctors, who had been members of the Assembly of 1682, were ordered to obtain the signatures of their fellows to a supplication, the text of which had been composed by the royal jurists, asking that the Faculty might be allowed to reassemble. It is noteworthy that although this document did not profess a belief in the Four Articles, merely speaking in general terms about respect for the royal edicts; and although the circulators counted as fifteen signatures those of fifteen friars, whereas the royal council had recently decreed that each of the Mendicant Orders should have only two votes in the Faculty, irrespective of the number of its doctors; nevertheless, out of 753 doctors, only 162 gave their signatures.

When treating, in the previous dissertation, of the dissensions of the grand monarch with the Holy See, we described briefly the refusal of three successive Pontiffs to confirm the election to bishoprics of such ecclesiastics as had not renounced all sympathy with the teachings of the *Declaration* on ecclesiastical power. It is a pleasure to be able to narrate how the bishops of France and their sovereign made their *amende*

(1) *MSS. Harlay*, Fr. 165, in the Nat. Libr.

honorable to the visible Head of the Church. In the first place we must remember that the Pontiffs did not require the French bishops-elect to subscribe four propositions contradicting those in the *Declaration*. The doctrine contained in those propositions was abandoned to the pens of theologians until such time as the Holy Spirit would dictate a decision in regard to it. But the Holy See did condemn those who affected to render the Gallican maxims obligatory on the French clergy; and therefore the bishops-elect (who had been members of the Assembly of 1682) were required, as a condition *sine qua non* of their canonical institution, to renounce the *Declaration*, that is, to regard it as though it had not been emitted. Shortly after his accession, Innocent XII. declared in full Consistory, that he was perfectly willing to confirm those royal nominees who had not been members of the criminated Assembly; and the royal council was divided as to the advisability of accepting the pontifical offer. Finally, the king resolved to make this first concession to the Pontiff; and after an apparently interminable correspondence with Rome, during which the method of the final and all-important concession was discussed, it was also agreed that each nominee who had belonged to the Assembly should write to the Pontiff a letter in which the principal point would be treated in conformity with a model already tendered by his Holiness (1). On Sept. 14, 1693, each bishop-elect wrote the following letter: "Most Blessed Father, now that

(1) On Dec. 21, 1691, the minister of foreign affairs, Colbert de Croissy, wrote to the archbishop of Rouen: "The king orders me to forward to you the enclosed three models for a letter on the matter of the Bulls. One was prepared by the ministers of the Pope; the two others by Cardinals d'Estrées and Forbin. His Majesty wishes you to examine them, and to give him your opinion concerning them." The draft prepared at the papal court is as follows: "*Ex corde dolemus super rebus gestis quæ Sanctitati Vestræ valde displicuerunt, ac proinde id quod circa potestatem ecclesiasticam et Pontificiam auctoritatem decretum, vel in ecclesiarum præjudicium deliberatum censi potuit, quod a mente nostra prorsus alienum fuisse testamur, PRO NON DECRETO ET NON DELIBERATO HABEMUS, et habendum esse declaramus.*" The draft prepared by Card. d'Estrées was couched in these terms: "*Ac proinde id quod ex quibusdam verbis, circa potestatem ecclesiasticam et Pontificiam auctoritatem decretum, vel in ecclesiarum præjudicium deliberatum censi potest, PRO NON DECRETO circa dictam potestatem et auctoritatem, ET NON DELIBERATO in ecclesiarum præjudicium HABEMUS ET HABENDUM ESSE DECLARAMUS.*" Forbin-Janson used this language: "*Ac proinde quod sive circa potestatem ecclesiasticam, sive Pontificiam auctoritatem, decretum censi potest, sive in præjudicium ecclesiarum deliberatum, id tam a mente nostra alienum fuisse testamur, ET PRO NON DELIBERATO ET NON DECRETO HABEMUS ET HABENDUM ESSE DECLARAMUS.*"

all Christians are sharing the happiness of the exultant Church, and are finding easy access to your paternal beneficence, nothing could be more unfortunate for me than to know that I am excluded from the favor of your Holiness. And since I perceive that such is my condition because of my having been a member of the Assembly of the French Clergy which was held at Paris in 1682; therefore, prostrate at the feet of your Blessedness, I profess and declare that with all my heart I regret whatever was done in the aforesaid Assembly to the great displeasure of your Holiness and of your predecessors; and that therefore *I regard as not decreed, and I declare that it should be held as not decreed, all that was therein pronounced in reference to the ecclesiastical power and the Pontifical authority.* Furthermore, I regard as not asserted all that was therein pronounced concerning the rights of churches; for it was not my intention to derogate in any way from the rights of said churches. And now in token of the profound respect which I owe to your Holiness, I am ready to so conduct myself toward you for the remainder of my life, and to so show my zeal for the rights of the churches, that your Holiness will desire nothing more from me. I hope and most humbly entreat that when your Holiness will have read this letter, you will show that I have been received into your favor; and that you will deign to appoint me to the diocese for which the Most Christian King has named me, so that I may labor for the salvation of souls, the glory of the Christian religion, and for the rights and dignity of my see. Meanwhile I again promise and swear true and sincere obedience to your Blessedness; The Successor of the Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles; the Vicar of Christ Our Lord; and the Head of the Entire Militant Church." Many Gallican apologists have endeavored to minimize the significance of this letter, repeating the words of Bossuet: "It is of no importance, since it is the work of a few private individuals," whereas the *Declaration* "was adopted in a General Assembly of the Clergy, and sent to all the churches" (1). However, when it suited the Gallicans to do so, they could decry the authority of a General Assem-

(1) *Diary* of Ledieu, the secretary of Bossuet.

bly of the French Clergy, even though they were willing to term the pronouncements of the Assembly of 1682 "dogmas of the French Church" (1). Harlay found it necessary "to take precautions, in the act of registration of the *Declaration*, against the imagination of those bishops who would have transformed an Assembly of the Clergy into a National Council of France" (2). And listen to the royal chancellor, Henri-François d'Aguesseau, as he describes the authority of the Assembly of 1705, because it had received the Bull *Vincam Domini* which condemned the Jansenist *Cuse of Conscience*: "The president seemed to be very much displeased, *and with reason*, with the opinion of certain bishops in the Assembly of the Clergy, who believed that they represented the Church of France when they received the papal Constitution; *as though an Assembly of the Clergy, which is, properly speaking, only a Chambre des Comptes Ecclesiastiques, could ever pass for a National Council*" (3).

The retractation of the bishops did not fully restore the olden happy relations of France with the Holy See; ere such a consummation could be reached, the king would be obliged to retract his part in the *Declaration*. Certainly Louis XIV. had not conceived any intention to introduce new dogmas into the body of Catholic teaching; but his edict of March 20, 1682, had effectively attempted such an enterprising usurpation, albeit unrecognized by its author. Therefore Pope Innocent XII. was both logical and confident when he said, in his Consistorial Allocution of Jan. 9, 1692, after some praise of the monarch's devotion to the Church: "We believe that he himself will soon declare that edict void; for he has often given us reason to expect that declaration." However, it was not until Sept. 14, 1693, that the Son of St. Louis sent to the Vicar of Christ the following retractation: "Most Holy Father; I have always hoped much from the elevation of your Holiness to the pontificate; both for the glory of the Church, and for the advancement of our holy religion; and now I rejoice on account of all that you have effected for one and the other. Therefore my filial respect for

(1) D'AGUESSEAU; *Works*, vol. xiii., p. 512. Paris, 1789.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 245.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 241.

your Holiness in now redoubled ; and since I wish to manifest this devotion by the strongest proofs that I can furnish, I now inform your Holiness that I have given the necessary orders to the effect that the contents of my edict of March 22, 1682, concerning the *Declaration* emitted by the clergy of France, be not observed. Desiring not only that your Holiness be acquainted with my sentiments, but also that the entire world may learn from this particular fact, what is my veneration for your grand and holy qualities ; I trust that your Blessedness will reply to it with every demonstration of your paternal affection for me. I pray to God, in the meantime, that He may preserve your Holiness for many years ; and that they may be as happy as they are invoked for you. Most Holy Father, by your devoted son, LOUIS." Although a copy of this filially-submissive letter was immediately sent to the parliament, as is proved by its being found among the papers of the president, Harlay, and as is also shown by a letter of Pontchartrain (secretary of state) to that president (1), no French publicist ever alluded to the document until it was cited, for the first time in France, nearly a century after it was written ; that is, in 1789, in the thirteenth volume of the works of the chancellor, d'Aguesseau. In Italy it had been published by Cardinal Sfondrati in 1695 (2) ; by the Dominican, Serri, in 1732 (3) ; and by the Franciscan, P. Bianchi, in 1734 (4). Ellies Dupin and the Jesuit, d'Avrigny, who devote much attention to the retraction of the bishops, give none to that of the king. Even when d'Aguesseau cited the letter, trying to weaken its significance, he took good care not to publish its text. It remained for Artaud to copy the original in the Vatican Archives, and then to make it known

(1) On Sept. 21, 1693, Pontchartrain wrote to Achille de Harlay : "The king orders me, Monsieur, to send you the two enclosed letters, so that you may know all that has been done in regard to so important an affair, which he thinks that these letters will terminate ; and he sends you the letters, so that you may give the necessary orders which must proceed from you, in order that the promise given by the king in his letter may be fulfilled." And on the same day the secretary wrote again : "I fear, Monsieur, that in my letter of this morning I did not speak with sufficient clearness, when I did not tell you that while his Majesty wishes you to fulfil the promise which he gave to the Pope in the letter of which I sent you a copy, nevertheless, he desires that you put in writing or make public nothing concerning the matter, until the courier returns from Rome and his Majesty learns that his expectations have been satisfied."

(2) In the second edition of his *Grand Vindicté*.

(3) In his *Roman Pontiff*.

(4) In his *Ecclesiastical Power*.

to his countrymen (1). The dissimulation of the Gallican publicists could profit them nothing; for Louis XIV. remained faithful to the promise he had given to the Pontiff. A posthumous writing of Chancellor d'Aguesseau testifies to this fidelity. "This letter of King Louis XIV. to Pope Innocent XII. was the seal of reconciliation between the court of Rome and the clergy of France; and in conformity with the promise which it contained, his Majesty no longer insisted on the observance of his edict of March, 1682, which compelled all aspirants for promotion to defend the *Declaration*. . . . His Majesty ceasing to impose this obligation, although allowing full liberty for the defense of the *Declaration*, as had been the case before the edict was issued" (2). After this avowal of a well-informed and interested Gallican jurist, the elder Dupin should have abstained from his vain attempt to minimize the victory of the Holy See by asserting: "For love of peace, and when his authority suffered nothing by the disposition, Louis XIV. could manifest a willingness to *relax a little* in the severe execution of his edict" (3). A most curious explanation of the causes of the king's retraction is advanced by the famous *Charentonnais* and unfrocked Oratorian, Daunou: "The court of Rome already foresaw the imminent weakening of the intellectual and moral faculties of Louis XIV.; and in 1693 it succeeded in frightening him sufficiently to obtain the letter" (4). The horrors of his revolutionary career must have obscured the memory of the once erudite religious, when he forgot that the king made his retraction precisely at the time when, twenty-two years before the end of his glorious reign, he was manifesting the lucidity of his intellect and the firmness of his will in a serene and indomitable resistance against the combined forces of Europe; and when his moral faculties were, and had

(1) In his *History of Pius VII.*, 3d edn., vol. II., p. 170. When Napoleon stole the Archives of the Vatican, the letter of Louis XIV. was deposited in the National Archives, then in the Hotel de Soubise. De Pradt says that one day Napoleon called at the Archives, and asked for the royal letter; that he took it to the Tuilleries, and threw it into the fire, saying: "Its ashes will trouble us no longer." Now M^r. Marino Marini, who had been charged by the pontifical government with the recovery of the stolen Archives, told Artaud in 1826 that he had brought the identical document back from Paris, and he handed it to the chevalier for examination.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. XIII., p. 427.

(3) *Ubi supra*, p. xxvi.

(4) *Essay on the Temporal Power of the Popes*, vol. II., p. 164. Paris, 1818.

been for many years, under the safe tutelage of his pious wife, Mme. de Maintenon. Another strange subterfuge of Gallican publicists, and one advanced by those who most exalt the royal prerogatives, is the contention that Louis XIV. could not revoke, by a simple act of his will, an edict which had been registered in parliament. In other words, it is asserted that even though the Four Articles were null, the edict commanding their observance was irrefragable. Valuable indeed would be the discovery that, during the reign of the grand monarch, there existed a constitutional provision justifying this position.

We may now conclude this dissertation. Enough has been said to show that the signers of the Four Articles were incompetent to decree them as enunciatory of the belief of the French Church on the matters involved; enough to prove that the majority of the signers, as was avowed by the *procureur-général*, Achille de Harlay, "would have changed their opinion on the morrow, and with their whole hearts, had permission been given to them" (1). But a few words should be devoted to the part taken by Bossuet in this Assembly. The Eagle of Meaux certainly carried his condescendence to the secular power to the verge of schism; but he did not cross the line. He prevented the adoption of schismatical resolutions; and was himself empowered to draft the platform of the Assembly. He had taken no part in promoting the *Declaration*; on the contrary he had declared to the archbishop of Rheims: "You will have the glory of having terminated the affair of the *Regulars*, but that glory will be obscured by those odious propositions." And when Colbert, La Chaise, and Harlay had incited the king to give express orders for the framing of the document, Bossuet tried to defer the catastrophe by proposing "an examination of tradition," which would certainly have given enough time for some development of prudence. Fleury admits that Bossuet showed little inclination to touch the question of the papal power; that he said to the bishop of Tournai: "You will widen the chasm, instead of closing it" (2). Writing to

1 "Une assemblée du clergé dont la plupart changeraient demain, et de bon cœur, si l'on le leur permettait." Letter to Colbert, June 2, 1682. MSS. F. 17.417, in Nat. Libr.

(2) *Notes of Fleury*.

M. de Rance (1), and to the bishop of Castorie (2), he expresses his fear for the consequences. It was this very fear that produced that admirable opening discourse on *The Unity of the Church* which led Joseph de Maistre to say: "Bossuet should have died after his sermon on *Unity*, just as Scipio Africanus died after the battle of Zama. After the episode of 1682 the bishop of Meaux fell from that height on which his so many marvellous works had placed him" (3). And many years afterward, Bossuet could say with just pride: "Celebrated cardinals have written to me from Rome, assuring me that the Pontiff both read and approved my discourse" (4). In framing the Four Articles, the astute prelate had tried to please the monarch, and at the same time not to offend what he termed the *teneras Romanorum aures*: but he soon heard the resonant protestations of bishops in all parts of Christendom against his compromise. Then he began the famous *Defense of the Declaration* which he continued to revise until the day of his death, and which was not published until twenty-six years had passed over his grave (5). Louis XIV., to whom Bossuet had confided the manuscript, would never consent to its publication; and it is amusing to read the blunder, or worse, of the elder Dupin: "Bossuet felt that it was time to unfold to the eyes of the Christian world the proofs on which was based the *Declaration* of 1682, and to silence its opponents. He confounded them in an admirable work which occupied much time in preparation, and which he published under the title, *Defense, etc.*" (6). At the very beginning of the preface the work is described as posthumous—*opus posthumum*. No controversialist has merited so well of the Church as Bossuet, excepting in this sole matter of the *Declaration* and its *Defense* (7); and even in spite

(1) Letter of Sept. 10, 1681.

(2) Letter of Sept. 22, 1681.

(3) *The Gallican Church*, bk. ii., ch. 12.

(4) Letter to Mme. de Luynes, 1693.

(5) For the opinion of the eminent scholar, the marquis Maffei, contrary to Bossuet's authorship of the *Defense*, see our vol. I., p. 480, in Note.

(6) *Ubi supra*, p. xxxv.

(7) The many refutations of the *Defense* are at the easy command of the student; we would merely quote the judgment which that consummate theologian, Pope Benedict XIV., passed upon it. In a Brief to the archbishop of Compostella, dated July 31, 1749, he says: "You must know that a few years ago there was published a work with the object of defending the propositions emitted by the clergy of France in the Assembly of 1682. Although the name of the author of the book is not given, everyone knows that it was written

of this one weakness, he will ever be placed in the very first rank of ecclesiastical apologists. When the great Napoleon, on March 17, 1811, presiding over a session of the Ecclesiastical Commission, called on the Abbé Emery to give his views on the subject then under discussion, that famous Sulpician replied: "Here in France we are obliged to uphold the Four Articles, but the doctrine of that *Declaration* should be received in its entirety. Now we are told in the preamble that 'the primacy of St. Peter and of the Roman Pontiffs, his successors, was instituted by Jesus Christ; and that all Christians owe obedience to it.' And again we are told that the Four Articles were decreed in order to prevent 'any attacks on that primacy, under the cloak of the liberties of the French Church.'" The disconcerted emperor then having tried to entrap Emery into some approbation of his conduct toward the Holy See, the abbé replied: "Sire, concerning this matter I can harbor no sentiment other than that of Bossuet, whose great authority your Majesty so properly respects, and whom you are pleased to so frequently quote (1). Now this grand prelate, in his *Defense of the Declaration*, contends expressly that the independence and full liberty of the Sovereign Pontiff are necessary for the free exercise of his spiritual authority throughout the world, and in such a multiplicity of kingdoms and empires." That Bossuet was sincerely attached to the Holy See in his inmost heart must be the judgment of all who have studied his writings as a whole; but there is too much reason to believe that Arnauld had him in his mind when he complained of certain bishops

by Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. It would be difficult to find another book which so contradicts the doctrine on the authority of the Holy See which is professed by the entire Catholic Church, saving only in France. During the pontificate of our predecessor, Clement XII. there was a question of condemning this work; but the project was not executed, both because of the respect due to a man like Bossuet, to whom religion owes so much, and because there subsisted a too-well-founded fear of exciting new troubles."

(1) M. de Fontaines, one of the few really honest servants of Napoleon—the one who, when Napoleon told him that "he was always thinking of his duke d'Enghien," retorted that he thought "that his Majesty seemed to be thinking much more about the duke"—often complained about the emperor's abuse of the name of Bossuet. "He quotes Bossuet in every contingency; he would imitate the prelate's Gallicanism, or rather he would make the prelate a Napoleonist. . . . Bossuet wished for a powerful royalty and a free religion. Hence the emperor concludes that he desired a royalty which would be a despot over religion, just as over everything else; and Napoleon admires him for the heresy with which he credits him." So said Fontaines to M. de Narbonne. VILLEMAIN; *Souvenirs*; M. de Narbonne; ch. 22.

of France who had "immense talents and little generosity" (1); and that Sainte-Beuve, recalling the saying of M. de Treville that Bossuet "had no back-bone—*n'avait pas d'os*," probably accounted for the Gallicanism of the prelate when he wrote: "Bossuet was pliant and rather feeble in the face of power, and he had much condescension for the world. He was the first to recognize this weak side of his character; and one day, when taking leave of a superioress of a certain community in Meaux, having made the customary parting request, 'Pray for me,' the religious asked what favor she should beg, whereupon he replied: 'Pray that I may not have too much *complaisance* for the world'" (2).

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES. MADAME DE MAINTENON.

When Henry IV., in April, 1598, published his celebrated edict for the pacification of his sorely-tried kingdom, he proclaimed that his motive was: "To arrange matters so that the Holy Name of God might be adored by all his subjects; and if it had not pleased him to enjoin that divine worship should have but one form, he wished that it should have, at least, one intention, and be so regulated that it should cause no trouble among his people." By this famous edict Henry consecrated France to the principle of religious toleration, at a time when every other sovereign, orthodox or heretical, insisted that a civil ruler cannot, without offence to God, manifest indifference as to the faith professed by his subjects. But if the reader has accompanied us in our investigations of the attempts to Protestantize France, and in our narration of the conversion of Henry IV., he must have perceived that the immense majority of Frenchmen would with difficulty have been reconciled to any derogation from their rights, if that derogation was actuated merely for the bene-

(1) *Anecdotes on M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, Taken from Letters of M. Arnauld*; MS. Fr. 12,844, in the Nat. Libr.

(2) *Ubi supra*, May 19, 1862.

fit of a factious minority (1). Still less was it probable that they would calmly discern a principle in that grant of concessions which they regarded as mere necessities of the moment. It was evident, even during the reign of Henry IV., that instead of terminating civil discord, the Edict of Nantes would generate dissensions which a hand of iron alone could compress. The successor of Henry IV. could thank that Edict for thirty years of struggle, during which the unity of France was greatly endangered; but Richelieu understood that Protestantism was the Revolution of that time, and he combatted it with a resolution which partly compensated for his encouragement of it in those states which were hostile to France. Richelieu had reason to say to Louis XIII.: "The Huguenots share the government with your Majesty." In their assembly at Saumur, the Calvinists had applauded the duke de Rohan, when he counselled them to form a new French state on the plan of the States of Holland, with a fundamental law based on the constitution "of the Reformed Churches of France." In 1626 Richelieu vainly tried to conciliate the Huguenots. Alluding to his course during the Thirty Years' War, he said that by this attempt at conciliation he would "scandalize the world for the last time"; and he prophesied correctly, for the more zealous Catholics soon styled him "the Cardinal of La Rochelle, the Pope of the Huguenots, and the Patriarch of the Atheists." Regard for the safety of France compelled the cardinal-minister to reduce La Rochelle (2); and then Louis XIII. issued the Edict

(1) See our vol. II., ch. 22, 23, 24.

(2) This bulwark of Calvinism in France, this centre of rebellion and constant menace against the integrity of French nationality, had defied the crown for two hundred years. From the day of its revolt against Louis XI., in favor of his brother, the duke of Guyenne, down to the capture of Antien by Henry IV., devotion to France had been an unknown quantity to the Rochellois; and as soon as the latter event ceased to impress their minds, they made war on Louis XIII. Many good patriots deemed the reduction of La Rochelle impossible; many also thought that Louis would do better by aiding Mantua and Montfermat against Spain than by warring against his own subjects, rebels though they were. But Friar Joseph realized, and he forced the king, Richelieu, and Cardinal de Bérulle, to realize, that La Rochelle was a hot-bed of discord for France, that it was a port of entry for hostile foreigners, especially for the English, whose queen had been convinced by Blancard, the Rochellois deputy, that it was better for her to lose Ireland than to permit the surrender of La Rochelle to King Louis; that Huguenot rebellion and Protestant arrogance would continue to torment France so long as the formidable rock remained the arsenal of treason. The celebrated siege was undertaken, and Friar Joseph—present to the end—was its moving spirit; advising with the engineers whom he had employed to construct the famous

of Nîmes, withdrawing from the Huguenots their military privileges, as well as that right to hold certain cities as guarantees, which the Edict of Nantes had accorded to them. Finally, Louis XIV. revoked the Edict entirely in 1685.

By the Edict of Nantes the Protestants had been placed on a nearly equal footing with the orthodox in matters of right and privilege; the sole difference being that the Huguenots could publicly follow the Calvinistic worship in only certain defined districts—nowhere was there to be any interference with heretical services, when conducted in private. As to civil rights, appointments to positions in the army and in the government, etc., the Edict declared that there should be no distinction between Catholic and Protestant. In reference to the justice of the abolition of this equality, Catholic publicists are divided into two opposite schools of thought. Many Catholic writers look on the matter as does Segretain: “In reality, this monument of pacification (the Edict of Nantes) was a sovereignly irritating and impolitic act; and it will dishonor the memory of Henry IV., so long as the violation of one’s oath is regarded as perjury. It is a fundamental principle of Christian civilization that truth alone has rights, and that what is due to truth is violated by granting those rights to error. But by the side of this inflexible principle, is there no room for a compromise with the exigencies of facts? Did not the holy and paternal Clement VIII. wish Henry to be as kind as possible to his olden co-religionists? Would not Clement have accepted as natural and reasonable every toleration, understood in the grammatical sense of the term, which did not compromise any of the superior interests of truth and Christian society?” (1). Very different from this judgment is that of Pellissier: “Two results were attained (by the Edict of Nantes). The monarchy was consolidated, and delivered from feudal oligarchy and from

like; animating the spirits of the soldiers, and working as indefatigably as did Angoulême or Bassompierre. Of course Richelieu was also on the spot, and had been intrusted by Louis XIII. with absolute command; but so great was the part of the Capuchin secretary in the siege, that after it had been brought to a successful issue, the king publicly avowed that, like Abraham, the friar had hoped against hope, that God had rewarded his faith, and that history would accord to him, as much as to Cardinal de Bérulle, the glory attending the enterprise.

(1) *Sixtus V. and Henry IV.*, p. 275. Paris, 1861.

municipal anarchy. Religion was freed from political despotism, and was placed in the superior sphere of conscience, as the natural and intimate relation of the soul with God. The Edict of Nantes and the Peace of Vervins put an end to the violent reclamations which had threatened to compromise and dishonor the Catholic reaction; and renascent orthodoxy resumed discussion, the sole weapon which befits it. Such was the ardor of this spirit of controversy that, twenty years afterward, Richelieu, then bishop of Luçon, consecrated the leisure of his political exile to the publication of a *Method to Convert Those Who Are Separated From The Church* (1). We cannot accept either the judgment of Segretain or that of Pellissier in its entirety; but it is certain that no measure adopted by Louis XIV., during his eventful reign of seventy-two years, was so popular as the revocation of that which was rightly designated as the Great Charter of Protestantism in France.

(1) *The Sixteenth Century*, p. 271. Paris, 1887. . . . What does Pellissier mean by the phrase, "consecrated the leisure of his political exile"? As yet, Richelieu had not mingled with politics; he was simply a devoted and active bishop, and he wrote the cited *Method* in an apostolic spirit. In 1606, while Richelieu was only a deacon, and still devoted to his theological studies alone, Henry IV. named him for the bishopric of Luçon: "Since the said Du Plessis," wrote the King to d'Halincourt, his ambassador to the Holy See, "has not yet reached the age required by the canons, and since I am quite sure that his merit and ability supply this defect, you will beg his Holiness to grant the necessary dispensation; for the said Du Plessis is in every way capable of serving the Church of God." The royal request was granted, and the young abbé was consecrated at Rome on April 17, 1607, and immediately returned to the Sorbonne to take his degrees. His assiduity in study had told on his health, and he was unable to make the journey to his diocese until December, 1608. Received as was customary by the chapter and magistracy, he alluded to the Huguenots of Luçon in these words: "Many there are who differ with us in belief; I trust that we shall all be united in affection." And while ever firm in insisting on the rights of Holy Mother Church, his entire career at Luçon showed him the defender of those of Protestants. The diocese of Luçon was one of the poorest in France, and was then impoverished by war; and his own means were small, for he was a younger son. He therefore, as he said, was as poor as a monk, though without any vow of poverty. But, despite his small resources, he was a father to the poor. He wrote to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, one of the most zealous bishops of the time, that he found "ecclesiastical discipline and authority everywhere weakened." To remedy the evil he called on the Capuchins (whom the famous Friar Joseph, the future "Grey Cardinal," was then exciting to renewed zeal) for missions; and he immediately established, with his own money, a new seminary. The first establishment, after the mother-house, possessed by the famous Oratorians founded by De Bérulle, was given them in his diocese by Richelieu, and he justly prided himself on this fact in his *Mémoires*. When a parish became vacant, he invariably conferred it by *concursus*; but if, as was often the case, some powerful laic held the right of presentation, he insisted on a proper nomination. A certain Madame de sainte-Croix having presented an unworthy candidate, he wrote to her: "I beg you to properly regard my fulfillment of duty when I refuse to entrust to this person the care of souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. By making another selection, you will also set a good example to others who enjoy the right

At the time when Louis XIV. began to meditate on the feasibility of insisting on a uniformity of worship throughout the extent of his kingdom, the religious conditions of France seemed to warrant the opinion that a simple edict of the government would produce the desired effect. There were scarcely any Protestants in the central provinces; and these few appeared disposed to follow the example of the many who, either from conviction or for worldly motives, had espoused the dominant cult. The monarch reflected on the report of M. d'Aguesseau, who said, when he relinquished the government of Languedoc, that "in three days more than 60,000 Huguenots in the diocese of Nîmes had entered the true fold"; and he conceived the delusion that the heretics in the distant provinces, even the mountaineers of the Cevennes and the Vivarais, so foreign to the habits and tastes of the rest

of presentation." Work was always a passion with Richelieu, and, as the documents published by Avenel prove, when he was not occupied in the public affairs of his diocese, he was engaged in the direction of souls, in settling quarrels and preventing duels, in consoling the afflicted, and in study. Those who have never regarded him in any other light than that of a courtier may smile at the idea of Richelieu the student, and yet the future Minister's studious habits were well known to his compeers. The famous Gabriel de l'Aubespine (Albaspinaeus), certainly a competent judge, wrote to him on one occasion: "I have always counted much on your talent for ecclesiastical and spiritual matters; and now that you study so unintermittingly, my estimation is increased, and I feel that you would not take such pains if you were not meditating some great design." Even the illustrious theologian, Cardinal Duperron, admired the zeal of the Bishop of Luçon. In a letter written to Richelieu in 1610, when the prelate was but twenty-five years of age, a mutual friend said: "The Cardinal seizes every occasion to manifest his esteem for you. A certain person having praised you as eminent among young prelates, his Eminence declared that you ought not be mentioned among young prelates, for the oldest might well yield you precedence; and, for his part, he wished to set the example." During his seven years' charge at Luçon, Richelieu made several trips to Paris; but on all these occasions he kept his episcopal position ever in mind, and frequently he preached in the principal pulpits of the capital. Aubery, who drew his information from the family of Richelieu, says that the King and Queen often attended these sermons, and that "they nearly always declared that no preacher ever made more impression on their hearts." The sermons of Cardinal Richelieu have not come down to us, but we must suppose that, whatever may have been his merits as a poet and playwright, they were good ones. He certainly possessed the chief requisites of a fine preacher—force of logic, elevation of thought, and energy of expression. The assiduity displayed by Richelieu in his studies while Bishop of Luçon was the more admirable because from his twenty-third year until his death in 1642, he was nearly always in physical pain. The first letter (1605) published by Avenel shows him in a painful convalescence after a long illness; and so on through the entire series we find him generally a victim to bodily suffering; his last attack continued more than a year. Richelieu resigned his diocese in 1616 to become Prime Minister of France; and he himself, toward the close of his life, well epitomized his later career when he said to the King: "I promised your Majesty that I would use all my ability, and all the power you would give me, to crush the Huguenot party, to lay low the pride of the nobles, to force all your subjects to do their duty, and to cause foreign nations to properly respect your Majesty's name; and to effect these ends, I insisted on having your entire confidence."

of the French people, awaited only his signal to become Catholics. In the days of Henry IV. nearly one-half of the French nobility had proclaimed the Mass an idolatry; and when Louis now scanned the lists of this nobility, his eye seldom fell on the name of a heretic. Of course there were many Protestant merchants and workmen in the commercial cities; but would not the business instincts of these, as well as their ambition of possible social distinction, lead them to abandon a religion, the followers of which could hope for no privileges or honors? Nor did the projected revocation appear very astounding, since nearly every one of the hundred-and-eighty articles of the Edict of Nantes had been successively cancelled by particular decisions. The distasteful charter might, in reality, have been regarded as already abrogated in very many districts, although no formal law had as yet prohibited the public services of Calvinism. And, as we have said, the design was popular. You will seek in vain, amid the *Memoires* of the time, or in the private correspondence which has come down to us, for any indication of surprise at the revocation, or of indignation excited by it, in the minds of the immense majority of Frenchmen. When the Edict of Revocation appeared, each Estate of the kingdom felicitated the monarch; every provincial parliament hastened to register a document which was a general sanction of its particular decisions. When Bossuet preached the funeral oration of the chancellor, Le Tellier, on Jan. 25, 1686, three months after the revocation, he could say: "Our ancestors never saw that which we have seen; an inveterate heresy suddenly prostrated; wandering flocks returning to the fold in such numbers that our churches cannot contain them; a perfect calm in so great a movement; and the world astonished in discerning in so novel an event the most certain mark of authority, its most praiseworthy use, and the merit of a prince more revered even than his authority itself." The bishop of Meaux would not have dared to use such language if the revocation had been displeasing to the nation; and we are the more willing to receive his testimony, because he was utterly strange to the councils which preceded the publication of the edict, and because he afterward in-

veighed most eloquently against the violent measures of Louvois in its enforcement. Mme. de Sévigné, whose charming letters to her daughter are perfect revelations of the opinions of the French court and nation at that time, writes on Oct. 28, 1685, "Undoubtedly you have seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes. Nothing is so fine as its contents; and no monarch has ever produced, or ever will produce, anything more memorable." And not only courtiers and friends of the court were pleased with the Edict. The "great" Arnauld, the head and front of Jansenism, insisted upon the right of the king in the premises, quoting in support of his position the opinion of the Protestant juriscounsel: Grotius, who, forty years previously, had said: "Protestants should understand that the Edict of Nantes and similar ones are not treaties—*fœdera*, but decrees of kings issued for the public good, and revocable—*regum edicta, ob publicam facta utilitatem, et revocabilia*, if the public weal so demands." It is strange, however, to hear this Arnauld, a victim himself of religious persecution, defending the violent proceedings with which the Edict was frequently enforced: "I think that Rome did not err in not having public rejoicings on account of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; for since somewhat violent means have been adopted, *although I do not consider them unjust*, we may as well not exult" (1). And in another letter he justifies the banishment of the Calvinist ministers by the example of the Roman imperial decrees against the Donatists.

We are regaled annually by the American Huguenot Associations with glowing descriptions of the transcendent virtues of the ancestors of their members; and with grossly exaggerated and often absolutely false accounts of the terrible persecutions which were consequent on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We have done justice to the virtues of the early Huguenots when treating of the attempted Protestantization of France; and we admit that the dragonades of Louvois were inexcusable, although we must insist that when allusion is made to these and similar excesses, some allusion should also be made to the facts which justified, in

(1) Letter to Duvancel, Dec. 15, 1685.

the minds of the rulers of the seventeenth century—Protestant as well as Catholic, what seem to us over-harsh measures. But now we would undertake to convince the reader that there is no foundation for the malicious pleasure experienced by our friends of presumed Huguenot extraction, when they descant annually on the evils said to have accrued to France on account of that emigration of their ancestors which was caused by the famous revocation. We are told that France lost an immense number of worthy citizens, whereas it can be shown that not more than 50,000 Protestants sought a foreign refuge. It is asserted that France lost incalculable wealth through the cruminated edict, whereas it is certain that she had never before been so rich in current money, and that her manufactures were quadrupled precisely at that time. We are asked to lament the loss of innumerable soldiers withdrawn from under the flag of the Lilies, whereas we know that the twenty millions of Frenchmen of that day furnished 500,000 combatants at one time to the armies of the Great Monarch, while foreign nations derived less than 3,000 from the Huguenot emigration—a number more than counterbalanced by the 15,000 veteran Irishmen whom, in 1690, the Marshal de Chateauneaud enrolled, with their arms and baggage, under the Bourbon standard.

When Louis XIV. resolved to undo the work which a false statesmanship had prompted his great ancestor to effect, he was influenced by the history of Protestantism in his dominions—the history of a rebellious race, which was the torment of its first benefactor in France; which formed a State within the State; which was ever the refuge of every political malcontent, and a constant menace of civil war. And he proceeded in accord with the opinion of his people, and in harmony with the ideas concerning toleration which were in vogue in his day. Certainly those ideas are very different from our own, but Protestants should make fewer allusions to this matter of religious toleration than is their wont. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and later when they could, the children of Calvin practiced intolerance to an extent never imagined by the Great Monarch;

and in so acting, they but followed the example and injunctions of their master, who, playing the tyrant at Geneva, expelled the sect of the Libertines, burned Servetus at the stake, cut off the head of Gruet, caused the condemnation of Gentile, wanted the Anabaptists to be "treated like brigands," and wrote, in the calm deliberations of his study, pages concerning the treatment of "heretics" which might shame Nero or Diocletian (1). Nor should Protestants recur here to the *argumentum ad hominem*. Even were we to grant the truth of their assertion that the Catholics of two centuries ago persecuted as bitterly as any Calvinist of them all, the fact remains that their progenitors should have set the benighted papists a better example. The Huguenots posed as reformers of religion; they claimed that their religion was better than ours. Therefore, they should have shown themselves the better men. Finally, one may ask with an eminent writer of the last century, as the Catholics were in possession, why did the Huguenots trouble them? (2).

Coming now to a consideration of the alleged damage accruing to France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we propose to show, firstly, that less than fifty thousand persons emigrated because of that procedure. Our Huguenot mutual admiration societies proclaim to their fellow-citizens that their glorious ancestors fled from French Catholic persecution, to the number of more than two millions, and to prove this assertion, they can adduce no better authority than a certain *Letter of a Patriot*, written in the eighteenth century by an unknown hand, but which appears to have been the work of Voltaire (3). Now it is a remarkable fact that as we leave this interested eighteenth century pamphleteer, and take up the Huguenot writers in chronological order backward from his time to that of the edict itself, we find the alleged emigrants growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less. Thus Limier (4) puts the number at eight hundred thousand; Basnage (5) at less than four hundred

(1) *Defense of the Orthodox Faith against Error, in which it is Taught that Heretics are to be Coerced with the Sword*. Edit. 1554.

(2) DE CAVEYRAC: *Apology for Louis XIV. in the Matter of the Revocation, etc.* Paris, 1758.

(3) *Letter of a Patriot on the Civil Toleration of Protestants in France*.

(4) *History of Louis XIV.*

(5) *Unity of the Church*.

thousand; La Martinière (1) at three hundred thousand; Larrey (2) at two hundred thousand; the contemporary Benoit (3) also at two hundred thousand. But let us hearken to the Huguenot Benoit as he describes these severe precautions taken by the French government to prevent the expatriation of his fellow-religionists, and then judge whether the probable number of the successful was greater than fifty thousand. "The most secret passes at the frontiers were watched; archers patrolled the high-roads, and other soldiers searched the fields. Rewards were promised to those who would give up a fugitive, and punishment threatened to all who harbored him. The coasts were watched with incredible vigilance; all ships were visited by order of the admiralty; even the fishing smacks were searched; this perquisition was so exact, that it was almost impossible to escape." Benoit shows that the Huguenots sought asylum only in Switzerland, Brandenburg, the Margravate of Bareth, Denmark, Lunebourg, Hesse, Holland and England. Switzerland was the natural refuge for those who fled from the Lyonnais, the Bourbonnais, Dauphiny, and Languedoc; and 12,100 are all that the calculations of Benoit assign as its quota. About six hundred found an asylum in Bareth. When Benoit says that "several thousand found refuge in Hesse," it is evident that the "several" cannot mean more than two or three, from the fact that he assigns to Brandenburg "a very much larger number." And Voltaire himself not claiming for Brandenburg more than twenty thousand, a number which our knowledge of the Sage of Ferney, "writing under the eyes of the great Frederick," justifies us in diminishing by one-half. Denmark, being profoundly Lutheran, did not wish any accession of Calvinists, but the queen allowed about fifty families, or two hundred persons to enter. When Benoit comes to the Huguenots of Holland and England, he is very chary of details; but so far as the Netherlands are concerned, we may accept his assertion that there was a project (not fully carried out) to erect a thousand houses for the immigrants, as indicative of the arrival of about

(1) *Louis XIV.*, b. 58. (2) *History of England, Ireland, etc.*, vol. iv., p. 664.

(3) *History of the Edict of Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 3, p. 1014.

ten thousand. In regard to England, if her parliamentary registers are reliable, and if the word of William III. in his proclamation of 1689 is to be accepted, not more than six thousand Huguenots there found asylum. As to the Huguenots received in Brandenburg, we have said that Voltaire's estimate of twenty thousand should be reduced by one-half, and principally because the Protestant Ancillon, writing on the spot and at the time (1) accounts for only 9,633. Now let the reader consult the above figures taken from the estimates of a bitter and contemporary partisan of the Huguenot refugees, and he will account for only forty-eight thousand, nine hundred. But we cannot close this portion of our thesis without observing that our Huguenot sympathizers perform a curious freak when they assign two millions as the number of Calvinists fleeing from the consequences of an edict published in a country *which never counted more than a million of those sectarians*. When the French Protestants asked the aid of Elizabeth of England, and tendered her their weapons against their native land, they estimated their numbers, "of every kind and condition," at one million (2); and certainly they would not have falsely represented their population as so trifling, when they were asking a foreign sovereign "to receive the aid of so many soldiers that she would acknowledge their services to be of no small gain." And when the Huguenots threatened Henry IV. because of his delay in issuing the celebrated edict, the monarch ordered De Vic and De Calignon to tell them that "they should be contented with the articles of Nerac and Flex, since the number of their co-religionists *had been larger in 1560 and 1577 than it was at that time*" (3). Finally, Benoit himself, complaining, in 1680, of the imminent loss of their privileges by the Calvinists, speaks of only "*one million as being about to be deprived of said concessions*" (4).

Let us now examine the assertion that France lost immense wealth by the emigration of her Huguenots. This loss has been placed at two hundred millions of francs, said to have been carried out of the country by these thrifty citizens.

(1) *History of the French Refugees in the States of Brandenburg*; Berlin, 1690.

(2) *Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Chatelleraud in 1597*.

(3) *Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Vendôme*.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, b. xvi., p. 414.

We shall spare the reader all monetary calculations and theories, and merely draw his attention to the well-known pecuniary condition of the emigrants. It is admitted by Benoit that so great was the poverty of the immense majority, that they were, for a long time, dependent on the charity of the peoples who admitted them into their territories; this writer details the collections taken up in their behalf, and concerning any sums of money carried by them from home. He says simply that "several had a little money, some more, and some less." Another Huguenot writer, La Martinière, tells us that "in England thousands of the refugees were destitute." Ancillon says that so abject was the poverty of the Brandenburg contingent, that "the elector was forced to care for two thousand in a building erected for that purpose." And this poverty was quite natural, for there were very few "gentlemen" or thriving artisans among the exiles; and such of them as had amassed some money, and then had it in transportable shape, had been obliged to spend a great part of it, says Benoit, "in corrupting the guards, admiralty officers, etc.," that they might escape. Again, the few who possessed immovable property were unable to sell it, as a royal decree had invalidated such action. Finally, the registers and other documents of the day prove that in all France there were then only five hundred millions of francs in specie. Now the France of that day had a population of twenty millions; therefore the specie in circulation was twenty-five francs per head. Even supposing, therefore, which is absurd, that the emigrants were as opulent as those who remained in the kingdom, one million and two hundred and fifty thousand francs would have been their quota of specie. This calculation is based, of course, on the supposition that our estimate of the number of refugees—fifty thousand—is correct; but even were we to accept the estimate of Benoit—two hundred thousand—the exportation of specie would be only five millions of francs—a sum which France could easily afford, considering the quantity of blood which the Huguenot emigration spared to the veins of her faithful children.

But we are told that the manufacturing interests of France

suffered greatly by the emigration of the Huguenots. What does not exist cannot suffer. Now at the date of the revocation the manufactures of France were as yet only in the state of initiatory formation; Colbert, whom Mazarin had recommended to Louis XIV., just as Richelieu had recommended him to Louis XIII., for the glory of France, had only then started French commerce. Hitherto the French had gone abroad for nearly all articles of luxury, and even for many of prime necessity. The tapestries of Flanders had been celebrated for centuries before Beauvais and the Gobelins thought of rivalling them. The fine cloths of Spain, England, and Holland had long been used by the French gentry, and it was not until 1680 that Louviers began to imitate them. The cloths of Sedan had been imitated from foreign productions for many years. And similar admissions must be made concerning nearly every article for the production of which France is now famous. It is worthy of note that Louis XIV. instructed his ambassador to the English court, M. de Comminges, to gather all possible information and hints concerning materials, manufactures, etc.; also that he so realized the need of foreign aid in which his country then labored in this regard, that he attracted foreign workmen by liberal treatment, especially by limiting their term of apprenticeship to one year, and by granting to them French naturalization (1). And at the very time when foreigners were thus invited to aid at its birth, if not indeed to create French manufacturing genius, Calvinistic operatives were being excluded from the national establishments—a proof that their work was certainly not needed or even appreciated (2). Such reflections must convince the reader that the influx of Huguenot operatives was of no very great advantage to the lands that welcomed them, especially since those countries knew much more about their trades, etc., than the strangers knew. M. de Caveyrac, replying, in 1758, to the famous letter of the Huguenot “patriot” already cited, refutes the assertion of

(1) Letters-patent for the manufactures at Sedan in 1666, art. 167; and for the manufactures at Elbeuf.

(2) At Rouen, in 1665, only one operative in sixteen could be a Protestant; the manufacturers of Amiens, Autun, and Dijon, would employ no heretic. Paris allowed one Calvinist workman to fifteen Catholics.

that would-be statistician to the effect that the Revocation entailed a surprising decrease in the commerce of Nîmes, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great cities of France. He shows that Nîmes so increased in size and prosperity after the alleged lamentable event, that a new *enceinte* was deemed necessary, its faubourgs having extended out to the (but lately distant) walls of the old Romans. The embellishments then effected in the city, at a cost of 1,200,000 francs, he deemed worthy of record, "lest their beauty might lead posterity to believe them to have been a work of the time of Augustus," and the population had doubled. Lyons had 69,000 inhabitants when the Edict was revoked, and when Caveyrac wrote it possessed 200,000. Marseilles, in 1758, was three times as rich and populous as it was in 1685. The city of Rouen had so advanced in manufacturing enterprise that the surrounding peasantry abandoned the cultivation of the soil in order to work in its factories; and a governmental decree had to be issued in 1723 closing these establishments from July 1st to September 15th, so that some attention might be given to the crops. The cities of Laval and Puy had become rich, thanks to the labors of their respective bishops, Fontanges and Le Franc de Pompignan, in fostering and co-operating in—the latter with his own hands—the manufacture of silk (1). By adducing such instances as these, Caveyrac replied to the "patriot" who had asserted that "the oppression of consciences had ruined French manufactures."

We need scarcely do more than refer to the figures which we have established as indicative of the real number of the Huguenots whom the Revocation drove from France, in order to show that this emigration produced very little effect on the military strength of the country. Certainly, of all the evils, if

(1) John George Le Franc de Pompignan, bishop of Puy, a brother of the poet of this name, suffered from the calumnies of Voltaire and the Encyclopedistic school; therefore, it is not surprising that history shows him to have been as pious as he was talented. Taking the bobbin in hand, without quitting the pulpit, he sowed the seed of wealth, says Caveyrac, where he had sown those of religion. "In order to establish the manufacture of silk in a mountainous district where only the name of the thing was known, the enterprising founders had to be encouraged; the government was to be rendered favorable to the work, exemptions were to be obtained, emulation was to be excited, confidence was to be inspired, a new people had to be created and rendered apt to the delicate work. M. de Pompignan surmounted every difficulty; for virtue, when united with talent, is ever triumphant."

any were entailed, accruing to the kingdom from the criminal measure, this loss of human war material was the slightest, whether the advantages gained be considered, or the force that was sacrificed. The 50,000 emigrants may be regarded as forming 10,000 families, each of which would probably consist of a grandparent, a father and mother, and two children; having, therefore, probable sex considered, as well as age, only one person capable or likely to bear arms. Here we perceive that, at the very most, France lost 3,333 men capable of fighting her battles. But a more exact method of calculation should be adopted. The 500,000 men of whom the armies of Louis XIV. generally consisted, formed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of his 20,000,000 of subjects. If, therefore, the 50,000 emigrants had remained at home, and had furnished their proper quota to the armed forces of the nation, the flag would have waved over 1,250 more soldiers. And even if we were to admit, with Benoit, that 200,000 persons left the country, their $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. share of the military burdens would have enrolled under the standards only 5,000 men—a loss, as we have noted, thrice compensated by the 15,000 Irishmen enlisted by Chateaurenaud. The minister Jurieu, a virulent Calvinist, and one ever eager to discover or to fancy punishments falling on France because of the Revocation, says nothing of any regiments, or even companies, of Huguenot refugees in foreign service. Certainly Ancillon assigns enough of these emigrants to Brandenburg to form a company of body-guards, one of mounted grenadiers, two of musketeers, and three regiments of infantry; but when this writer enters into details, he accounts for only 9,633 refugees of both sexes and all ages, in Brandenburg. And if so many of the Huguenots entered the army of the elector, what must we think of “those desert lands of the Prussian king turned into a fertile paradise by the labors of the refugees?” Whence came these agriculturists? And how are we to account for those Huguenots who, according to Ancillon, “formed the foundation, by their industry, of the power of this wise and redoubtable monarch?” (1).

(1) Here we may note that the pretended “patriot” says “that at that time Berlin alone contained more than 20,000 Frenchmen whom despair had sent out of their country.” Now

Having considered the economical consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, not as they are evolved from the inner consciousness of a prejudiced mind, but as they are presented by historical research, we must now pay some attention to the terrible events which followed the murder of the Abbé du Chayla and three of his household, perpetrated by the Huguenots of Pont-de-Montverd on July 24, 1702. At that period nearly all Europe was in arms against Louis XIV.; and among the weapons used by the enemies of France, especially by England and Holland, not the least efficacious was the Academy which French Calvinist refugees had founded at Geneva for the training and support of the emissaries whom they sent, from time to time, to sustain their dying cause in the mother-country. These firebrands, kindled by the prophecies and counsels of Jurieu, who breathed naught but vengeance in his Dutch refuge, infested especially the Cévennes, that chain of mountains which constitutes, as it were, the backbone of Southern France, dividing the country into the two basins of the Loire and the Garonne, on the one side, and of the Saone and the Rhone, on the other (1). The fanaticism of these preachers found many partisans, and their vaunted prophetic gifts were soon said to have descended on innumerable candidates for the apostolate, among whom not a few were children. From ecstasies, convulsions, clairvoyance, etc., the Gospelers soon progressed to sedition; and the first victims were the priests, especially the missionaries who had drawn so many recalcitrants back to the fold of Christ. Of all the

Voltaire, to whom a zero more or less was a small matter when it served his purposes to use it one way or the other, gives only 10,000 Frenchmen to Berlin. The truth will be more readily found if we remember that the census of 1755 gives 6,654 as the number of Huguenots and their descendants in Berlin. Seventy years previously, therefore, there could have been scarcely 3,000.

(1) Chief among these early academicians was one Du Serre, who had established a school of prophets in Dauphiny. He selected fifteen young rustics of each sex, taught them certain supposed mysteries, tried their courage and exaltedness, and then conferring "the Holy Spirit" upon them with ridiculous ceremonies, sent them on their separate missions. Among these disciples of Du Serre was the famous shepherdess whom Jurieu upheld as a prophetess, long after she had avowed her impostures, and been sincerely reconciled to the Church. See the *History of Fanaticism in Our Day* (1692), by De Brueys, a quondam support of the Calvinist Consistory of Montpellier, who had undertaken to refute Bossuet's *Explanation of the Doctrines of the Church*, and had then been converted by the great controversialist.

priests in the Cévennes, the most obnoxious to the Huguenots was the archpriest of Mende, an inspector of the missions, the Abbé du Chayla; hence over a hundred madmen burst into his house, and he received fifty-two wounds, twenty-four of which were mortal. After killing also another priest and two of the archpriest's servants, the murderers found their numbers so increased that they were able to divide into bands of considerable size, and scouring the Cévennes in every direction, they filled the land with carnage and devastation. Court de Gébelin, a Protestant author of the time, narrates that in one month alone, January, 1703, the Calvinists of the Cévennes, now styled Camisards (1), burned forty parish-houses and mansions, and murdered eighty persons (2). Naturally, the Catholics soon retaliated for these outrages; the captured ministers were hung as rebels, and their followers were sent to the galleys. In the guerilla warfare which now ensued, the ablest leader of the Camisards was a field-hand named La Porte; and when he was captured and hung, a nephew, who assumed the style of "Count" Roland, took his place with great success. One of Roland's first acts, on assuming command, was to despatch the following warning, the autograph of which Capefigue possessed (3). "We, *Count* Roland, General of the Protestant troops of France, now assembled in the Cévennes in Languedoc, order the inhabitants of Saint-André de Valborgne to inform all priests and missionaries that we prohibit them to say Mass or to preach in this holy place, and that they must immediately abandon this region, under pain of being burned alive in their churches or houses, together with all their adherents. We grant only two days for the execution of this order. *Count* Roland." This document alone shows the character of the ruffians whom Protestant writers generally describe as so many Macchabees. The revolt would have been repressed at once, had M. de Lamoignon de Bâville, the *intendant* of Languedoc, been willing to ac-

(1) This term was derived from *Camosard*, words of the *Langue d'Oc*, signifying "a jurat house."

(2) *History of the Camisard War*; Villefranche, 1760. This writer finds much amusement in the fright which seized all the priests in the Cévennes at this time.

(3) So says this famous publicist in his *Louis XVI.*

cept the services of the battalions of citizens who volunteered from Nîmes, Toulouse, and Montpellier; or if Marshal de Montrevel, the military commander of the province, had been willing to obey the orders received from the court to treat the villages of the Camisards as those incendiaries were treating the domiciles of their Catholic neighbors. Bâville cared not to afford mere citizens an opportunity of displaying military prowess; and Montrevel showed more zeal in repressing the excesses of the "Sons of the Cross," companies of Catholic protectors of altar and fireside, than he exercised against those who had invited those excesses by much more frightful ones. Over four thousand Catholics had perished, either by the knives or by the torches of the Camisards, when King Louis substituted for Montrevel a veteran commander who had acquired experience in mountain combats during the Italian wars, and whose conciliatory disposition was well known to the Huguenots. This officer, the marquis de Villars, has furnished us with reflections on the Camisard rebellion which free us from the necessity of dilating on its characteristics (1). Commenting on the nature of his task, he says: "I had occasion to see for myself that we had to do with a very strange people; men who were like none that I had yet known; men who were quick, turbulent, hot-headed, and nevertheless obstinate in their opinions, and susceptible to deep as well as to light impressions. And then they were all zealots in religion; the heretics being as ardent as the Catholics. Judge, therefore, of the embarrassment in which I was placed. There are three sorts of Camisards. Firstly, there are some who are sick of the horrors of war, and who, knowing that their cause must be ruined, sooner or later, are ready to negotiate for peace. Secondly, there are those who are outrageously mad in matters of religion. Let the first little boy or girl begin to shake, and cry out that the Holy Ghost is talking to him or her; then the entire people is so convinced of the prodigy, that they would believe God no sooner, were He to speak to them, surrounded by all His angels. On this kind the penalty of death makes no impression; in battle they thank those who kill them; they march

(1) *Memoires of Marshal de Villars*, in the Collection of Michaud and Poujoulat.

to the scaffold exhorting the spectators, so that we often are obliged to surround them with drummers, in order to prevent any evil effect from their discourses. Finally, there is a third class; persons without religion, abandoned to libertinage and murder, never doing anything but rob and debauch, living on the peasantry; a ferocious and fanatical rabble, with plenty of prophetesses among them. Many of the Catholics were no more rational than the Camisards; and they also were of several classes. Some, blinded by their zeal, saw a danger for religion in every leniency which we deemed proper to show toward the heretics, in order to gain them. Then there were others who were governed by cupidity; who considered the property of heretics, and even of the newly-converted, as their proper prey. Such persons possessed not a shadow of Christian charity; according to them, the Camisards should be killed, or at least banished, without exception. The smallest number wept, because of the blindness of the heretics; and they never did them any harm, nor did they wish any to be inflicted." Encouraged by their prophets and prophetesses, especially by the letters of Jurieu, who, after having predicted the annihilation of Popery for 1690, now deferred the devoutly-desired consummation until 1710 (1), the Camisards resisted both the overtures and the troops of Villars for nearly a year; but finally, one by one the bands dissolved. The "count" Roland and the herdsman, Cavalier, tried in vain to keep the field; they also surrendered, and finally the band of Ravanet, a deserter from the royal army, and the last of the guerilla chieftains, was destroyed. In the following year, as also in 1706 and 1709, the Camisards again made some show of revolt, and as usual murdered many priests; but the money and arms from England and Holland not arriving to any great extent, these uprisings were easily quelled.

Many of the Camisards had escaped to England, flattering themselves that the Establishment would tolerate any obedience to "the spirit," when manifested by the victims of Popery. Among these enthusiasts was Cavalier, who, not

(1) He afterward fixed the date for 1715; and as he died in 1713, we know not what other date he would then have adopted.

having received the colonelcy which he had craved as a compensation for his surrender to Villars, had offered his sword to the chief Protestant power (1). Of course the prestige of Cavalier led many of the English Gospellers to regard him as endowed, in a pre-eminent degree, with "the gift of the spirit"; and two other refugees, Marion and Fage, shared this glory with him. In their moments of "inspiration," these ecstatic Huguenots, says Picot, "emitted terrible cries, shook their heads and arms, and struggled so violently, that they could not be restrained. They would not eat during many days, they penetrated the depths of consciences, and they pronounced elegant discourses, all in the name of the 'spirit.' We have read many of these speeches, and we find them very similar to those given by the convulsionaries whom we shall yet meet (2). These two kinds of impostors resemble each other exceedingly; the 'gift' of the one is very like the 'work' of the other. Their contortions and their prophecies are equally ridiculous. But we must admit that the credit for invention incontestably belongs to the refugees from the Cévennes; and that the jugglers who shone so brightly at Paris, a few years afterward, had the honor merely of perfecting what their predecessors had begun. Both parties were similarly detected, and subjected to ridicule" (3). On Jan. 5, 1707, a number of Anglican ministers published in London a pamphlet in condemnation of the three Huguenot tricksters; on Oct. 15 the three French Protestant consistories of London met in one of their temples, and "suspended" one of their preachers, one Lions, for defending the "prophets"; but the contortionary epidemic spread considerably among the Anglicans, and three of these sectarians even began to prophesy as loudly as Cavalier. One of these converts, a gentleman named Lacy, excelled as a "miracle" worker; he was said to have raised the dead. The government was becoming alarmed, when

(1) He distinguished himself in the following wars against his countrymen, and was rewarded with the governorship of the Island of Jersey, where he died in 1740.

(2) Picot alludes to those Jansenist fanatics who alleged that they had experienced the supposedly miraculous powers of the deacon, Paris, and of whom we have spoken in our chapter on Jansenism.

(3) *Memoirs for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*; Third. edit., Paris, 1853.

fortunately Shaftesbury published his *Letter on Enthusiasm*, in which, while he extended his raillery to several venerable things, he so held up the fanatics to ridicule, that they became objects of popular contempt (1).

The reader may expect us to notice the charge made by philosophistic historians, who, following in the wake of Saint-Simon, assert that the noble Mme. de Maintenon was among the foremost in procuring the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We might reply that Louvois, the most prominent instigator of the measure, was no friend of the pre-eminently charitable and sweet-minded countess; and that Voltaire, the most bitter foe of everything that was dear to her heart, declared: "She had nothing to do with it; that is a certain fact." Again, her correspondence indicates no intervention in this matter on her part, whereas it is filled with recommendations to her brother and other governors to be tolerant to the Calvinists (2). We find her rejoicing at the conversion of heretics through persuasion and instruction, as when she writes: "In one month a hundred thousand souls have been converted in Guienne; the town of Saintes has abjured through conviction. The king writes daily to the bishops to send missionaries everywhere to instruct and console. . . . Ought we not to rejoice at this?" We find her, after the partial emigration of the Huguenots, advising a firm and prudent policy toward those who remained, but she expresses no rigorous sentiments. Naturally, we find her refuting the assertion that the emigration would ruin commerce and industry, and we are not surprised that she rejoices at the defeat of the Camisards, for they were rebels, sold to the

(1) Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, born at London in 1671, was a grandson of the chancellor Ashley, an intimate friend of Locke. After receiving some lessons in philosophy from Locke, he travelled on the continent, and became acquainted with Bayle, Le Clerc, Le Cène, and other skeptics of that time, who, although less radically opposed to religion than the German and English deists then in vogue, unseated his religious convictions by their Socinian tendencies. Returning to England, he published many elucubrations which were afterward collected under the title of *Characteristics, etc.* His *Letter on Enthusiasm*, directed chiefly against the Huguenot jugglers from the Cèvennes, was attacked by the Anglicans because of its extreme opinions; and he tried to justify it by his *Sensus Communis*, an "Essay on the Uses of Ridicule" (1709), in which he presented raillery as the touchstone of truth. He was an optimist; he rejected the doctrine of original sin, and that on eternal punishment; he proclaimed the beauties of indifference in religious matters.

(2) *Mme. de Maintenon Judged by Her Authentic Correspondence*, Paris, 1887.

foreigner. But not a word do we discover which can be distorted into an expression of desire for severity toward the Huguenots. Harken to the words which she addressed to her brother, governor of Cognac, where there were very many Calvinists: "I have heard certain things concerning your conduct which are not at all to your credit, my dear brother. They say that you treat the Huguenots with severity; that you seek for occasions for such treatment. * Such conduct does not befit a gentleman. Have pity for those who are more unfortunate than culpable. They are in the same error in which we once were, and from which violence would never have extricated us. Men can be attracted only by sweetness and charity; Jesus has so taught us by His example, and such is the will of the king. It is your duty to keep those under you in obedience; the bishops and the pastors will make conversions by their teachings and example. Neither God nor the king has given to you the care of souls; sanctify your own, and be severe toward yourself alone. Let not M. de Ruigny (1) be forced to complain of you again" (2). In fact, so tenderly disposed was Mme. de Maintenon toward the Huguenots, that on one occasion the king said to her: "I fear that your concern for the Calvinists proceeds from a remnant of attachment toward your olden religion" (3). Even certain Protestant historians of the eighteenth century, who had known well many of the Huguenot refugees, bore witness to the lenient spirit of Mme. de Maintenon. Thus, Erman and Reclam, although they contended that she had some share in the revocation, nevertheless remark: "We should, however, do her the justice to say that she never counselled the harsh measures which were adopted. She abhorred persecution; and all such proceedings were hidden from her" (4). One day she said to the ladies of Saint-Cyr, when the conversation had turned on the advisability of using kindness toward heretics: "I have found it advantageous in many instances. Whenever I had any Huguenots among my

(1) M. de Ruigny was deputy-general of the Calvinists to the king. After the revocation, he retired to England, and his influence with William III. procured for his son the earldom of Galloway.

(2) Letter to M. d'Aubigné, 1682.

(3) *Memorial de Saint-Cyr*.

(4) *History of the French Refugees in Brandenburg*, vol. I., p. 77.

domestics, I instructed them in the truth when occasion offered itself, and I did so as well as I could ; but not only did I never urge them importunately to abjure their errors, but I even sometimes proposed that they should go to the Protestant service. The king, whose religious zeal is wonderful, would often insist on my dismissing those servants, or on my forcing them to enter the fold of the Church ; but I used to reply : ‘ Leave this matter to me ; I know how it will end, and I beg you to allow me to be the mistress of my household.’ God blessed my method ; and before long I had the consolation of seeing all those Huguenots become very good Catholics ” (1). Again, we must remember that a gross chronological error is committed by those who represent Mme. de Maintenon as having wrung the famous edict from a monarch trembling under the weakness of age, and entangled in the meshes of a superstitious devoteism in which she had, through ambition, involved him. At the time of the revocation, Louis XIV. was in the full maturity of all his physical and mental powers ; thirty additional years of a phenomenally active and intelligent reign still remained to him. As to his alleged devoteism, at least at this period of his life, it is certain that although, thanks to the happy influence of Mme. de Maintenon, the year 1682 had seen him abandon the paths of voluptuousness for those of conjugal fidelity, nevertheless, he was still very much attached to the things of the world. Letters which Fénelon wrote to the countess in 1690 and in 1691, as well as letters of that modern Esther to Cardinal de Noailles, written as late as 1695, plainly indicate that the grand monarch was very little of an ascetic. Finally, we must not forget that although the duke de Saint-Simon, “ the great disdained of Louis XIV.,” would have us believe the contrary, the desire of governing France was very foreign to the character and tastes of Mme. de Maintenon. Carried away by his hatred of the sovereign who had gauged the measure of his worth, Saint-Simon delighted in discharging his venom on all whom that monarch truly loved. Hence we hear him descanting on a presumed

(1) *Manuscripts of Saint-Cyr*, cited by De Noailles, *History of Mme. de Maintenon*, vol. ii., p. 291, Paris, 1851.

undeserved "omnipotence" of Mme. de Maintenon: "The ministers, the generals of the army, the entire royal family were at her feet. Everything was good which she proposed; everything was condemned which came not from her. In her hand was everything, without exception; men, business, appointments, justice, favors, religion. The king and the state were her victims" (1). The correspondence of the countess, especially her letters to the princess Orsini, that ambitious intriguer in whom Saint-Simon discerns the ally of Mme. de Maintenon in her attempt to rule both France and Spain, refutes eloquently the supposition that her ascendancy over her royal husband was other than that which any devoted wife must have over a loving spouse, when his own good sense enables him to appreciate her intellectual endowments, and his elevation of character prevents any jealousy of faculties as sublime as his own. It is true that the king, in accordance with his idea that his perspicacious wife should be addressed as "Your Solidity," just as he was styled "Your Majesty," was wont, after hearing a ministerial opinion, to turn to the countess, nearly always present on such occasions, and ask: "What does Your Solidity think?" But such deference does not illustrate the "omnipotence" with which Saint-Simon would credit Mme. de Maintenon. Fénelon, an excellent judge and the soul of truth, in a letter written in 1694, when the influence of the countess was at its height, found fault with her for a too persistent abstention from affairs of state; insisting that, while not interfering beyond her province, she should keep herself well-informed as to current events and imminent projects, so as to be able "to moderate excesses, and to redress grievances." The reader will probably not be disposed to blame us if we now appear to diverge from the main scope of our work by indulging in a few reflections on this much calumniated woman.

Mme. de Maintenon may be said to have lived on injuries to the day of her death. From Saint-Simon to Henri Martin, historians and romancists, philosophers and pamphleteers, have displayed a ghoulish determination to tarnish her memory. Representing as she does the old *régime* to a very

(1) *Memoires of Saint-Simon*, vol. xiii., edit. 1829.

great extent, the advanced thinkers of our century also do her the grossest injustice. And—shame of shames!—writers have been found so unwilling to discern virtue, even when it is made manifest to them, as to confound the Widow Scarron with the Vallière, the Montespan, etc. ; and to use in connection with her name the ugly word “concubine.” The chief, nay, the characteristic, passion of Mme. de Maintenon was a love of honor. “I wish,” she once said to the young ladies of Saint-Cyr, “that I did for God what I did in the world to preserve my reputation.” It was this sentiment, probably, that prevented Frances d’Aubigné from accepting the inheritance of La Vallière and Montespan. After the death of Scarron, his widow continued to frequent the higher Parisian society ; and, to use the words of Mme. de Sévigné, she charmed all by her condescension and by her delightful conversation. Among those who appreciated the grand qualities of Mme. Scarron were M. and Mme. de Montespan, the latter of whom was at the height of her favor with Louis XIV. A governess was needed for the illegitimate children whom the Montespan had borne, and the mother spoke to the royal father of the great merits of the Widow Scarron. Louis was agreeable ; but it was only after long hesitation, and only upon her own conditions, that the future spouse of the monarch accepted the position. *In entering upon this delicate mission, did Mme. Scarron render herself, in some sort, an accomplice of the crime of the guilty parents? So it has been said ; but the Church, certainly sufficiently rigorous in all matters of this kind, has never counselled the moral abandonment of illegitimate children.* In the course of time the pupils of Mme. Scarron were acknowledged by their royal father, legitimated by Act of Parliament, and transferred, together with their governess, to the brilliant light of the court. This change effected no alteration in the attitude of Mme. de Maintenon. She carefully persisted in her pedagogic and *quasi*-maternal mission, personally directing the instruction of the princes, and superintending the preparation of manuals for their use.

Meanwhile King Louis, being brought into daily contact with the widow of the poet, found himself frequently paus-

ing to listen to a conversation which was of a nature entirely new to him, and which opened up to his soul horizons hitherto unknown. In vain did the Montespan seek to destroy this new influence. The estate of Maintenon was bought, and the rising star assumed from it the title by which she is generally known. The courtiers, who were prone to discern evil wherever it was possible, now began to style her "The lady of to-day,"—*La dame de maintenant*. The first use she made of her power was to try to lead the sovereign back to the path of virtue. After many relapses, the stupefied courtiers saw the monarch frequenting the society of his long-abandoned queen, Maria Theresa. But in three years the queen died, her last sigh being received by her who had brought a portion of domestic happiness to her later days. Now the great monarch, self-isolated though he was in his own grandeur, needed a companion, and one who could restrain and direct him. Such a one he could only find in her who had become his guardian angel. But what rank could he offer her? Certainly he could not outrage purity itself by a tender of the position once occupied by a Montespan, etc.; and on the other hand, her deficiency of royal birth precluded the possibility of her being made queen in every sense of the term. A morganatic marriage afforded the only solution of the difficulty. Among many the idea prevails that there is something disgraceful in a morganatic marriage; that such a union is but a left-handed sort of an affair, or, in fact, no marriage whatever. Nothing can be more false than such a conception of a union which is sanctified by the Church, and is as much a Sacrament, and as venerable, as though it had been solemnized under St. Peter's Dome by the Supreme Pontiff himself, and as though it entailed upon any possible issue all the prerogatives, etc., of both the contracting parties. A morganatic marriage takes place only where a difference of rank between groom and bride (*e. g.*, between sovereign and subject) prevents the transmission of the superior's dignities. The contract between Louis and the countess was drawn up at Fontainebleau in September, 1683, and the religious ceremony was performed soon afterward. Such was the *denouement*,

without which the reign of Louis XIV. would have infallibly ended as did that of Louis XV., in debauchery and opprobrium.

From the year 1683 *Mme. de Maintenon* was an anonymous queen; for, although Louis gave to her no official title, she governed without reigning; most of his statecraft originated in her apartments, even at the risk of great inconvenience, and even pain, to her. Often by main force he would compel her to give her opinion before he ventured his own. The most considerable result of the all-powerful ascendancy of *Mme. de Maintenon* over the heart and will of her royal husband almost savored of the miraculous—namely, the sincere return of the prince himself to the practice of his religious duties. A change also came over the entire court; if this was not as sincere as the royal reformation, at least the faithful were not scandalized any more by vice stalking impudently in the halls of a nation's rulers. As early as September, 1683, the countess could write to her brother: "I believe that the dead queen has besought of God the conversion of his Majesty and of the court. That of the king is wonderful; and the ladies who used to least frequent the sanctuary now scarcely leave the churches. An ordinary Sunday is now kept as Pentecost used to be." *Apr6pos* of the countess' settled resolve to devote herself to the salvation of the king, there is fortunately preserved to us a most touching prayer composed by this modern Esther, which many a Christian wife would do well to learn and recite, with application of course to her own particular Louis. "O Thou who holdest in Thy hands the hearts of kings, open that of King Louis, that I may cause to enter into it all the good thoughts which Thou lovest so much. Give me power to render him joyful, to console him, and even to sadden him when that would tend to Thy glory. May I never hide from him those things which he ought to learn from me, and which no one else would have courage to tell him. May we be saved together; may we love each other in Thee. May we progress together in all Thy ways unto the day of Thy coming!" The egoism of King Louis, where his wife was concerned, was probably unconscious, but it was none

the less trying. Often he would open all the immense windows of the countess' room; for he was fond of fresh air. On the contrary, Mad. de Maintenon dreaded cold; but she would shiver in patience. She could not even put a screen between her bed and the window; such apparatus Louis regarded as lacking in majesty. "One must die with dignity," observed the countess,—*Il faut périr en symétrie*. All in all, however, the royal circle was a comparatively happy one. Louis XIV. truly loved the woman whom he had raised to almost the very throne, and who was now in reality his social equal. "I leave you the dearest object to me in the world," said he to the ladies of Saint-Cyr, as he confided his wife to their care when on his way to the siege of Mons.

We have specially insisted on the popularity of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but justice demands that neither blame nor praise be given to the bishops of France for any intervention in the matter. That they had no part in the framing of the Edict of Revocation is proved by the embarrassments entailed upon the clergy by the silence of the law as to the future marriages of French Protestants—embarrassments which continued for more than a century. The nearly unforeseen revocation of the Edict of Nantes subjected the bishops and the clergy to all the evils and inconveniences of that precipitation. Not having been consulted in regard to a law which was made known to them only when the rest of France heard of it, they had not had an opportunity of indicating any of the wise precautions which should have accompanied the new order of things. The edict of revocation assured to the Protestants their personal security, and the full exercise of their civil rights; but it had been so improvident in their regard, that it had established nothing concerning that most important of their civil rights, by which alone they could transmit property. The edict had regulated all that concerned certificates of birth; and starting from the principle held by both religions that baptism was valid, no matter by whom conferred, it had been taken for granted that the Protestants would not refuse to send their children to the Catholic churches for baptism. A later ordinance regulated burials in a reasonable manner. But

there remained the matter of marriages, so essential in every political society, and the influence of which extends directly or indirectly to all civil acts. Not only did the Edict of Revocation preserve profound silence on this important article, but for more than a century the legislators declined to pronounce on a question which was renewed every day, and which, of all questions, most needed settlement. This forced silence was derived from the very nature of the question. Marriage being a Sacrament in the Catholic Church, the government had realized that it ought not, and could not, order the clergy to administer that Sacrament to a class of persons who refused to recognize its character and effects. But what is most astonishing, it seems to have occurred to the mind of no one that a civil magistrate might be authorized to officiate at Protestant marriages. The government preferred to have recourse to the strangest of fictions; it preferred to suppose that there were no more Protestants in France. It was presumed that most of these would be influenced by the natural desire of assuring the lot of their children, and that therefore they would celebrate their marriages before Catholic priests, these clergymen wisely condescending to facilitate the unions. In fact, this happened in many dioceses, and in many cases. But the question remained the same; and it was just as difficult of solution in the case of the many Protestants in rural districts, who could not conquer their repugnance against the reception of the nuptial benediction in a Catholic church. Then originated that singular contradiction between the silent law and a jurisprudence of the tribunals which supplied for that silence. In many particular cases submitted to them, the tribunals decided that Protestants did exist in France, despite the fiction of their non-existence; and the marriages were assured of their civil effects, even though they were not contracted according to the legal forms. But these decisions were as variable as the dispositions of the government, and could not form legal precedents. On the other hand there were bishops who deemed it their duty to observe faithfully the spirit and discipline of the Church, and who could not consent to the administration of the Sacrament of Matrimony to those who made

open profession of denying its character (1). This vital defect in the Edict of Revocation contributed, probably more than anything else, to its abrogation in 1789.

If any one of the French bishops was consulted in the matter of the revocation, that prelate must certainly have been Bossuet, foremost in learning, and pre-eminently dear to the court. But in none of the documents left by the bishop of Meaux, and in none of the papers left by Lédieu, his faithful secretary who was so diligent in recording everything at all affecting him, is there a single indication that he had any share in designing or preparing the Edict of Revocation. "And how can we suppose," asks Cardinal Bausset, "that Bossuet, so learned and foreseeing in everything concerning religion and the administration of the Sacraments, would not have perceived and proclaimed the difficulties menacing the bishops of France through the consequences of a law which avoided or neglected a pronouncement on a matter which was most essential to the peace of families? In fact, the edict prescribed no rule for that multitude of newly-converted whose conversion was at least equivocal; and it was inexplicably silent in regard to those unconverted Protestants whom it left without any religious cult, and whose civil status it did not regulate. The principles professed by Bossuet indicate most clearly that neither he nor any bishop, with the possible exception of Mgr. de Harlay of Paris, was admitted to the deliberations which preceded the revocation of the Edict of Nantes" (2). It is certain that the Calvinist fellow-countrymen of Bossuet regarded him as one who desired to effect their conversion only by means of instruction and encouragement. M. du Bourdieu, one of the most prominent Calvinist preachers of that day, writing to a Protestant magistrate of Montpellier, says: "I tell you candidly that my repugnance for anything like controversy has been nearly vanquished by the frank and Christian deportment which distinguishes M. Bossuet from his brethren. He never uses other than evangelical ways in order to convince us of the truth of his religion. He preaches, he writes books and letters, and he labors to draw us from our belief

(1) BAUSSET: *Life of Bossuet*, bk. XI., § 17. Besançon, 1846.

(2) *Ibid.*, cit.

by means which befit his character and the spirit of Christianity. Therefore we should be grateful for the charitable attentions of this grand prelate, and we should read without prejudice the works which emanate from a heart that loves us and desires our salvation."

The Edict of Revocation was undoubtedly severe in most of its provisions. The first article withdrew all the privileges which Henry IV. and Louis XIII. had granted to the Calvinists. The second and third prohibited, throughout the kingdom, the public exercise of the "reformed" worship. The fourth ordered the banishment of all ministers who did not renounce heresy within fifteen days. The fifth and sixth established rewards for converts. The seventh prohibited Calvinists from teaching. The eighth ordered the Calvinists to educate their children in the Catholic religion. The ninth and tenth promised amnesty and restoration of property to all emigrants who would return within four months. The eleventh threatened relapsed converts with punishment. The twelfth and last continued all the civil rights of the Calvinists, provided that they did not perform their worship in public. *All of these provisions were in strict accordance with that Peace of Westphalia for which Protestants had moved heaven and earth, and which proclaimed the detestable principle that a sovereign should determine the religion which his subjects were to follow. All of these provisions had been enforced in persecution of Catholics, and with a refinement of cruelty which causes a modern to shudder, in every land where Protestantism had attained to power.* Louis XIV. would not allow Calvinists to teach; more than a century before the revocation, England had actuated that principle in regard to her Catholics, and she continued it in force almost to our day. Louis XIV. banished Calvinist preachers; England disembowelled her priests even when she could charge them with no other "crime" than that of celebrating Mass. *There is one great difference, however, between the persecutions of England and the one which was enforced by Louis XIV. The persecutions of England, bloody and perennial, were always sanctioned and generally originated by the royal head of the Anglican Church Establishment; the persecution in France was disavowed and*

strongly condemned by the head of Christ's Church, Pope Innocent XI. "Jesus Christ," remarked the Pontiff, "did not use such methods ; men must be led, not dragged to the churches." And the severities which accompanied the execution of the revocation, excesses which were unauthorized by and generally unknown to Louis XIV., were of short duration. When the Treaty of Riswick had restored calm to France (1697), the king turned his attention to the woes of his Calvinist subjects. Louvois, the chief promoter of every rigorous measure, had gone to his account ; and men like Bossuet and the Cardinal de Noailles found that when they seconded the counsels of moderation proposed by Mme. de Maintenon, the grand monarch showed that their advice was conformable to his own ideas of equity. Probably there is much truth in this observation of Bausset : "We may easily believe that Louis XIV. would not have waited until the Treaty of Riswick in order to put an end to the evils which desolated many of his provinces, if the idea of his dignity had not prevented him from yielding to the remonstrances of foreign powers, or to revolt on the part of some of his subjects. But since he still preserved his preponderating influence in Europe, despite the sacrifices which the prospect of the Spanish succession induced him to make at Riswick ; and since the Protestants of the Cévennes and the Vivarais, repressed and disarmed, could no longer hope for that foreign aid which they had expected ; he now found himself at liberty to listen to the dictates of his justice and kindness, without fear of compromising his dignity and glory" (1). Be this as it may, several *Instructions*, probably formulated by Bossuet, and which greatly mollified the provisions of the Edict of Revocation, now appeared. One of these, issued in Dec., 1698, restores to the Calvinist emigrants all their confiscated property, provided they return to France, and *listen to instruction on Catholic doctrine*. No obligation to become

(1) Jurieu and other ministers, "more familiar with religious controversy," says Bausset, "than with the interests of princes," had persistently encouraged the Calvinists to rebellion, declaring that England, Holland, and the German Protestant sovereigns would come to their aid. Had these powers threatened to interfere, they would have ignored that provision of the Peace of Westphalia, *ejus religio ejus regio*, which was the charter of continental Protestantism.

Catholics was imposed upon them ; and in fact hundreds received the instruction, and remained Calvinists. We have endeavored rather to explain than to justify the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; but in conclusion we would remark that few of those who have undertaken the latter task have found it necessary to do more than repeat the arraignment of the Huguenots which Bayle drew up for the edification of his fellow-incredulists of the eighteenth century (1). This champion skeptic and virulent enemy of Catholicism shows that the Calvinists compelled Louis XIV. to revoke the pacificatory ordinance of Henry IV. ; and that in this revocation the monarch merely imitated the States of Holland, who had observed none of the treaties which they had made with the Catholics. Bayle even ridicules the lamentations with which the Huguenots filled the earth because of their persecution, and insists that they merited all the punishment that they received. Far from us be any inclination to ridicule or minimize their sufferings ; sympathy for them would come with good grace from us, as from all who glory in belonging to the school of Fénelon and Mme. de Maintenon. But when a Protestant publicist bewails their lot, he either manifests crass ignorance, or he exhibits himself as an illustration of monumental impudence.

CHAPTER XII.

QUIETISM. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BOSSUET AND FÉNELON.

In a letter to Pope Innocent XI., dated Jan. 30, 1682, Cardinal Caracciolo, archbishop of Naples, informed the Pontiff that a number of false mystics had appeared in his diocese, and had attracted many disciples to their doctrine that if man abandons himself entirely to profound contemplation, he may and should "omit the exercises of piety prescribed or recommended by the Church ; he should regard vocal prayer and the sign of the cross as of no value ; and he should repel every idea, every image, which leads to medi-

(1) *Reply to the Letter of a Refugee in 1688—Works*, vol. ii.

tation on the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, since such meditation separates one from God." The cardinal also informed the Pope that in Italy several writers "were about to wield their pens in justification and recommendation of these dangerous opinions." The new doctrinaires, entitled Quietists, because of the absolute repose which they deemed necessary to the soul which desires to be united with God, held as a fundamental principle that union with God is to be attained only by a *quasi* annihilation of one's self; that true love of God is to be found only when one is in a state of passive contemplation, that is, when one does not use any of the faculties of his soul, but regards with indifference whatever may happen to him while he is in this condition of blissful quiet. This specious and dangerous theory, brought to the notice of the seventeenth century by an apparently pious Spanish priest named Michael Molinos, had been enunciated, to some extent, in the fourth century by a number of Origenistic mystics, who, according to St. Epiphanius, were of irreprehensible morality. St. Jerome tells us that Evagrius, a deacon of Constantinople, published a book of *Maxims* in which he contended that man could, by reason of meditation, be entirely exempt from any onslaught of passion. In the eleventh century, there appeared among the Greeks of the Lower Empire a sort of mystics who were termed *Hesychastes*, who advanced theories similar to those of Evagrius, but although they yielded to the most ridiculous illusions, they seem to have held aloof from libertinage. When treating of the Albigenses (1), we spoke of their "perfect ones," who needed not to pray or to perform any good works, but only to grant to their bodies all possible indulgence. This Quietistic theory had shown signs of survival, long before Molinos published, in 1675, his *Spiritual Guide Leading the Soul, By Means of Interior Progress, to Attain Perfect Contemplation, and to the Rich Treasure of Interior Peace*. About the year 1630, Pandolfo Ricassoli, one of that illustrious Tuscan family which furnished, in our day, a prominent leader to the *Italianissimi*, made use of the insidious maxims to corrupt an entire school of girls which was

(1) Vol. II., p. 352.

under his direction ; but having been detected, he was tried by the Inquisition, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment (1). Similar scandals had already rendered the term Quietism notorious in Naples ; and in 1615 a number of perverted women who had embraced the impure tenets of a priest named Aniello Arciero, had been tried by the Holy Office in Rome, and together with their seducer, had been condemned to a public recantation in the Dominican church of the Minerva (2). The world at large, however, paid little attention to these isolated ebullitions of prurient fanaticism ; and it was only when the specious lucubration of Molinos appeared, that devout souls began to realize that the demon had devised a formidable trap for confiding simplicity—a virulent poison under the guise of pleasant nourishment (3).

Michael Molinos, a native of Aragon, made his ecclesiastical studies with distinction at Coimbra ; but settled in Rome in 1662. His reputation for piety was great ; but we must note that he was accused of having soiled his priestly purity by the prudent Benedictine, Cardinal Sfondrati (4), who knew him well, and by the friend and pupil of Fénelon, the converted Anglican, Ramsay (5). Details corroborative of this charge are wanting ; but it certainly appears improbable that a moral man could have calmly emitted doctrine such as the Inquisition censured in the propositions 41 and 42, which were drawn from his *Guide* (6). However, at the time

(1) Ricasoli died in 1657, with every sign of sincere repentance ; but nevertheless, the horror of his olden crime caused the ecclesiastical authorities to prohibit every sign of solemnity at his funeral. For details of this matter, see Cantù's *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse L., p. 336.

(2) The rites practiced by these fanatics were similar to those imputed to the mediæval Patarines. Among the many women of quality infected, were the wives of two viceroys.

(3) The following lines of Boileau are very pertinent to this subject.

" Par les chemins fleuris d'un charmant quiétisme,
Tout à coup l'aménant au crai molinosisme,
Il lui fera bientôt, aidé de Lucifer,
Gouter en paradis les plaisirs de l'enfer." *Satires*, x.

(4) In his *Gaul Vindicated*, p. 763. Rome, 1687.

(5) In his *History of the Life and Works of F. de S. Fénelon*, p. 205. The Hague, 1723.

(6) Prop. 41. " Deus permittit et vult, ad nos humiliandos et ad veram transformationem perducendos quod in aliquibus animabus perfectis, etiam non arreptitiis demon violentiam inferat eorum corporibus, easque actus carnales committere faciat, etiam in vigilia et sine mentis obfuscatione, movendo physice illis manus et alia membra, contra earum voluntatem. Et idem dicitur quoad illos actus per se peccaminosos, in quo casu non sunt peccata, quia in his non adest consensus." 42. " Potest dari casus quo hujusmodi violentiæ ad actus carnales contingant eodem tempore ex parte duarum personarum, scilicet maris et femina, et ex parte utriusque sequatur actus."

that this work saw the light, Molinos was universally regarded as a modest and disinterested man, and as a wise and experienced director of souls. No sooner, however, had his admirers begun to congratulate him on the additional fame which the *Guide* was to procure for him, than these mystico-pietists became aware that their master's theories were in danger of condemnation by the Church. The first to enter the lists against the innovator was Paul Segneri, the celebrated Jesuit missionary and preacher, who issued a pamphlet entitled *Harmony of Action and Quiet in Prayer*, which the Quietists vainly stigmatized as a tissue of calumnies against their leader. In the meantime the letter of Cardinal Caracciolo had caused Pope Innocent XI. to order the arrest of Molinos. Although supported by many persons of high station, by some even of the papal court, he was tried before the Holy Office; his writings were condemned; and together with two of his chief disciples, the brothers Simone and Antonmaria Leoni, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, with the obligation of going to confession at least four times a year, and of reciting the Creed and five decades of the Rosary every day. On Sept. 3, 1687, Molinos and Simone Leoni made a public recantation with the usual formalities in the Square of the Minerva; and then, while the crowd, horrified at the monstrous doctrines hitherto taught by the culprits, called for their death by fire, they were segregated from society. Antonmaria Leoni, a layman, persisted, during two months, in refusing to retract; but finally he yielded. Molinos exhibited for over nine years all the signs of repentance, and died on Dec. 28, 1696. On Nov. 20, 1688, Pope Innocent XI. issued his Bull *Celestis Pastor*, in which he condemned sixty-eight of the propositions defended by Molinos. All of those propositions are not found, in so many words, in the *Guide*; but we must remember that Molinos was condemned, not only because of the contents of his printed work, but also because of his own explanations of its spirit, made to the inquisitors at his trial. Again, we know that when he was arrested, over twenty-thousand letters, addressed to him by his confidants and disciples, were seized; that these were examined by the inquisitors; and

that it is very probable that these documents revealed his teachings with a precision not exhibited in the book which was destined to the public.

The condemned propositions are at the command of the curious student (1); we need only remark that they are all based on this fundamental principle: The interior life or spiritual perfection is attained when the soul, once united with God, keeps itself in a thoroughly passive state in regard to all things. In everything regarding either this life or the next, whether there be a question of virtue or one of sin, the perfect soul should wish for nothing, should fear nothing—not even hell; it should remain entirely inactive. This principle once established, as he fancied, Molinos naturally deduced the consequence that good works are not only unnecessary for salvation, but even hostile to perfection, since they demand action on the part of the faculties of the soul. The reader will readily perceive how contrary this conclusion is to the teachings of Catholic theology; namely, that it is by the frequent practice of virtue that we maintain our union with God, and strengthen the habit of those virtues which unite us with Him. So essential, according to Molinos, is passivity of soul to perfection, that when a person is attacked by even the grossest of temptations, he must never resist it positively; for such a resistance is, in reality, an action. The perfect soul, we are assured by Molinos, is in a state of absolute indifference to all that passes within and around it; and the consequence of this indifference, boldly and shamelessly contends the innovator, is that the tempted person is not responsible for his actions, be they ever so infamous, since the criminality affects only the sensitive part of the soul, not the superior part which is united with God. The danger of Molinosism was soon evinced by deplorable facts, as the annals of the Inquisition testify; and as common sense tells us, must necessarily have happened. However, the greater number of the Quietists were simply false mystics, who were attracted by the apparently sublime maxims of Molinos—maxims which were well calculated to seduce

(1) For instance, in the Supplement to the *History of Alexandre*, article *Molinos*. B.N.-gen. 1791.

lively imaginations; and who would have died a thousand deaths, rather than knowingly subject themselves to frightful consequences which, however logical, they failed to perceive. To this class belonged the angelic Fénelon, during several years of his life; the learned and pious Cardinal Petrucci (1); the Abbé Malaval of Marseilles; the Barnabite, Lacombe of Savoy; and above all, Mme. Guyon, the occasion of the most important religious controversy of the seventeenth century.

Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte was born at Montargis, in 1648, and at an early age was married to M. Guyon, a son of the constructor of the canal of Briare. A widow in her twenty-fifth year, she devoted most of her time to mystic contemplation; and having formed the acquaintance of the Barnabite, François Lacombe, the author of a Molinosistic *Analysis of Mental Prayer*, she conceived so much—albeit spiritual—affection for him, that she came to look upon him as her son. The two mystics travelled together in France and Italy for ten years, the lady making many proselytes to Quietism by means of the revelations which, as she asserted and perhaps believed, had come to her from Heaven. At Paris, in 1681, Mme. Guyon published a *Short and Easy Method of Prayer*; at Vercelli, in 1684, she issued some *Explanations of the Apocalypse*; and in 1686 Paris was surprised by her full development of a poetico-philosophical system which added not a little of that of Buddhistic annihilation, and of Brahministic absorption, to the ideas of Molinos on detachment. The morals of Mme. Guyon seem to have been beyond reproach; but nevertheless, in the sermons which she frequently delivered to her proselytes, as well as in her work on the Apocalypse, there are passages which one can scarcely realize as having issued from other lips than those of a besotted libertine. Some of the sayings of Mme. Guyon are so frightfully blasphemous, that were we to repeat them,

(1) Pietro Matteo Petrucci, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, was bishop of Jesi, his native city, when Pope Innocent XI. enrolled him in the Sacred College. Although already noted for Molinosistic tendencies, his undoubted piety had counterbalanced that bar to his promotion. But when the Pontiff issued his Bull *Cælestis Pastor*, he deemed it necessary to condemn the *Mystic Contemplation* of Petrucci, as redolent of the errors of Molinos. In token of his submission and repentance, the cardinal resigned his diocese, and fixed his residence in Rome.

we would need to cry to God, as did Bossuet, after he had perforce quoted one of them : " If I dared, O Lord, I would entreat of Thee to send down one of Thy Seraphim with his most burning coals, that he might purify my lips, so soiled by this recital, even though it was necessary " (1). In the exercise of his duty the Eagle of Meaux was compelled to dilate upon matters which have no longer any practical importance; and if necessity demands, the reader will find in his eloquent pages many justifications for the asperity which he sometimes manifested in the controversy which is about to claim our attention. We need only observe here that the teachings of Mme. Guyon were based upon a fancied love of God for Himself alone ; that is, without any incentives of hope or of fear. According to her conception of this love, one solitary act of it suffices to produce supreme perfection. Therefore there should be, according to her, no external penances, no exercises of piety, for the attainment of salvation. Even the Sacraments become useless ; it is sufficient for the soul to so repose in God that it cares nothing for either salvation or damnation. The cause of the perfect love, excogitated by Mme. Guyon, is outside of man ; man must be raised above himself, if he is to act in accordance with the immutable law of love. This elevation will be effected by prayer, the most perfect form of which is simply an utter abandonment to the divine impressions. Having attained to this height of perfection, the soul can discern nothing which is condemnable in herself ; such a saint should never go to confession, for he has nothing to confess. This doctrine, said Mme. Guyon, is that of not only Cardinal Bona, but of Sts. Buonaventura and Teresa, and it is upheld by Gerson. Of course Mme. Guyon thought that she had reached this height of perfection ; and she claimed to possess such power over souls and bodies, as to penetrate the innermost secrets of others. She declared that she suffered, as it were, the pangs of labor, until she brought forth renovated sinners unto her Divine Spouse. She suffered intensely, she said, with this species of agony, when she first

(1) *Relation on Quietism*, Sect. ii., No. 18, in the *Works of Bossuet*, vol. ix. Venice, 1743.

met Fénelon: she wanted to pour her own heart into his; but "he did not correspond." In time, however, he succumbed to her influence. The notoriety of this past-mistress of false mysticism was at its height when Pope Innocent XI. condemned the Quietism of Molinos; and both she and Lacombe were arrested in 1688. The unfortunate Barnabite was exiled to the island of Oléron; then transferred to the chateau of Lourdes; and during the trial of Mme. Guyon he was conveyed to Vincennes, where he became crazy. He died at Charenton in 1699.

After eight months of imprisonment, Mme. Guyon was released; the ecclesiastical authorities having judged, after many interrogations, that her aberrations were merely the result of a super-exalted pietism. Shortly after her release, she met Fénelon, for the first time, in the drawing-room of the duchess de Béthune, a lady of great intelligence and of greater piety, who had already recommended her to the consideration of the influential dukes de Chevreuse and de Beauvilliers. At this time Fénelon was preceptor of the duke of Burgundy, the heir to the throne. Confronted by the vast genius and angelic purity of Fénelon, the priestess of Quietism eschewed her wonted extravagancies, and discoursed only on grave subjects. Fénelon became convinced of her sanctity; and on his recommendation Mme. de Maintenon introduced her among the noble young ladies of Saint-Cyr, that educational institution which the countess had founded, and which was so dear to her heart. We learn from the *Manuscript Notes* of the Abbé Claude Fleury, the famous historian, whose residence at court and undoubted veracity (1) render him an unexceptionable authority in the premises, that it was owing to the discovery that the opinions of Mme. Guyon were exciting dissension among her protégées, that Mme. de Maintenon began to show coolness toward Fénelon, and to distrust his peculiar maxims of spirituality. At any rate, the countess consulted some of the principal clergy of

(1) The reader will note that we allude merely to the personality of Fleury, and to his testimony as to what happened, as it were, under his own eyes. The piety of this historian, which led him to lead a life at court like that of an anchorite in a desert, did not prevent his ultra-Gallicanism from so blinding his historical perceptions when treating of the relations between the Papacy and the State (or rather the king), as to render him, in too many instances, positively malignant toward the former power.

Paris, such men as Tiberge, Joly, and Bourdaloue; and found none willing to accept the theories of Mme. Guyon and her holy sympathizer. In these circumstances both parties deemed it advisable to procure the judgment of Bossuet, then invested by public opinion with a kind of judicial supremacy in all matters concerning the French Church. The duke de Chevreuse, probably, thinks Bausset (1), with the consent of Fénelon, broached the idea to Bossuet; and although at first the great polemic manifested repugnance for the task, he was induced to undertake it by his friendship for the duke. Mme. Guyon delivered all her papers, even her manuscript *Life* of herself, to Bossuet. "It is certain," says Bausset, "that when Bossuet first became acquainted with the writings of Mme. Guyon, he had conceived no prejudice against her or her doctrine. He had scarcely heard of her name. He may have heard of her singularities, and of the persecutions to which she had been subjected; but rather than become one of her adversaries, he was disposed to pity her, because of the esteem which she had inspired in some of the most eminent personages of the court. The endorsement of Fénelon, that of the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, and the protection of Mme. de Maintenon, must have had great weight with Bossuet. So far from harboring ill feeling toward Mme. Guyon was he supposed to be, that her friends were the very persons to seek for his judgment." When Bossuet had read the tissue of extravagancies and puerilities which had been submitted to him, he conferred with their author; and during the discussion of seven hour's duration, he came to the conclusion that the doctrines in question were condemnable, but that the intentions of Mme. Guyon were pure. Several conferences were now held at Issy; the chief participants being Bossuet, Fénelon, Mgr. de Noailles, (then bishop of Chalons), and the Abbé Tronson, the superior of Saint-Sulpice.

Hitherto Fénelon had not only been united in closest friendship with Bossuet, but he had been accustomed to regard the Eagle of Meaux as his father, guide, and even oracle in all matters of religious science. During the confer-

(1) *History of Bossuet, Based on Original Manuscripts*, bk. x., § vii. Paris, 1846.

ences of Issy it became evident that Bossuet was treating his friend with unwonted reserve, if not with distrust; and Fénelon wrote to him several letters full of humble deference. In one of these he says: "You know well the confidence with which I have given myself to you; and how I have tried unceasingly to acquaint you with my most intimate sentiments. Nothing remains for me but to obey; for in you I do not see the man, or a great doctor, but God. Even if you were to mistake, a simple and straightforward obedience would not mistake; and I would regard a mistake of mine as nothing, if it were made in simplicity, and under the guidance of those who possess authority in the Church. And once again I say to you, Monseigneur; if you doubt me ever so little, try me, and unsparingly. Although your intelligence is greater than that of others, I pray God to deprive you of it, and to leave you His own instead of it." Bossuet replied to none of these letters; he did not wish to express any opinion on the matter of the discussions, until he felt that his opinion had become a conviction. Hitherto the studies of Bossuet had led him to but a limited knowledge of mystic theology; the writings of St. Francis de Sales and of St. Teresa were the sole mystical treatises which he had perused. He was now occupied in careful study of every matter that could have any bearing on the Quietism of Mme. Guyon; therefore the letters of his friend remained unanswered. But both Fénelon and the outside world were made to understand that the controversy had, as yet, not at all embittered the heart of Bossuet toward him, when the bishop of Meaux begged to be the consecrator of his adversary in the approaching function, entailed by his nomination to the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai. When the conferences of Issy came to an end, Fénelon was asked to sign thirty articles, of which the following were the most important. Every Christian, no matter what his condition, is bound, although not at every moment, to explicitly desire and pray to be saved. Indifference to one's salvation is not allowable. No soul should yield to despair, or acquiesce in its probable damnation. Fénelon replied that he was willing to subscribe; but that he found them "not sufficient to obviate certain

equivocations." At his request four other articles were added to these; and one of them, the thirty-third, seemed to tolerate, to say the least, the theory of "disinterested love." It was couched in these words: "Pious and truly humble souls might be inspired with a submission and consent to the will of God, even though, by a very false supposition, God should place them, at His own good pleasure, in eternal torment, instead of in the happiness which He has promised to the just, without depriving them, however, of His grace and His love. This (submission) is an act of perfect abandonment and of pure love, practiced by certain saints; and by a very particular grace of God it may be usefully practiced by certain very perfect souls, but without derogating from the obligation of performing those other acts which we have designated as essential to Christianity." Mgr. La Broue, bishop of Mirepoix, whose knowledge Bossuet greatly respected, expressed astonishment at the adoption of this article; whereupon Bossuet replied: "I thought much about that article; and I found it in so many approved books, that I did not see how it could be questioned. Examples of *acts* based on false suppositions are derived from Moses and St. Paul. The interpretations of St. Chrysostom and of Theodoret in favor of this sort of *acts* are formal. . . . This one is found in many approved works, and notably in several passages of St. Francis de Sales; it is considered by the bishop of Evreux, in his *Life* of the saint, as a mark of great perfection. I would ask for the difference between it and this proposition: 'One should rather suffer all the pains of hell for eternity, than commit a sin, either mortal or venial.' The latter proposition is incontestable; therefore the former, which only conforms to it, is true. Again, the doctrine taught by the schools makes charity consist in the will to love God, even though by that love no sort of happiness were to be gained. Now this proposition plainly includes the other." This approbation of the thirty-third article of Issy proves that Bossuet was then disposed to yield to the prepossessions of Fénelon, as far as theological precision would permit; and this absence of anything savoring of obstinacy, together with Bossuet's certificate that he was satisfied with the docility dis-

played by Mme. Guyon during the six months of his surveillance over her, furnished to the admirers of the eminent disputants reason for hoping that there would be no serious interruption in a concord which was so beneficial to the Church of France.

The imprudence of Mme. Guyon caused Bossuet to banish all personal consideration for her from his future attitude in the controversy. When the enterprising woman was about to depart from the convent to which she had consented to retire during the conferences of Issy, she promised Bossuet that she would fix her residence in the country, avoiding all propaganda in Parisian society; but nevertheless, she procured a hidden domicile in the capital, and informed her friends that the great light of the Church had given to her a certificate of the orthodoxy of her tenets. This misrepresentation of a document which expressed an opinion merely as to her sincerity, on the part of a woman who vaunted herself as a model of simplicity, and as a voluntary holocaust in the cause of truth, deprived her of all the sympathy of Bossuet. She was again arrested, and probably at the instigation of him who had hitherto shown to her so much leniency (1). Fénelon felt this blow as though it had been directed against himself; and the consequent rupture of his intimacy with his quondam Mentor was accentuated by his announced conviction that he could not approve of the work, *States of Prayer*, which Bossuet had just published. Fénelon justified his disapproval of this treatise by the rigor manifested by its author toward certain writings of Mme. Guyon which were cited in the margin; and he declared that his own esteem for the lady would not allow him to subscribe to her condemnation. Naturally Bossuet replied that all considerations of friendship should yield to the pressing interests of religion. Fénelon tried to excuse his attitude toward the *States of Prayer* to Cardinal de Noailles, the bishop of Chartres, and Mme. de Maintenon; and he promised these parties that he would soon explain his opinions so satisfactorily, that there would be no room for doubt as to their or-

(1) The influence of Bossuet in procuring this arrest is indicated in a letter of Mme. de Maintenon to Cardinal de Noailles.

thodoxy. He also declared: "It need not be feared that I shall contradict the bishop of Meaux. I would die, sooner than furnish so scandalous a scene to the public. I shall speak of him only to praise him, and in order to avail myself of his own words. I know his thoughts thoroughly; and I guarantee that when he sees my work, he will be pleased with it." It is certain that Fénelon took every reasonable precaution, as he thought, to insure the conformity of his great work with the doctrines of the Church; he submitted the manuscript to Cardinal de Noailles and his theologians, to the experienced and spiritual Abbé Tronson, and to M. Pirot, a firm friend of Bossuet, and the chief censor of doctrinal works offered for publication in Paris. All these theological experts having given a verbal approbation of the *Maxims of the Saints Concerning the Interior Life*, the book appeared before the public in January, 1697, and the nature of the Quietism defended by the holy archbishop of Cambrai was clearly explained. The sublime and generous soul of Fénelon had persuaded itself that in this life man can love God continually and solely for Himself alone, independently of any hope or any fear. He not only admitted the possibility of this pure and disinterested love of God, but he admitted the possibility of a soul consenting, for love of God, to the sacrifice of its own salvation. He insisted, however, that this hypothetical person, even while resigning himself to an eternal deprivation of the beatific vision, would not and could not cease to love God. Not content with supposing the possibility of this disinterested love, Fénelon taught that its perfection was attained not merely by a non-cherishing of the love "of desire" (the desire of one's own happiness), but by an explicit exclusion of that love. If this principle were admitted, it would logically follow that an act of perfect love would be incompatible with the theological virtue of hope; since the love "of desire" is of the very essence of hope.

The duke de Beauvilliers presented, in the name of Fénelon, who was then in his diocese of Cambrai, a copy of the *Maxims* to Louis XIV.; and on the same day he sent a copy to Bossuet, then residing at Versailles. During two days Bossuet refused himself to every person; and then proceed-

ing to Paris, he kept perfect silence for fifteen days in regard to the book which was pre-occupying his mind and his heart (1). At this time, Louis XIV. was in ignorance of all that had happened since the conferences of Issy; for Mme. de Maintenon was constantly hoping that a reconciliation would take place between the two prelates in whom she most confided. Great was the astonishment and fear of the king when he learned of the dangerous doctrines professed by the preceptor of his grandsons; and when Bossuet came "to ask his pardon for not having sooner revealed to his Majesty the fanaticism of his brother-bishop" (2). Fénelon could not understand why there came to him, from all sides, denunciations of a work which had passed the censorship of experts who were more favorable to Bossuet than to himself (3); and when, six weeks after the publication of the *Maxims*, he read his adversary's *Instruction on the States of Prayer*, he must have foreseen the issue of the controversy. "Bossuet had followed," says Bausset, "a method absolutely different from that pursued by Fénelon; and it was much the surer one. Fénelon, seduced by the attractions of a system of perfection which fascinated his imagination, had concentrated his studies on this matter in the mystic authors. Bossuet, on the contrary, had perceived that this very refined doctrine on spirituality was a modern teaching, one which had only four or five hundred years of existence, having been unknown by

(1) *Manuscripts of Ledieu*, the secretary of Bossuet. Ledieu adds: "From his first reading of the book he made pencil-notes on the margin, referring to those passages on which he afterward so well wrote. Under his dictation, during two hours of each of four or five sittings, I wrote out the propositions, cited by page and line, with summaries of their refutations. This was the foundation of all the writings on this subject which Mgr. de Meaux afterward composed."

(2) *Reply of Fénelon to the Relation on Quietism*.

(3) Fénelon should have expected this outburst of condemnation, were it only because of the insertion in the printed work of one proposition, which indeed had not appeared in the manuscript submitted to Noailles, Tronson, and Pirot. This proposition, the thirteenth among the twenty-three afterward condemned, must necessarily have seemed most pernicious. It says: "While Jesus Christ was on the cross, His inferior part did not communicate His involuntary trouble to His superior part." Fénelon always protested, and even in his last will and testament, that he had placed this proposition in the margin, not in the text of his manuscript; that he had placed it there, only to remind himself of an additional passage which he intended to afterward insert; and that he had always condemned the proposition. It seems that the duke de Chevreuse, to whom, when leaving Paris for Cambrai, he had entrusted the task of putting the work through the press, did not understand the meaning of an author's marginal notes, queries, etc.; and innocently transferred the proposition to the text.

all the olden Fathers of the Church and in the centuries immediately following them. He perceived, therefore, that this doctrine could not constitute that veritable Christian perfection which was taught by Jesus Christ, transmitted by the Apostles, consecrated by the Fathers, and recommended by the Church. . . . Fénelon, perhaps too much addicted, by the temper of his intellect, to metaphysical abstractions, the language and forms of which are found so often in his system of spirituality, had forgotten that the simplicity of the Christian religion resists the subtleties which are incomprehensible to the greater portion of mankind ; and that Christianity, by placing hope among its fundamental virtues, not only invites all Christians to expect their happiness in the divine goodness, but enjoins on them to desire said happiness in conformity with the designs of God. He himself felt that his system attacked Christian hope to some extent ; and he strove to sustain the tottering portion of his mystic edifice by very subtle distinctions concerning the motives and specific objects of hope. But the very necessity of having recourse to these efforts of imagination ought to have warned him that it was as useless as dangerous to transform positive commandments, prescribed to all Christians, into metaphysical minutiae ; and to present as the ideal of Christian perfection, a condition to which it has probably never been granted to any person to arrive, during this mortal existence " (1). Fénelon had persuaded himself that his system was justified by certain passages in the works of St. Francis de Sales, St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, and other authors approved by the Church. But more than a year before the publication of the *Maxims*, the bishop of Chartres had warned his people in words which Fénelon might have heeded with profit : " If there are found in approved works some expressions which the new mystics evidently abuse, the sentiments and basis of the doctrine advanced by these mystics differ in most essential points from those of the cited works. Such expressions, borrowed by false piety in order to imitate the real, were innocent terms on the lips of the pious persons who used them ; and they were used rarely, being, as it were,

(1) *Ubi supra*, § xiii.

slips of the tongue." It is true that Bossuet sometimes found difficulty in freeing certain pious and approved writers from the charge of having uttered sentiments which seemed to be redolent of Quietism; but then he justified those authors by the silence which the Church had hitherto observed in the premises. That silence, however, had now been broken; the condemnation of Molinosism was of recent date.

Bossuet found it no easy task to convince the admirers of Fénelon, especially the Cardinal de Noailles and Mme. de Maintenon, that they could no longer defend their protégé. Their hearts told them that the intentions of Fénelon were pure; and every interview with him increased the charm of his candor, while they were only too willing to accept his more or less specious explanations. These explanations had no such effect on Bossuet. "I hold you responsible," he wrote, "for the division you are producing among the bishops. Take what side you wish; but as for me, I tell you that I shall raise my voice even unto heaven against these errors which you can no longer ignore. I shall send my complaints to Rome, and throughout the earth; it shall not be said that the cause of God is so deserted" (1). In April, 1697, Fénelon announced that he was about to submit his *Maxims* to the judgment of the Roman Pontiff; and on July 27, the king wrote to the Pope, "praying His Holiness to pronounce, as soon as possible, on the book of the archbishop of Cambrai, and on the doctrine which it contained." On August 1, Fénelon was ordered to leave the court, and repair to his diocese. When we come to treat of the sincerity of this saintly prelate, we shall show how little grief this "exile," as the spirit of the world termed it, caused in his apostolic heart. At this stage of the controversy, it is strange that Bossuet did not insist upon a cessation of all asperities, pending the decision of Rome; but instead of such prudence, the adversaries of Fénelon now displayed an increased yearning for combat. A series of polemics were inaugurated by a *Declaration of the Three Prelates*, Bossuet, the archbishop of Paris, and the bishop of Chartres, in contradiction of the assertion of Fénelon, in the preface of the

(1) *Manuscripts of Lodiou.*

Maxims and in his letter to Pope Innocent XII., that his system did not transgress the limits agreed upon at Issy. Fuel was added to the fire by the injudicious conduct of the nephew of Bossuet, the Abbé of the same name, who, visiting in Rome at this time, had been requested by his uncle to defer his return, and represent the anti-Quietistic cause in the imminent proceedings. "Never," observes Bausset, "did an unfortunate choice produce more deplorable consequences. The correspondence of the Abbé Bossuet reveals his character, sentiments, and methods, on every page; and we cannot avoid attributing to his fatal influence that excess of vehemence and of asperity which showed itself in the controversy between these two great men, and which even now causes sorrow in their most sincere admirers." While the proper authorities at Rome were considering the question, there appeared the *Four Letters* of Fénelon to Bossuet, and the latter's *Reply*. In these letters Fénelon displayed much skill in lessening the rashness of many of his *Maxims* by modifications drawn from the region of those "pious opinions" which the Church had tolerated; and many fancied that in these later apologies, rather than in the *Maxims*, were revealed the intimate convictions of his soul. Bossuet admitted this skill of an adversary who ventured, in the face of admiring Christendom, to enter into the arena of debate with him, the greatest controversialist of that or any other time: "Let his partisans cease to vaunt his grand mind and his eloquence. We readily grant that he has made a vigorous and stubborn defense. Who questions his intellect? He has sufficient even to frighten one. It is his misfortune that he has espoused a cause that demands so much skill for its defense." Hitherto the controversy had been conducted with vehemence indeed; but the limits of doctrinal discussion had not been passed. Now personalities were launched by both parties; and in one of his letters to the Pontiff, the usually gentle Fénelon indulged in much bitterness as he declared that his adversaries had become incredibly offensive in his regard. Bossuet therefore deemed it necessary to justify himself; and he published his *Relation Concerning Quietism*, which appeared just at the time

when grave charges were being brought against Mme. Guyon, and when the Abbé, his nephew, was disseminating the most odious suspicions against Fénelon in the Roman court. This *Relation* was a masterpiece among polemics; and it produced a prodigious effect. There is one passage in it, however, which marks it as the most saddening feature of the controversy. "I abstain from imputing to the archbishop of Cambrai any other design than that which is manifested by his writings and by a chain of verified facts. It is sufficient, and too much, that he is a declared protector of her who predicts, and proposes to herself, the seduction of the world. If it be said that I allege too much against a woman whose vagaries seem to amount to madness, I grant it, if that madness is not plain fanaticism; if the spirit of seduction does not act in that woman; *if that Priscilla has not found her Montanus to defend her*" (1). This ever-to-be-regretted implication against one of the purest of men, this melancholy instance of the power of controversy to temporarily becloud the clearest of intellects, and to pervert the noblest of hearts, gave a great advantage to Fénelon; and Bossuet endeavored, says Bausset, "so far as he could, to give to the odious comparison an interpretation as favorable as could be permitted by the nature of an accusation which it was not in his power to efface, or to cause to be forgotten."

While the *Relation* of Bossuet and the *Reply* of Fénelon were being discussed throughout Europe, the Holy See was examining the *Maxims* of Fénelon with its wonted calm and impartiality. Sixty-four sessions were held by the designated commissioners; and since only five of the ten theologians found condemnable doctrines in the criminated work, the Pontiff at first thought it might be advisable to settle the question by issuing an Apostolic Decree, in which, without any formal condemnation of an author whom he loved and admired, there would be published a number of canons on the true nature of the interior life. While this project was still in abeyance, the Abbé Bossuet sent information of it to his uncle; and on the receipt of the intelligence, Bossuet

(1) Montanus, a heretic of the time of Antoninus Pius (138-161), was greatly aided by Priscilla, a pseudo-prophetess and abandoned woman, in the propagation of his errors. See our vol. II., p. 35.

persuaded the king to exercise pressure on the Pontiff to bring about a formal condemnation of the *Maxims*. Then it was that Louis XIV. sent to the Pope that famous letter which, although very disrespectful, and most unbecoming the Most Christian King, was not necessarily as menacing as historians generally describe it. In this letter, which had been prepared by Bossuet, the king exaggeratingly declaimed on the troubles produced in France by the *Maxims*; and then approaching the desired condemnation of that book, he said that "if His Holiness prolonged the affair by *ménagements* which he could not comprehend, he would know what to do; and he hoped that His Holiness would not force him to such disagreeable extremities." Bausset finds this letter "the most afflicting monument of the controversy." Perhaps there would not be very much exaggeration in this qualification, if it could be shown that King Louis meant to insinuate a possibility of his being induced to play the rôle of Henry VIII. in France. But it would appear, from certain remarks of the secretary of Bossuet, which remarks Bausset himself adduces (1), that at this time the chief concern of the monarch and of Bossuet was to find a means of depriving Fénelon of his see, if the Pope did not condemn him, and to effect this deposition even without the concurrence of the Pontiff, that is, by invoking the aid of the canonical customs of the kingdom, interpreted in the Gallican sense then in vogue. A hint to the Holy See that this project would be actuated was by no means the rebellious menace which historians generally discern in the royal letter. However, the pontifical decision had been rendered before the letter of the grand monarch reached its destination. A new commission, composed of the most learned members of the Sacred College, had decided in favor of a condemnation of the *Maxims* in general, and in particular, of twenty-three propositions drawn from the book. In the Brief dated March 12, 1699, Pope Innocent XII. issued the apposite condemnation, declaring that sixteen of the propositions "tended to encourage a belief in a possibility of a permanent state, in this life, wherein God could be loved solely for Himself; and

(1) *Loc. cit.*, § xix.

that they authorized an absolute sacrifice of eternal happiness." Furthermore the Pontiff declared that the twenty-three propositions, "whether taken in the sense of their words, as they are presented to the reader, or taken in connection with the principles set forth in the body of the book, are rash, scandalous, evil-sounding, offensive to pious ears, dangerous in practice, and respectively erroneous." Contrary to the expressed wish of the adversaries of Fénelon, the Pope, in accord with the votes of the cardinals, had refused to affix the notes of "heretical and impious" to the qualifications of the propositions. Bérault-Berecastel well says that while Fénelon was never so humiliated as he was in France, after this condemnation, never had he showed himself so grand as when he received the news of the pontifical action. His brother handed to him a copy of the Brief as he was about to ascend the pulpit of his cathedral. It was the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady, March 25, 1699. He had prepared a discourse appropriate to the beautiful mystery; but having scanned the document, he dexterously turned his sermon into one on the perfect submission due to legitimate authority, and so touchingly and simply did he speak of his condemnation, and of his submission to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, that the congregation shed tears of sympathy and of holy joy. On April 9, he issued a pastoral to his entire diocese; but he himself read it in the Cathedral. The following was the most important passage: "*At length, my dear brethren, our Holy Father, the Pope, has condemned in a Brief the book entitled 'Maxims of the Saints,' together with twenty-three propositions extracted from it. We adhere to this Brief, both in regard to the text of the book and in regard to the twenty-three propositions, simply, absolutely, and without a shadow of restriction. And with all our heart we exhort you to similar submission and to unreserved docility, so that you may not insensibly lose any of that simplicity of obedience which is due to the Holy See, and of which we wish to give you, through the grace of God, an example unto the last breath of our life. God grant that no one ever speak of us, unless to remember that a shepherd deemed it his duty to be as docile as the last lamb of his flock!*"

On whose authority the story is credited, it is impossible to discover; but in nearly every narrative of the Quietistic controversy, we read that shortly after the condemnation of the *Maxims*, Louis XIV. asked Bossuet what he would have done, if the royal sympathies had been with Mgr. de Cambrai. And it is said that Bossuet replied: "Sire, I would have cried out twenty times more loudly; for when one is defending the truth, he feels that, sooner or later, he will be victorious." Nothing is more certain than that Bossuet would have thus replied to such a question in such like terms, had Louis XIV. ever propounded it. But the grand monarch was of too grave a temperament to ever imagine so absurd a contingency; and he knew Bossuet too well to even dream of the possibility of the Eagle of Meaux hesitating between a performance of his duty and a risk of the royal displeasure. Only in one sense, therefore, is this story, "if not true, well invented." Had the idle question been put, we would read of it in the correspondence of Bossuet with his nephew, where the elated prelate complacently details all the indications of the king's satisfaction with the happy termination of the affair. Ledieu, so minute in recording everything bearing on his master's connection with anti-Quietism, says nothing of an episode which would have redounded to that master's credit. The same silence is found in the letters of Mme. de Maintenon to Cardinal de Noailles, where the countess details her royal husband's thoughts on the controversy. The duke de Saint-Simon says nothing about what would have gladly been located by him among those tidbits of gossip in which he so delighted. Nor is there a word of the story in the work which the Abbé Phelippeaux, the associate of the Abbé Bossuet during his Roman diplomatic experience, wrote under the eye of Bossuet, and which contains all those details which are naturally learned by one who enjoys an intimacy such as that of Phelippeaux with his master.

Protestant and rationalistic writers, almost without exception, affect to discern in the anti-Quietistic controversy merely a dispute of words on unintelligible matters; and in the ardent and often bitter attitude of Bossuet and Fénelon toward each other, they would have us believe that rivalry in

glory was the sole actuating principle. As for the pious extravagancies of Mme. Guyon, these superficial observers have for them only words of ridicule. Men of the calibre of Bossuet and Fénelon do not loosen the ties of ancient and devoted friendship, disturb the serenity of pious souls throughout Christendom, and besiege the Chair of Peter with their clamors, in order to pursue that bubble which the world styles fame. Bossuet had already attained to the pinnacle of glory (1). His words were accepted as oracles in every land of Europe, when he complied with the request of Mme. de Maintenon, and of the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, to sound the depths of the new spirituality. Having found that the presumed depths were specious shallows covering reefs which invited the shipwreck of confiding souls, he felt that duty compelled him to warn the nations in that justifiable hyperbole—"it was all over with religion, *Il y alloit de toute la religion*"—if the pseudo-mysticism were reduced to practice. The spirit that was then animating the great polemic manifested itself when he demanded of Fénelon: "Do you dare to deny that, according to your principles, if one wishes to exercise the pure love which you proclaim, he must love as though he were without redemption, without Saviour, without Christ; and that he must protest loudly that even though these were not, and the providence, goodness, and mercy of God were forgotten, he would never-

(1) Reflecting on the sacred eloquence of the Age of Louis XIV., after a critical notice of the Italian orators and polemics, and of such English preachers as had some reputation among their own, Cantù proceeds: "Not meeting any Germans or Spaniards who deserve mention here, we hasten to him who is regarded as the prince of eloquence. Bossuet was eloquent in everything that he undertook; in controversy, in theology, in politics, in explaining truth and in refuting error, ever conveying his own impressions, and inducing conviction without commanding it. A grand theatre was open to him. There was a great monarch, whom he might remind of his nothingness, amid the frantic applause that deafened him. There was a Vallière to be consoled; there a Fénelon to be refuted; there Protestants to be combated; there clerical liberties to be determined; there the laurels gathered by Turenne, which garlanded him who had converted their winner; there a France needing encouragement, and hoping in the dauphin whom he had educated; there the victories of Condé, and the woes of England's royalties, furnishing him materials for meditation and for condolence. This importance of subjects was not above his powers; and never has human speech united such precision to such vigor, impetuosity, and splendor. His convictions grew by means of the wonderful concord which he found in the genius of all the Fathers—a genius, the grandeur of which he was capable of comprehending. He concentrated his faculties in solitude, until he had acquired force and originality. Then entering into the world of affairs, he holds ever present before him the grand idea of the national unity, just as Cicero held that of his country's majesty; and tranquil and secure,

theless love God no more and no less?" Certainly these words prove that Bossuet felt that the Quietists were undermining the foundations of the spiritual life. Christianity, he adds, does not and cannot consist in questions of metaphysics or super-metaphysics, "or in an alembical piety, or in a search after a beautiful ideal"; it enjoins upon us the performance of positive acts of virtue which will prepare for us the way to heaven. Christianity, remarks Cardinal Bausset, is not an unintelligible theological Platonism, contemplating God as all-perfect, but never invoking His all-goodness. "It is no more possible," says Bossuet, "for charity not to have the desire of enjoying God, than it is for our nature not to wish for uninterrupted happiness." Unbeknown to himself, Fénelon was leading men to a mystic theism which would inevitably end in philosophical theism; and the very piety of Fénelon, which was appreciated by no man more than by Bossuet, rendered his teaching more dangerous, because it was made more specious. Fortunately for religion, the saintly archbishop of Cambrai eventually so conducted himself, as to add to his many glories that of leaving behind him no defenders of his temporary aberrations.

he speaks with the dignity of undisputed sovereignty, with a noble simplicity which makes him great, and he persuades all because he is persuaded, he touches hearts because his own is touched. He never sent anything to the press, unless commanded, or compelled by duty; he had been dead for sixty years, when his *Sermons*, masterpieces, if he had not composed his *Funeral Orations*, were published. In this field, in which he has found no model among the ancients, standing before the throne and the grave, using images which are ever noble, emitting thoughts of vast application, presenting conceits which are vivid and just, and preserving harmony in the whole and between all its parts, he never amplifies more than befits the word of God, unless when excused by the very nature of his task. *Amid all the never-qualified grandeurs of his day and his king, Bossuet continually repeats his warnings on the nothingness of the great, even humiliating them by vilifying comparisons, and showing them what petty things are crowns, wisdom, valor, and beauty, when viewed at the edge of our common grave.*" *Univ. Hist.*, bk. xvi., ch. 8.—La Bruyère expressed the belief of Bossuet's contemporaries, and anticipated the judgment of posterity, when he termed the great controversialist one of the Fathers of the Church; and Masillon said of him: "Had he been born in those times, he would have been the light of Councils and the soul of the assembled Fathers; he would have dictated Canons; and he would have presided at Nice and Ephesus." Can we suppose that such a man would have foregone the sweet and profitable familiarity of Fénelon, and entailed upon himself so much terrible anxiety and labor, for the sake of a problematical addition to his already acquired glory?

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ALLEGED DUPLICITY OF FÉNELON. *

Of all the works of Voltaire, the *Age of Louis XIV.* is probably the most prolific in falsehood; scarcely one of the greater personages of that grand period of French history is not covered by the cynic's venomous slime. We may not be astounded when we read such attacks as that on the sincerity of the conversion of Turenne; but we are dazed when we behold Fénelon, the dove of simplicity, presented to a hitherto venerating world as a virtual hypocrite, a philosophist, and consequently a freethinker. Such is the guise with which Voltaire invests the angelic archbishop of Cambrai, when he asserts that Ramsay, a friend and, in some sense, a pupil of the prelate, informed him (Voltaire) that "if Fénelon had been born in England, he would have developed his genius, and would have given full rein to his principles—principles which no person ever knew" (1). Now Ramsay had been intimate with Fénelon for many years; and his affection was based on probably the most tender relation that can subsist between two honest souls. Ramsay had been bred an Anglican; but having left his native Scotland for France, he became acquainted with Fénelon, and was saved by that prelate from the shoals of incredulity on which he was drifting when he discerned the innate weakness of Protestantism. Having been drawn into the haven of Catholicity by the enlightened zeal of Fénelon, is it probable that he would proclaim his religious Mentor a mere time-server, a devotee of policy, a man ready to abandon his convictions for petty interest? Ramsay could not refute the calumny of the Sage of Ferney; for he had died in 1743, and the allegation was

* The first part of this chapter appeared as an article in the *AVE MARIA*, vol. xxviii.; and the portion treating of the meaning of *Telemachus* appeared in the *ROSARY*, vol. iii.

(1) When, in 1758, the Abbé Barral and the Oratorians Guibaud and Valla had issued their *Historical, Literary, and Critical Dictionary*, Voltaire found himself charged with imposture in this matter. He merely replied that he still possessed the letter of Ramsay, and that the English words of the criminated passage were: "Were he born in a free country, he would have displayed his whole genius, and given a full career to his own principles, never known."

not made until 1752. It is the opinion of Chaudon (1) that if Ramsay did indeed write the letter adduced by Voltaire, the quoted passage alluded, not to the religious principles of Fénelon, but to those of "the author of *Telemachus* concerning the authority of kings." Whether or not the surmise of Chaudon be correct, a perusal of the entire work of Ramsay (2) convinces us that, as Sainte-Beuve expresses the idea, "Mgr. de Cambrai was not of the ordination of d'Alembert and Voltaire" (3). We would submit to the attention of the student a succinct account of one of Ramsay's argumentations with his instructor, which was held while the process of his conversion was being forwarded. Certainly the conversation indicates none of those principles, or a lack of any principles, which Voltaire attributes to Fénelon.

Having detailed certain objections concerning the Natural Law and toleration which he had adduced to the archbishop, Ramsay gives the prelate's reply: "If you would persist in your philosophical independence, and if you would tolerate in some sort all kinds of sects, you must necessarily regard Christianity as an imposture; for there is no medium between Deism and Catholicism." As this seemed a paradox to Ramsay, the archbishop explained: "In renouncing all supernatural and revealed law, you must limit yourself to Natural Religion, founded on the idea of God; but if you admit a revelation, you must recognize some supreme authority ever prompt and able to interpret it. Without such established visible authority, the Christian Church would be like a republic having wise laws, but no magistrates to enforce them. What a source of confusion! Each citizen, a copy of the law in hand, disputing its meaning! . . . Has not our Sovereign Legislator provided better than this for the peace of His republic and the preservation of His law? Again, if there is no infallible authority to say to all, 'Behold the real meaning of Holy Writ,' how are the ignorant peasant and the untutored artisan to decide where even the most learned

(1) *Historical Dictionary*, Avignon, 1756. This work served as the basis for the *Dictionary* of the Belgian polygrapher, Feller.

(2) *History of the Life and Works of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon*; The Hague, 1723.

(3) *Monday Chats*, (April 1, 1850).

can not agree? In giving a written law, God would have ignored the needs of the immense majority of mankind, had He not also furnished an interpreter to spare them a task, the performance of which would be impossible. You must reject the Bible as a fiction, or submit to the Church." Ramsay impetuously rejoined: "Monseigneur, you want me to recognize an earthly tribunal as infallible? I have gone through most of the sects, and permit me to say, with all due respect, that the priests of all religions are frequently more corrupt and more ignorant than other men." Fénelon sweetly replied: "If we do not arise above what is human in the most numerous assemblies of the Church, we shall find there only what will revolt us and nourish our incredulity; we shall see only passions, prejudices, human imbecility, political scheming, cabals. But we must the more admire the divine omnipotence and wisdom, since they accomplish their designs by means which appear apt only to frustrate those designs." Ramsay yielded to the necessity of a living interpreter for a revealed law; but still clung to his idea of Natural Religion, and asserted that one need only to enter into one's self to feel the truth of that religion. Fénelon inquired: "And how many men are capable of so entering into themselves as to consult pure reason? Granted that some, here and there, may enter on this purely intellectual road, the rank and file can not, and they need external aid." But hearken to the prelate's *résumé* of the fall of man and the economy of the Redemption: "Our first parents having abused their liberty in a paradise of immortality and pleasure, God changed their probationary state for a mortal one—one of mixed good and evil,—in order that an experience of the nothingness of creatures might prompt us to constantly yearn for a better life. From that time all men were born with an inclination to evil. . . . We are born sick, but a cure is ever ready at hand. The light which enlightens every one who comes into the world is never wanting to any individual. Sovereign Wisdom has spoken differently, according to time and place; to some by the supernatural law and by the miracles of the Prophets, and to others by the natural law and the wonders of creation. Every person is judged

by the law he knows, and not by that he ignores. At length God Himself assumed flesh like our own, that He might satisfy for sin, and to furnish us an example of the worship due to Him. God cannot pardon a criminal without also manifesting His horror for crime; that manifestation He owes to justice, and it can be given only by Jesus Christ. . . . The religion of this Eternal Pontiff consists of charity alone; the Sacraments, the priesthood, and ceremonies, are only aids to our weakness,—only sensible signs to nourish in ourselves and others the knowledge and love of our common Father; in fine, they are means necessary to keep us in order, in unity, and in obedience. One day these means will cease, the figures will vanish, the true temple will be opened; our bodies will arise glorious, and God will communicate eternally with His creatures. Behold the general plan of Providence; behold, so to say, the *philosophy of the Bible*. Suppose that its truth could not be demonstrated. Would you not wish it to be true?"

In three different places (1) Voltaire descants upon the scepticism of Fénelon, as manifested by certain lines (2) written by him, says the "Sage," toward the end of his life. Here the prelate declares that he has "arrived at old age, and foresees nothing"; therefore, concludes Voltaire, he was a sceptic. Now, it is by no means certain that these verses were composed by the archbishop of Cambrai, although Voltaire "swears before God," in letters to Formey and to Courtivron, that the prelate's nephew, the marquis de Fénelon, sang them as his uncle's production. The marquis could not deny this; for he had been killed at the battle of Rocoux in 1746, and the assertion was made in 1752 and 1755. Voltaire himself admits that the verses are not to be found in the published editions of Fénelon's works; because, he says, it was not deemed desirable that the Jansenists should have

(1) In the *Age of Louis XIV.*, in 1752; in the *Examination of the Historical Tableau*, in 1753; and in a letter to Formey, perpetual secretary of the Academy of Berlin, in 1752.

(2) Jeune, j'étais trop sage
Et voulais trop savoir;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage
Et touche au dernier âge
Sans rien prévoir.

an opportunity to accuse their great adversary of scepticism; but he does not indicate the libraries where may be found any of the suppressed fifty copies of *Telemachus* which, as he insists, do contain them. But since Voltaire adduces the authority of the marquis de Fénelon, let us quote another nephew of the archbishop, the pious abbé de Fénelon, the intimate companion of a great part of his life.

The abbé seems to admit his uncle's composition of the verses, but interprets them in a way that would not please Voltaire. "A historian, a *bel esprit*, but not very accurate, has made it to appear that Fénelon died like a 'philosopher,' yielding blindly to destiny, with neither fear nor hope. He quotes in proof certain verses which he represents Monseigneur de Cambrai as repeating during his last illness; but he takes good care not to observe that these verses are part of a canticle by M. de Fénelon, treating of the simplicity of a holy and divine childlikeness, which ignores human prudence and all inquietude for the future, in order to abandon itself, without any useless and often harmful surmises, to a trust in the mercy of God and in the merits of Jesus Christ" (1). And Lépau, (2) finding fault with Voltaire as a falsifier of other men's literary productions, adduces these verses as an instance; showing that in this very poem, Fénelon, if its author, gave good proof of being actuated by most Christian sentiments. Voltaire shamelessly omitted to notice the stanza preceding the proffered lines, and there it is proclaimed that "human prudence is vain, that ignorance is the writer's science, that Jesus and His simplicity are his all" (3). In fact, the very title of this poem is opposed to the "philosophy" of Voltaire: "A farewell to human wisdom in order to live like a child."

The reader is probably familiar with Fénelon's history;

(1) *Life of Fénelon, by the Abbé, His Nephew*, prefixed to the works, edit. 1787, vol. 1., p. 749.

(2) See Lépau's *Political, Literary, and Moral Life of Voltaire*, 1817.

(3) Adieu, vaine prudence,
Je ne te dois plus rien;
Une heureuse ignorance
Est ma science:
Jésus et son enfance
Est tout pour moi.

and therefore we shall spare him the particulars of the saintly prelate's *quasi*-exile from the court of the great monarch. That he experienced grief because of his separation from the duke of Burgundy—whom he had so carefully formed for the throne, and who, had death not intervened, would have proved a more than ordinarily worthy successor of St. Louis,—no one can doubt; but his regrets were not, as Voltaire would regard them, founded on a chagrin at being debarred from domination over his quondam pupil, or on a hankering after the allurements of a court; but rather on pure affection, which naturally yearns for the society of the beloved object, and for opportunity to benefit it. However, our cynic says: "In his philosophical and honorable retreat, Fénelon learned how difficult it is to detach one's self from a court. He always manifested an interest in the court, and a taste for it which betrays itself amid all his resignation." This charge is baseless; in not a line of the prelate's correspondence can be found a single expression which would even imply such discontent. Ramsay says that Louis XIV., having overcome the prejudice against Fénelon with which he had been inspired, "thought seriously of recalling the archbishop; he wished his aid in terminating an affair (Jansenism) which agitated the Church of his kingdom. The archbishop of Cambrai saw matters shaping themselves for his return, but with sentiments very different from those an ordinary man would have felt. He cherished only a desire for retirement. Had he been compelled to return to the court, he would have appeared there only to manifest his views concerning the best way to give peace to the Church, and would have retired immediately on perceiving that union had been effected." But listen to Fénelon in reply to those who, afflicted by the prospect of schism in France, would have called on his virtue, his sweetness, and his genius, to banish the spectre. Had he been animated by a desire to play a prominent part on the stage of affairs, he would scarcely have answered: "I admit that your propositions would be more readily entertained by one possessing a taste for affairs. But my opinion of myself is not sufficiently exalted to warrant me in supposing that I can restore peace to the Church.

I wish not to assume the grand rôle which you design for me; it is Cardinal de Noailles who can give peace to the Church. I know no secrets, but I dare to assert that he can effect union when he wishes to do so; the matter is entirely in his hands. I wish for him all the glory, all the merit before God and men; and I would die content if, from a distance, I could hear of his having perfected the great work" (1). But there is one fact that shows eloquently how little rancor Fénelon's dismissal must have caused in his gentle breast. When named for the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai, he could have enjoyed, in accordance with a detestable and too prevalent custom of the time, the emoluments of his see, and could have performed his duties by substitute, continuing to reside nearly always at court. He accepted his promotion, much as he loved his royal pupils, only on condition that he might reside in his diocese at least nine months of the year. Nor does the life led by Fénelon at Cambrai, as depicted by himself in a letter to one of his nephews—the abbé de Beaumont,—indicate any discontent with his lot. His gentleness as a man, his watchfulness as a bishop, had plentiful scope in a district constantly harassed by contending armies, and all,—English, Germans, Hollanders,—rivalled his own diocesans in veneration for the saintly shepherd. His recreation, whenever duty allowed any, was a visit to the cabin of some peasant, where he would console and instruct, and often join in the simple feasts and meals of the poor. Well could he write in 1710: "I have no desire to change my situation. I never sought the court; I was forced to it. I resided there for ten years without concerning myself about it—not taking one step for my own interest, not asking one favor, intervening in no schemes, and restricting myself to conscientious replies when my opinion was asked. I have been dismissed, and it is my duty to fill my present position in peace. The best of the king's servants who know me are well acquainted with my principles as to honor, religion, the king, and my country; they know my profound gratitude for all the king's

(1) When the dying Fénelon had received Extreme Unction, he wrote to the royal confessor, saying: "I beg of his Majesty two favors, which regard neither myself nor mine. The first is that the king will give me a successor who is pious, and firm against Jansenism, now so prevalent in these parts." (See Bausset, *History of Fénelon*, 1817.)

favours. Other persons may easily be more capable than I am, none can be more truly zealous" (1).

Excepting those of the canonized saints, few memories have been so universally cherished as that of Fénelon. And yet there have been men to charge him with ingratitude and malignity toward one who had benefited him much, and whom he professed to love and revere. Chief among those to make this accusation was, quite naturally, the prince of calumniators, Voltaire; and the only basis of the charge, was the philosophist's own distorted interpretation of a work by Fénelon which, if read by one not saturated with jaundiced prejudice, would be its own vindication. Now we would show that when preparing that charming classic, *Telemachus*, the archbishop of Cambrai had not the slightest intention of satirizing Louis XIV., his sovereign, benefactor, and at that time, friend. In the first place, when was *Telemachus* composed? If the intention of its author had been to satirize his sovereign, the book must have been written when he was suffering from some real or fancied injury at the hands of the king. Certainly he would not have risked the resentment of Louis at the time when he was in the full enjoyment of his royal favor, and had everything to lose by exciting his indignation. Now while we have many letters of Fénelon to several of his dearest associates, written before his banishment from the court, and couched in all the expansiveness of intimate friendship, we vainly search these for any mention of *Telemachus*. But there is a Memoir (2) written by him some time after his loss of the king's favor, which gives us not only interesting details concerning this masterpiece, but also a very precise indication as to the period when it was composed. Here the prelate says: "I cannot doubt that the policy inculcated in *Telemachus* has been so repre-

(1) *Ib.*, vol. iii., p. 40.

(2) These Memoirs are not sufficiently known. In them Fénelon exposes the evils of the kingdom with great freedom. He descants on the injustice of the Spanish war, and the necessity of concluding peace. Above all, he insists upon a restoration of the olden franchises of the French people, and a more intimate union between the nation and the king. He would have the Estates General convoked as the sole escape from ultimate disaster. Perhaps his scheme would have prevented the days of '89 and their atrocious consequences. But it must be admitted that Fénelon often deals in chimeras. He perceives the good, but not the opposing circumstances. Thus he would do away with professional detectives, and have their duties performed by respectable citizens.

sented to the king as to prejudice his mind against me, but I must suffer in silence. . . . I wrote the work at a time when I was charmed by the marks of confidence with which the king overwhelmed me, and I would have been not only a most ungrateful man, but even insane, had I wished to depict therein a satirical and insolent portrait (of his Majesty). Even the thought of such a design fills me with horror. It is true that I have uttered, in these adventures, many truths which are necessary for a ruler to note, as well as the defects which may develop in sovereign power, but I have indicated no one of these in such a way as to paint any particular portrait or character. The more one reads the work, the more he will perceive that I aimed at speaking plainly without alluding to any particular person. I simply intended to divert, and while amusing, to instruct, the duc de Bourgogne (1). I had no intention of giving the work to the public (2). Everybody is aware that it got out of my hands only through the treachery of a copyist, and finally, the best servants of the king know how deeply grateful to his Majesty I am for all his favors. Other persons may be more capable than I am, but no one is actuated by a sincerer zeal for his service." It is evident, therefore, that *Telemachus* was written while Fénelon was in charge of the education of the duc de Bourgogne. It is supposed that the prelate had intended to present the work to his pupil when his education was finished, probably on the occasion of his marriage. During the entire period of his tutorship, Fénelon was in the highest favor with the king, as indeed the very nature of his office would indicate. Therefore there was no adequate reason why he should satirize Louis at that time.

(1) The son of the dauphin, and called, during his father's life, the "young dauphin."

(2) A copyist employed by Fénelon, perceiving the beauties of the work, and therefore its market value, resolved to profit by it. He sold the manuscript to a printer, taking care not to reveal the author's name. This printer then issued, in 1699, the first 287 pages of *Telemachus*, under the title: *Continuation of the Fourth Book of the Odyssey, or the Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses*. Just then Fénelon's *Maxims of the Saints* had been condemned by Pope Innocent XII., and great vigilance was being exercised to prevent any dissemination of Fénelon's writings. The pages of *Telemachus* already printed were seized, and measures were taken to annihilate the work. But some copies had escaped the vigilance of the officers, and the whole work was printed in a few months, at the Hague, but full of errors. Among the foreign critics who immediately proclaimed *Telemachus* a masterpiece was Basnage de Beauval, a leading mind among the Calvinists of the day.

But the testimony of Bossuet, hostile as he had become to his whilom intimate, proves that *Telemachus* was composed at a time when he and Fénelon were still bound by ties of mutual confidence. The bishop of Meaux tells us that Fénelon communicated to him the first part of his manuscript (1); and no one would believe that this would have been done, if any intention of attacking the king in such an insidious manner had been entertained. At least it must be conceded that this participation of literary confidence shows that *Telemachus* was written before any coolness had arisen between Bossuet and Fénelon; that is, before the period when Fénelon could have cherished any chagrin toward Louis XIV., and when he might have acted as a man of less noble spirit than his own would have naturally done, if opportunity offered. It is probable that the date in question was 1693 or 1694, for then the two prelates cherished their closest intimacy. Saint-Simon, who is a good authority concerning dates of court happenings and such like trivialities, also shows that *Telemachus* was composed several years before the author's estrangement from the king. He tells us that the book was a subject of study for Fénelon's pupil, the duc de Bourgogne (2).

It is certain that Fénelon always and constantly professed the utmost attachment for his royal master. Even at the hour of his death, he protested that he had ever entertained "a profound esteem for the person and virtues of Louis XIV." The editors of the *Bibliotheca Britannica* remind us that we ought to credit such a declaration of a dying bishop, especially one like the archbishop of Cambrai (3). But let us seek for a manifestation of Fénelon's spirit toward King Louis in his confidential correspondence. One of his dearest and most eminent friends was the duc de Beauvilliers, governor of his royal pupil. In the depth of his disgrace, and that of his relatives and friends, the archbishop wrote to this nobleman: "I cannot avoid telling you, my good duke, what is in my heart. Yesterday, the festival of St. Louis, I offered my devotions for the king. If my prayers

(1) In the Manuscript of Lediou.

(2) *Memoires*, edit. 1853, vol. xvii., p. 176.

(3) For the year 1743.

were good, he will profit by them ; at least they were heart-felt. I begged for no temporal prosperity for him, as he has sufficient of that ; but I besought God that he might use it well, and that he be as humble in the midst of his success as he would be if prostrated. I asked that he might be not only the father of his people, but also the arbiter among his neighbors, and the moderator of all Europe in order to ensure its repose. I entreated that he might not only continue to fear God, but also that he might love Him, and feel that His yoke is sweet to those who bear it through love rather than from fear. Never have I felt more zeal, and if I may so express myself more tenderness, for his person. Although I am grateful, it was not so much his goodness to me that touched me ; far from resenting my present situation, I have offered it joyfully to God. I even regard the king's zeal against my book (1) as a laudable consequence of his zeal for religion, and of his just horror for anything that might savor of innovation. I remembered his education without instruction, the flatteries that have been heaped upon him, the snares set in his youth in order to excite his passions, the counsels which he received ; in fine, the perils of greatness, and so many delicate matters. I declare that, in spite of my great respect for the king, I felt much compassion for a soul so exposed. I prayed to St. Louis with my whole heart that he would obtain for his descendant the grace of imitating his virtues. . . . In all this I firmly believe that I had no interest for self ; I was resigned to remain all my life without seeing the king. I would be willing to suffer perpetual disgrace, if I could know that his Majesty lived entirely according to the will of God. Behold then, my good duke, my occupation during the feast of yesterday."

So far was Fénelon from wishing to unduly criticise his royal master ; so much did he try to avoid, in his *Telemachus*, any allusions which malignity might distort ; that his manuscript shows an erasure of the following sentence : " If kings make mistakes in regard to anything concerning sacred things, the more zealous clergy should influence them in

(1) The *Maxims of the Saints*, written in 1696.

favor of the good cause ; they might even make use of artifice and intrigue." He feared that this reflection might recall the memory of painful controversies. Read the following passage of his masterpiece, and see how Fénelon acknowledges the great qualities of Louis XIV., and how he endeavors to excuse those weaknesses which are the share of humanity. "Are you surprised that even the most estimable men are yet men, and that they show, amid the innumerable pitfalls of royalty, some remains of human weakness? It is true that Idomeneus has been brought up with ideas of ostentation and loftiness, but what philosopher could have defended himself from flattery, if he had been in the same situation? . . . People always wear masks before a king, and they adopt every artifice to deceive him. Certain persons criticise a sovereign most pitilessly, while they would prove much less capable of governing than he is, if they were called to the task ; they would commit the same, and infinitely worse errors, if they possessed the same power. Kings must be pitied and excused. To speak frankly, men also, who are destined to be ruled by kings, are to be pitied, for these sovereigns are men like themselves, and only gods can take proper care of men. Although I have reproved Idomeneus for many things, he is naturally just, sincere, liberal, and kindly. His valor is unquestionable. He abhors deceit when he discovers it, and when he can follow the real dictates of his heart. All his talents are proportioned to his position." This and many other passages are additions to *Telemachus*, made by Fénelon after the original publication, and when he was supposed to be suffering from indignation at his treatment by the king. They were not published until both Louis and he had died. It would have been easy, since innumerable editions of *Telemachus* were being continually issued throughout Europe, for the author to have confounded the evil interpreters of his intentions in regard to the king ; but a certain noble dignity prompted him to simply write, in the secrecy of his study, such additions as the above for the benefit of those who would survive both him and the king. Among these additions there is one which treats of the delicate question of the influence of tem-

poral rulers in affairs of religion. "Idomeneus regretted the departure of Telemachus and Mentor, and thought only of finding some means of retarding it. He told Mentor that he could not settle, without his aid, a difficulty between Diophanes, a priest of Jupiter Preserver, and Heliodorus, a priest of Apollo. 'And why,' returned Mentor, 'do you meddle with sacred things? Leave such to the Etrurians, who preserve the traditions of the most ancient oracles, and are inspired to interpret the will of the gods. Use your authority only to end such disputes at their very birth. Show no partiality or prejudice, but be content to support the decision when it is rendered. Remember that a king should be submissive to religion, and should never undertake to regulate it. Religion comes from the gods, and is above the sphere of kings. If kings concern themselves with it, they do not protect it, but enslave it. Kings are so powerful, and other men so weak, that if the former were free to interfere with holy things, their whims would provoke great danger of change. Therefore leave this decision to the friends of the gods, and limit yourself to repressing those who may not bow to the judgment given.'"

We have said enough to show the absurdity of the charge that Fénelon intended, in *Telemachus*, to satirize Louis XIV., and it may be asked, what idea did he wish to inculcate by this work? Ask the question of any convent girl of average mind, as she pores, for sake of the language, and listlessly perhaps, over its pages; and she will show you that, unmused though she be to discern political motives, she has imbibed the notion that Fénelon intended to plead the cause of the people, addressing the minds and hearts of their rulers. And such indeed was the object of the gentle archbishop of Cambrai. Prostrated by the calamities entailed by the anarchical doctrines consequent on the religious innovations of the sixteenth century, the peoples had resigned themselves to such happiness as could be found under the shadow of strong and respected thrones. This was particularly the case in France, where the constantly seditious course of the Protestants had contributed more than anything else to increase and consolidate the royal

power. To this power Fénelon addressed himself in favor of the people, associating the true glory of monarchs with the prosperity of their subjects. If, like every true royalist, he regarded the king as, in one sense, the image of the Deity, he wished the sovereign to be the father of his people. Such was the intention of Fénelon ; and the existence of *Télémaque* was to remain a secret between him and the duc de Bourgogne, whom he hoped to see on the throne of France, a worthy son of St. Louis.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE JANSENIST CHURCH OF UTRECHT.

In 1559 the Holy See had raised the see of Utrecht in Holland to the rank of an archbishopric, giving to it as suffragans the bishops of Haerlem, Leuwaerde, Deventer, Groningen, and Middelburg ; but when the anti-Spanish revolution triumphed, the Catholic bishops were dispersed, and their sees were abolished, so far as civil law could abolish them. Thenceforth the few Catholics of Holland were spiritually subject to vicars-apostolic, prelates invested with the episcopal character, but bearing the titles of sees *in partibus infidelium*. The Jansenists made many partisans during the vicariate of Mgr. Neercassel ; and when that prelate died in 1686, his successor, Codde, titular archbishop of Sebaste, was himself cited to answer for his Jansenistic doctrines by Pope Innocent XII. The examination of the archbishop was held under the direction of Clement XI., the successor of Innocent XII. ; the culprit was suspended ; and a vicar, *ad interim*, a pastor of Leyden named Cock, was appointed for Utrecht. The burgomasters naturally sided with the suspended prelate, and the States ordered the vicar to abstain from all ecclesiastical functions. To the great chagrin of Quesnel and his partisans, Mgr. Codde did not defy the pontifical ordinance ; Racine blamed him for "excessive condescendence in heeding a pretended sentence which was evidently null and unjust." Cock having been banished from

Holland, the Pontiff entrusted the ecclesiastical affairs of the country to his nuncio at Cologne, Mgr. Bussi; and in 1707, that prelate consecrated Mgr. Damen as titular bishop of Adrianople. The Jansenists refused to recognize the new vicar-apostolic; and the States having prohibited his entrance into Holland, he resigned. Another vicar, a Dutch priest named Byevelt, was then appointed; but he was heavily fined and exiled. Meanwhile, the Jansenists, by far the smaller portion of the Dutch Catholics, continued to recognize Codde, despite his own observance of the Papal deprivation, as their spiritual superior; and when he died, in 1710, they pretended that the episcopal jurisdiction had devolved on the Chapter of Utrecht—a body which did not exist, having become extinct at the triumph of the Reformation in Holland. It became necessary to call into existence a pretended Chapter; and hence seven priests, who did not even reside in Utrecht, assumed the style of canons of the metropolitan cathedral. Supported by about sixty other clergymen, and encouraged by the Jansenists of France, these seven assumed to themselves the task of providing for “the widowed Church of Holland” a new spouse who would not tolerate the “usurpations of Rome.” This schismatical enterprise was justified by many of the “appellant” doctors of the Sorbonne, contending that a church does not lose her rights by a long widowhood; that the Roman fashion of sending vicar-apostolies was a usurpation; and that no prescription could deprive the Dutch “clergy” of their rights. The Parisian Faculty of Law, then also “appellant,” confirmed this view of the matter; and Van Espen, with four other doctors of Louvain, assented. Several of the French “appellant” bishops agreed to ordain any candidates whom the “Chapter” of Utrecht would recommend, and to abstain from any demand that those candidates should sign the Formula. Accordingly, a French deacon, Boullenois, who seems to have been the chief instigator of the movement, brought several young levites of the nascent schismatical church into France, where they were ordained, some by the bishop of Sénez, and others by the bishops of Blois and Bayeux. As yet the Jansenists of Holland had no bishop; but in 1720 they were made hap-

py by the accession of a suspended bishop to their ranks.

Dominic Varlet, a priest of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris, was destined to be the source through which the Schismatic Church of Utrecht, and through that body the "Old Catholics" of Germany and Switzerland, were to receive a material Apostolic Succession. In 1718 he had been consecrated as coadjutor to the bishop of Babylon; and on his way to Persia, he passed through Holland. While in Amsterdam, he yielded to the request of the schismatical "Chapter" of Haerlem, and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, thereby incurring the censures of the Church. Notice of his suspension was served on him, shortly after his arrival in Persia, on March 15, 1720, by the bishop of Ispahan; and forced to return to Europe, instead of endeavoring to obtain relief from his suspension, he fixed his abode in Amsterdam, continued to pontificate, and on Feb. 15, 1723, he "appealed" against the Bull *Unigenitus* and against the censure pronounced against himself. On April 27, the seven so-called canons of Utrecht elected Cornelius Steenoven as their archbishop, and notified the Holy See of their action. No reply was given to their communication. The enterprising canons besought all the neighboring bishops to consecrate their elect; and when none, not even among the "appellants," was found willing to take this overt step in the path of schism, they had recourse to Varlet. This suspended, interdicted, and excommunicated bishop was but too willing to heap sacrilege on sacrilege; but where were the two assistant prelates, whose attendance was necessary for a licit, though not for a valid consecration, to be found? The canons pretended to obviate this difficulty by deputing two of their own number to assist the consecrator; and on Oct. 15, 1724, Steenoven was consecrated at Amsterdam. By a Brief dated Feb. 21, 1725, Pope Benedict XIII. pronounced the election of Steenoven null, and on the following April 3 the unfortunate died. The Catholics of Holland now vainly besought the States to allow vicars-apostolic, commissioned by the Holy See, to enter their territory; the Jansenists again triumphed, and on May 15, the pretended "Chapter" of Utrecht elected as successor to Steenoven that Barch-

man-Wuytiers whom Quesnel, on the occasion of his ordination by the bishop of Senez, had announced as the future consolation of the Church of Utrecht. Barchman announced his election to the Pontiff, asking for its confirmation, and for a dispensation from the obligation of having two assisting-bishops at his consecration. The impudence of this letter is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as the Pope had tried by every means to prevent the action of the "Chapter." Of course the Pontiff declared the election null; and then the services of Varlet were again demanded and accorded. Immediately after his consecration Barchman wrote to the Pope that he was "ready to descend from his episcopal throne, as soon as the tranquillity of the Church rendered such action necessary"; but this hypocrisy is evident from his reply to Thierry of Viemie, who had found fault with this promise: "Do not worry about my offer. I shall demand three conditions; no more Formula, no more of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, and the recognition of the rights of the Chapter of Utrecht. And all these by authentic acts, not by vain promises" (1). Excommunicated, together with all his partisans, Barchman could glory in the formal approbation of the French "appellants," and in the arrival in Holland, for the purpose of joining his schismatic forces, of a number of vagabond ecclesiastics, and also of twenty-six Carthusian monks who had refused to obey a decree of their general, enjoining the subscription to the Bull *Unigenitus*. Here we must note that all but one of these unfrocked religious had been deprived even of lay communion, and fourteen on them had been excommunicated by name (2).

The States of Holland now made a demand on the non-descript partisans of the "Chapter" of Utrecht which should certainly have been made before the Dutch government extended to them its protection and its pecuniary favors. Were these gentry Catholics or Protestants? Dorsanne tells us that they replied, without hesitation, that they were "Jan-

(1) PICOT; *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. II., year 1735. Third Edit., Paris, 1853.

(2) *Protest of the Carthusian Opponents of the Bull, "Unigenitus": Apology for the Carthusians*. Amsterdam, 1737. This *Apology* is signed by thirty-one of the monks of the houses of Paris, Bourg-Pontaine, Gaillon, Besune, etc.

senists" (1. On May 13, 1733, Barchman died; but his successor, Theodore Van der Croon, was not consecrated until Oct. 28, 1734. Like his predecessors, he received the episcopal unction at the hands of Varlet; and like them he was excommunicated by the Holy See. When Van der Croon died on June 9, 1740, the services of Varlet were again required for the consecration of Peter John Meindartz, on Oct. 18; and the usual sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the Pontiff. Shortly after his last essay at transmission of the apostolic succession in a line of schismatics, Varlet went to his dread account, and the Dutch Jansenists began to fear that their episcopate would soon vanish. To obviate this danger, Meindartz undertook to revive the see of Haerlem, then extinct for a century and a half. When the canons of Haerlem refused to elect the new bishop, Meindartz himself appointed, and then consecrated, Jerome Bock; and when Bock died, in 1744, he gave to him a successor in the person of Van Stijphout. In 1757 Meindartz resolved to revive also the see of Deventer; but when he had nominated to it Bartholomew Byevelt, he found that the prelate's diocesans, all Catholics, would not receive him. The poor man was forced to remain in the parish where he could find the means of living. Shortly after the consecration of Byevelt, the three schismatic prelates sent a letter to Benedict XIV., couched in the style which had been adopted in all similar notifications of the Church of Utrecht to the Holy See; but informing the Pontiff that all the woes of the Church and of the world were due to the baneful influence of the Jesuits. Being now surrounded by the semblance of a hierarchy, Meindartz yearned to exhibit to the world some sign of its activity. What could better impose upon the weak-minded and the credulous than a General Council of the three Dutch Jansenist bishops? An occasion for such an assembly

(1) *Diary of Dorsanne*, vol. ii., p. 413. Paris, 1730. Antoine Dorsanne, a doctor of the Sorbonne and grand-vicar of Paris, was one of the chief instigators of Cardinal de Noailles in his opposition to the Bull *Unigenitus*. His *Diary* is very minute as to all that happened in Rome and in France, in regard to this Bull, between the years 1711 and 1728. He was as prejudiced as he was ardent. His adversaries were, in his mind, men void of common sense; his own factionists were ever learned and profound. It was from his *Diary* that Vilefore drew most of the materials for his *Anecdotes or Secret Memoirs Concerning the Constitution "Unigenitus,"* a work which is even more virulent and prolix than its source.

was furnished in 1763. In the diocese of Rouen, a sub-deacon named Leclerc, one of those convulsionaries and visionaries whom we met in our dissertation on Jansenism, had been isolated because of his craziness. Escaping to Holland, then the *alma domus* of all fanatics, Leclerc published a work in which he attacked the infallibility of the Church, the authority of tradition, and the superiority of bishops over priests. Intimately associated with a schismatic Greek bishop of Crete who had fixed his residence in Amsterdam, he soon proclaimed that the spiritual progeny of Michael Cerularius was neither schismatical nor heretical. The writings of Leclerc produced havoc in the conventicle of Utrecht; and encouraged by the "appellants" of France, Meindartz "convoked a Council" of his followers. The French Jansenists helped to defray the expense of the assembly, as indeed they had hitherto nearly entirely supported the enterprising Utrechtians; and they sent their best theologians to illumine the so called "fathers." Meindartz realized that three bishops would not make much of a show as a synod; and he remedied the deficiency by according a deliberative vote to each of seventeen Dutch priests whom he summoned to his side. The pseudo-synod was opened on Sept. 13, 1763, with all the ceremonies usual in similar but legitimate assemblies. The first "synodical" act of the "fathers" was to appear to reject the Five Propositions of Jansenius by the adoption of articles so ambiguous that they could be interpreted in a sense favorable to their system. Then they issued twelve decrees against the errors of Leclerc, and against the Jesuits Hardouin, Berruyer, and Pichon. On Sept. 21, the decrees were read in public, and signed by the twenty "fathers," each of the seventeen priests subscribing in the manner prescribed by the Canons for episcopal synodals; "*Ego, N., judicans, subscripsi.*" Leclerc had refused to attend the assembly; and when "his bishop," Van Stiphout, afterward cited him, again and again, to appear for sentence, he ridiculed the late "Council" in his own name and in that of his precious companion, the Greek schismatic. Then Meindartz pronounced him deposed, degraded, and deprived of the right to Holy Communion, "even at the hour of death." If the reader is

unaware that such audacity is practiced to this day, on similar occasions, by the infinitesimal Church of Utrecht, he will smile on learning that Meindartz sent a copy of the *Acts* of his pseudo-synod to Pope Clement XIII., "in conformity with custom," as he averred, and begging his Holiness "to confirm the decrees by that power and authority which belong to the primacy of the Holy See." The Pontiff issued, on April 30, 1765, a decree nullifying the proceedings of "the false Council of the province of Utrecht." The papal declaration was formally received by the Assembly of the French Clergy which met on May 25 of this year; but many of the French Jansenists made a question of party out of a sympathy for the Church of Utrecht, and while no bishop expressed that sympathy, many of the French priests signified their adherence to the pseudo-synodal *Acts* of which Meindartz had sent them copies. Among the lay jurists of France, thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Van Espen (1), very many pronounced for Meindartz; and the Faculty of Law of Paris would have sent a letter of congratulation to the schismatics, had not Louis XV. ordered them to rescind their resolution. One of the last acts of Meindartz was the preparation of a letter to the Pontiff, protesting against the papal condemnation of his pseudo-synod, and insisting, by implication, that Catholic unity was then to be found only in the little Church of Utrecht and the few hundreds of Jansenists in other lands who communicated with "that persecuted witness of the truth."

From the first day of its existence the little Church of Utrecht endeavored to induce the Dutch government to recognize its followers as the sole Catholics of Holland, and to

(1) Zegers-Bernard Van Espen, born in Louvain in 1646, made his studies in the University of that city, and became distinguished as a canonist. He was one of the chief supports of the early Jansenists, and contributed, more than any other person, to the foundation of the schismatic Church of Utrecht. On Feb. 7, 1728, he was interdicted by the rector of the Louvain University; and the emperor, then Lord of Flanders, ordered proceedings against him. But death overtook him soon afterward, in his eighty-third year, and the schismatic Barchman pronounced his eulogy. The chief characteristics of Van Espen as a commentator on ecclesiastical law are an exaltation of the rights of pastors at the expense of those of the bishops, an exaltation of the rights of bishops at the expense of those of the Supreme Pontiff, and an exaltation of the civil above all ecclesiastical power. In fine, he was a thorough imperialist courtier-legist; and his subservience to the state grew with his years, his later days being occupied with additions to his early pronouncements.

compel those of the Roman communion to submit to its authority. The government gratified the schismatics by continuing to prohibit all jurisdiction of Catholic bishops in its territories, while it recognized the four Jansenist prelates as ordinaries of their own flocks, and created a seminary at Amersford for the training of a future Jansenist clergy. But it declined to use force against the children of the Roman Pontiff. However, in the course of time many of the Dutch nobles and upper *bourgeoise*, tired of their political ostracization, joined the schismatics; and at the period of their greatest prosperity the sectarians had seduced nearly a third of the Catholics of Holland. But the decline of the Jansenist cause in France produced its effect wherever it had obtained any recognition; and at the outbreak of the first French Revolution, there were only twenty thousand schismatics in the Netherlands. When Pope Pius IX. restored the Dutch hierarchy in 1853, the Jansenist archbishop, Van Santen, protested against the government's recognition of the pontifical decree, insisting that his partisans, then only four thousand eight hundred in number, were the sole "legitimate Catholics of the kingdom."

CHAPTER XV.

QUESNELLISM. THE BULL "UNIGENITUS."

One of the principal contributors to the decadence of the French Congregation of the Oratory was Abel de Sainte-Marthe, who became its superior-general at the time when the contentions concerning the "respectful silence" in regard to papal decisions in the matter of Jansenism were agitating the Church of France. Thoroughly devoted to the sentiments of Anthony Arnould, Sainte-Marthe indoctrinated nearly all his subjects with them; and his most apt and most enterprising pupil was Pasquier Quesnel, who, through his famous work entitled *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, became the occasion of the Bull *Unigenitus*. Originally, that is, in 1671, this lucubration was a modest little volume of

Christian Thoughts on the Text of the Four Gospels : and as such it was approved by Vialart, bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne. There was little or no heterodoxy in the work at this stage of its existence ; but having been ordered by the court and by Archbishop de Harlay to leave Paris in 1681, and having fixed his residence in Orleans, the author augmented the book in the interests of Jansenism, taking care to issue it as approved in its entirety by Mgr. Vialart—an assertion which was absolutely false. In 1683 Quesnel withdrew from the Oratory, and joined Arnauld in the Low Countries. His zeal for Jansenism was now greatly developed ; and in 1693 the *Reflections* appeared, increased to four large octavo volumes, and saturated with the new doctrines. This work effected far more for the spread of Jansenistic opinions than the *Augustinus* had effected. The book of the Netherlander was couched in Latin, and was therefore intelligible only to the learned ; that of the Frenchman was written in his own language, and its style was facile and pleasing. The former production introduced matters which are of interest only to the dogmatic theologian ; the latter covered its false dogmatic principles with a varnish of devotion and an unction of piety which attracted others than theological subtleists. The new book, like the second and posterior editions of the *Christian Thoughts*, bore the *imprimatur* of Mgr. Vialart, who had died in 1680 ; but in 1695 it received the approbation of that prelate's successor, the famous Louis-Antoine de Noailles (1). This approbation was afterward cited against Mgr. de Noailles when, having been transferred to the archiepiscopal see of Paris, he condemned an *Exposition of Faith* which had been written by De Barcos, a nephew of that great friend of Jansenius, Saint-Cyran. The public was much amused by the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet, probably from the pen of a Jansenistic Benedictine, Dom Thierry de Viaix-

(1) A man of good abilities and of irreproachable character, De Noailles was one of those "moderate" prelates whose weakness is often productive of harm. Cardinal Bausset thus summarizes his qualities : "Together with many virtues and other estimable qualities, he had that mixture of obstinacy and weakness which is the ordinary inheritance of those who are more recommendable for good intentions than for the correctness and breadth of their ideas. His entire episcopate was passed in discussions in which he was always obliged to recede because he had gone too far, and in which he always ended by displeasing all parties."

ne, although the Jansenists ascribed it to the Jesuit, Daniel; which proved to the satisfaction of everybody that the doctrines of the *Moral Reflections* and of the *Exposition* were identical. The pamphlet bore the attractive title: "An ecclesiastical problem, proposed to M. Boileau, of the arch-diocese of Paris: Which ought we believe—the opinion of Louis-Antoine de Noailles, bishop of Chalons in 1695, or that of Louis-Antoine de Noailles, archbishop of Paris in 1696?" The incendiary document was burnt by the public executioner, in accordance with a parliamentary decree; and men continued to read the *Reflections* of Quesnel. The friends of Quesnel even requested the archbishop to reiterate, as ordinary of Paris, the approbation which he had given when bishop of Chalons; but the prelate had become dubious as to the wisdom of his sanction. He requested several theologians to examine the book, and asked Bossuet to superintend their labors. However, when Bossuet had prepared an *Avertissement* to be placed on the forefront of a new edition of the *Reflections*, and had told the archbishop that an immense number of changes would have to be made in the text, the weak prelate conceived that his honor was involved in what would be equivalent to a reprobation of the approval given at Chalons; and although, on the other hand, he abstained from giving another approbation as archbishop of Paris, Bossuet withdrew his *Avertissement* (1).

Immediately after the appearance of the completed *Reflections*, one of the most learned members of the Sorbonne, Fromageau, denounced one hundred and twenty-nine of its propositions as erroneous; and very soon several of the French bishops prohibited it. On March 13, 1708, Pope Clement XI. condemned it; and since even the Jansenist author of the *History of the Book of Moral Reflections* (1719) admits that it

(1) After the death of Bossuet, Quesnel published what purported to be this *Avertissement* under the title of a *Justification of the Moral Reflections, by the late Mgr. Bossuet*. But Cardinal de Bissy, the successor of Bossuet in the see of Meaux, protested in a pastoral against this claim; calling upon persons still living, many of whom were Jansenists, to testify to the fact that Bossuet had insisted that there were more than a hundred passages in the *Reflections* which needed correction. See Bausset's *History of Bossuet*, bk. xi., 14. Also the *Theological Lectures* of Montaigne under the name of Tournely, *On Grace*, vol. i., p. 372. The editors of Pléot's *Memoires* (edition 1853) well wonder how Rohrbacher (vol. xxvi., p. 313) could have spoken of this pretended *Justification* as an authentic work of Bossuet.

had been brought before the Inquisition shortly after it was finished (1693), it is strange that certain writers insist that for forty years it had been read with edification and without any manifestations of discontent. The Jansenist historian informs us that the inquisitors offered Quesnel an opportunity of explaining the criminated propositions, if it were possible, in an orthodox sense ; but we do not read that he made the attempt. The date of this first papal condemnation should be noted by those who, relying on the interesting but untrustworthy Saint-Simon and his imitators (1), assert that the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV., Le Tellier, wrung the condemnation from the Pontiff. Whether the position of royal confessor guarantees any special influence at the papal court, the common sense of the reader will determine ; but the influence of Le Tellier must have been exerted in 1708, and he became royal confessor only in 1709. The Clementine Brief proscribes the *Reflections* as "Similar to the version condemned by Clement IX. ; and as containing notes and reflections which present indeed the appearance of piety, but lead cunningly to its extinction ; and which advance teachings that are seditious, rash, pernicious, erroneous, already condemned, and manifestly sustaining the Jansenistic heresy." But the Brief produced little effect in the minds of the Quesnellists ; and in 1710 matters were brought to a crisis. The bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle had issued pastorals which showed how the Five Propositions of Jansenius were reasserted by Quesnel ; and the printer, in order to secure the copyrights, had obeyed the law which required the announcement of new books in the chief cities in the kingdom. Among the places which custom had assigned for the posting of the necessary placards was the portal of the archiepiscopal palace in Paris. Cardinal de Noailles fancied himself affronted by the posting, at his very doors, of a condemnation of a work which he had approved ; and incited by several Quesnellist members of his council, he caused the directors of Saint-Sulpice to dismiss two of their students, nephews of the bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle, who

(1) Such as Voltaire, in his *Age of Louis XIV.* ; Duclos, in his *Secret Memoires* ; and Marmontel, in his *History of the Regency*.

were said to have aided in the placarding. The bishops complained to the king, alleging also that in all ages, the bishops of "imperial cities" had been nearly always prone to abet heresy. His Eminence demanded an apology for this insult; and at the instance of Louis XIV. the enthusiastic prelates would probably have yielded to that extent, had not the cardinal, in a pastoral dated April 28, 1711, declared that the obnoxious document of the bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle favored one of the propositions of Jansenius and two of Baius, and that it conduced to laxity of morals. The bishops of Agen and Sisteron sided with the cardinal; but the king, disgusted with his weakness, informed him that until further orders he might abstain from appearing at court. Then his Eminence declared, in a letter to the bishop of Agen, that "if the Pope deemed it proper to formally censure the book of Quesnel, he would receive the Constitution with all due respect." By this implicit disregard of the Clementine Brief of 1708 the cardinal certainly showed that he merited little consideration; and he continually acted as though he regarded all who differed with him in this matter as so many conspirators for his ruin. The *Diary* of his grand-vicar, Dorsanne, shows that he accused as members of this imaginary cabal not only the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, but even the gentle Fénelon; and of course, since there was a question of conspiracy, those arch-intriguers, the Jesuits, must naturally have had their share in it. In a letter to the Pontiff he bitterly denounced the Jesuits for having entered into the fancied cabal; and he withdrew their faculties from nearly all those who were in his diocese.

By special request of Louis XIV., made through the cardinal de la Trémoille, his ambassador at Rome, Pope Clement XI. resolved to issue a formal Constitution on the *Moral Reflections*. In Feb., 1712, his Holiness appointed a special Congregation of five cardinals and eleven theologians to examine the work. Until the following August the Congregation met once every week; from that time until Aug., 1713, sessions were held twice a week; the Pontiff himself presided at nearly all the meetings. Finally, after more than

eighteen months of careful labor, the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* was issued. The Pontiff begins with the warning given to us by "The Only Son of God, to beware of false prophets, of those who come to us in sheep's clothing; and here He designates principally those masters of the art of lying, those seducers who are full of artifice, who exhibit in their discourses an appearance of most solid piety only that they may imperceptibly propagate their teachings, and thus establish sects which will lead men to perdition. . . . They clothe themselves, so to speak, with the maxims of the Divine Law, with the precepts of the Holy Scriptures, whose expressions they interpret maliciously. . . . True sons of the ancient father of lies, they have learned from his example and teaching that there is no surer way of deceiving souls, and of inculcating the most pestiferous errors, than by cloaking those errors with the authority of the word of God. . . . Penetrated by these instructions, no sooner had we learned, to our great sorrow, that a certain book, printed in the French language some time previously with the title *The New Testament in French, with Moral Reflections on Each Verse, etc.*" (Paris, 1699); and still earlier with the title *Abridgment of the Morality of the Gospel, of the Acts of the Apostles, of the Epistles of St. Paul, of the Canonical Epistles, and of the Apocalypse; or Christian Thoughts on the Text of These Sacred Books* (Paris, 1693 and 1694); that this book, although we had already condemned it as confounding Catholic truths with many false and dangerous teachings, was considered by many to be free from all error . . . than we resolved to adopt efficacious means to arrest the growing evil. . . . When he first opens this book, the reader is attracted by its odor of piety; the words are as smooth as oil; and nevertheless they are so many arrows ready to leave the bow in order to cleave the simple heart." The Pontiff cites one hundred and one condemnable propositions, and thus pronounces in regard to them: "We condemn each and all of these propositions as respectively false, captious, evil-sounding, offensive to pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the Church and her usages, extravagant for secular powers as well as for the Church, seditious, impious, blasphemous, suspected and red-

olent of heresy, favorable to heresy and to schism, erroneous, bordering on heresy and often condemned, heretical and revivers of various heresies—especially those which are contained in the famous propositions of Jansenius, according to the self-same sense in which they were condemned.” It is not necessary for us to enumerate all of the condemned Quesnelian propositions; they may be reduced to the three following headings. I. The foundation of both Baianism and Jansenism, as we have shown when treating of the latter heresy, was the false principle that in the state of fallen nature the free will of man sins necessarily, if *dominant* grace is wanting to him; since, as Baius and Jansenius held, the will of man necessarily obeys either concupiscence or grace, according to their relative power over him. The first thirty-three propositions of Quesnel are nearly all consequences of this fatal principle. “What remains,” he asks in his first proposition, “for a soul that has lost God and grace, unless sin and its consequences, a haughty poverty and a lazy indigence, that is, a general powerlessness for labor, for prayer, and for every good work?” The following propositions determine the sense in which Quesnel used these specious words. He indicates the Jansenistic idea of an impossibility of obeying certain commandments when he exclaims: “What a difference there is, my God, between the Jewish and the Christian Alliance! Both have for conditions a renunciation of sin and the fulfilment of Thy law; but in the former Thou demandest them from the sinner, while leaving him in his impotence, whereas in the latter Thou givest to him what Thou commandest, purifying him by Thy grace” (*Prop. VI. and VII.*) “We belong to the New Alliance only inasmuch as we share in that new grace which works in us what God has enjoined” (*Prop. 8.*) The saying of Jansenius that “interior grace is never resisted” is thus expressed by Quesnel: “Grace is an operation of the omnipotent hand of God which nothing can impede or retard” (*Prop. 10.*) The third proposition of Jansenius, “in order that free will may merit in our present state, it is not necessary that it be free from necessity,” is advanced by Quesnel when he asserts: “The accord of the omnipotent operation of God with the

free consent of His will is shown to us at first in the Incarnation, as in the source and model of all the other operations of grace, always just as gratuitous and independent as that original operation" (*Prop. XXII.*) The fifth proposition of Jansenius is repeated by Quesnel when he declares: "Jesus Christ gave Himself to death that His blood might deliver the eldest, that is, the elect, from the hand of the exterminating angel" (*Prop. XXXII.*) II. Some of the errors of Quesnel were reproductions of those advanced by Baius. Thus, when speaking of the state of nature before the fall, he contended that "in Adam grace produced only human merits; the said grace was a consequence of creation, and was due to a healthy and uncorrupted nature" (*Prop. XXXIV.*) In the state of fallen nature, Quesnel held that man "was free only for evil, without the grace of the Redeemer" (*Prop. XXXVIII.*) Just as Baius had insisted, so Quesnel affirmed: "There are only two loves from which proceed all that we wish and perform: the love of God, which does everything for God, and which God rewards; the love of ourselves and of the world, which does not refer to God what ought to be referred to Him, and which is therefore evil" (*Prop. XLIV.*) "When the love of God does not reign in the heart of man, carnal concupiscence must necessarily reign there, and corrupt all his actions" (*Prop. XLV.*) In reference to the state of restored nature, Quesnel agreed with Baius that there "charity alone performs Christian actions in a Christian manner" (*Prop. LIII.*) And he taught that "he who abstains from evil only because of fear of punishment, commits the sin in his heart, and is culpable before God" (*Prop. LXII.*) He also held that "God never afflicts the innocent; every suffering is intended to punish or to purify the sinner" (*Prop. LXX.*) III. In regard to the Church, her rights and her laws, Quesnel renewed many of the errors of Luther, Calvin, d'Osman, and Richer. Just as Luther and Calvin considered the Church as a society of the elect, so Quesnel assigned among the marks of the Christian Church: "Catholicity, inasmuch as she includes all the angels of heaven, all the elect, and all the just on earth" (*Prop. LXXII.*) The Protestant notion of the necessity of hermeneutical science

on the part of every Christian is thus accepted by Quesnel : "It is useful and necessary in every place and at all times, and for all persons, to study and know the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, their piety, and their mysteries" (*Prop.* LXXIX.) The rigidism of Jansenism found a fitting exponent in Quesnel, when he contended that satisfaction should precede absolution. "It is wise and charitable to allow souls to remain for a time in the state of sin, and to feel its miseries, as well as to beg for the spirit of penance and contrition, and to at least begin to satisfy the justice of God, before they are reconciled to Him" (*Prop.* LXXXVII.) As though Quesnel anticipated his condemnation, he adopted the capital error of Edmond Richer (1) when he asserted : "The Church has the power of excommunication, and can use it through her chief pastors with the consent, at least presumed, of the entire body" (*Prop.* XC.) And with an eye on the situation of the Jansenists, he proclaimed : "The fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to prevent our doing our duty. One does not leave the Church, if he is attached by charity to God, to Jesus Christ, and to the Church herself, even if he seems to have been expelled by the wickedness of men" (*Prop.* XCI.) He consoles his partisans with this assurance : "Persecution as a heretic and an impious person is ordinarily the last and most meritorious trial, and it renders one more like unto Jesus Christ" (*Prop.* XCVIII.) He shows his contempt for the Formulas which the French Clergy were required to sign as a token of their submission to the anti-Jansenist decrees of the Holy See : "Nothing is more opposed to the spirit of God and to the doctrines of Jesus Christ, than the making of oaths common in the Church" (*Prop.* CI.)

Immediately after the arrival of the Bull *Unigenitus* in Paris, the king ordered a convocation of the French bishops,

(1) This celebrated professor in the Sorbonne, born in 1560 at Chource in the diocese of Langres, first attained notoriety by a thesis in which he defended Clement, the assassin of Henry III. A warm friend of Paolo Sarpi, he supported that enigmatic friar's attacks on Pope Paul V., by composing an apology for Gerson. He was an ultra Gallican, and a virulent foe of the Jesuits. His principal work, *Ecclesiastical and Political Power*, attempts to discover the fulness of ecclesiastical sovereignty in the body of the faithful, joined with their pastors. He advocates the right of appeal from the ecclesiastical to the civil power. Shortly before his death in 1631, there appeared a retraction of these views ; but it is by no means certain that Richer gave it voluntarily.

that it might be formally accepted. On Sept. 28, 1713, Cardinal de Noailles had issued a pastoral condemning the *Reflections*; but when twenty-nine of the bishops obeyed the royal summons (Oct. 16), he pronounced a discourse in which he tried to justify his approbation of 1695. On Oct. 21, six prelates were appointed to frame a report on the papal Constitution; and while they were thus engaged, Quesnel deluged the assembly with memorials in his favor. Only a year previously he had declared: "I submit most sincerely to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church not only my *Reflections on the New Testament*, but also all the explanations which I have written concerning the book." He had then proclaimed himself "a most obedient son of the Apostolic Roman Church until he would draw his last breath"; but now he told the bishops that the papal Constitution "struck at the very roots of the faith; that with one blow it destroyed a hundred and one truths; and that to accept it would be to realize the prophecy of Daniel when he said that many of the strong fell like the stars from heaven." On Jan. 15, 1714, the commission appointed by the Assembly reported in favor of the preparation of a Pastoral Instruction in which all the bishops of France would declare that they received the Constitution *Unigenitus* with filial respect, condemning whatever the Pontiff had condemned in it. When the votes were taken, forty bishops were found to agree with the report; but nine declared that they would announce their opinion when the Instruction appeared. The document was issued, signed by forty of the prelates, on Feb. 1; Cardinal de Noailles, in the name of the eight other abstainers, declared that they intended to ask the Pope for some explanations of the Constitution. We need not give the details of this Instruction, since it was, in the main, a paraphrase of the papal Bull; but attention may be directed to the reply given by the prelates to the Quesnellian assertion that "fear of an unjust excommunication should not prevent us from doing our duty." The bishops did not deny that this proposition was exceedingly specious. "If the injustice of the excommunication is evident; if the duty is a real duty; then the proposition includes a truth to which we cannot refuse assent. But if the

excommunication is unjust only in the mind of him who is its object ; if the duty is a false duty ; if the sufferer is at all doubtful as to the injustice of the sentence, and as to the reality of his supposed duty ; then the proposition is false, and so much the more dangerous because it is advanced under the guise of truth. This proposition, true in one case and false in the other, is at least captious, and favorable to the partisans of Jansenius. The circumstances of the time and of the errors which now afflict the Church, the nature of the *Reflections*, and the situation of the author, seem to demand that he should explain himself clearly and without ambiguity when treating such delicate matters ; and an evil meaning is naturally ascribed to him, when the correct views are not plainly manifested. To be convinced of this, we need only read the writings which have been circulated for nearly sixty years, ever since signatures to the Formulary were first required. And some of these *Moral Reflections* are sufficiently clear. They teach that ‘an unjust excommunication ought not prevent one from doing his duty.’ And at the same time they decide that a refusal to sign the Formula is a real duty ; and that the excommunication entailed by a refusal to sign is unjust. Behold therefore, dear brethren, the reasons which have impelled the Supreme Pontiff to condemn this proposition.” Finally the Instruction declares that the authors of the condemned proposition, when advancing it, “had wished to reassure those who, through fear of censure, might be led to submit to the Constitutions against Jansenism which had been issued by Popes Innocent X. and Alexander VII.”

On March 5 the Sorbonne registered the Constitution *Unigenitus*, despite the fact that on Feb. 25, Cardinal de Noailles had ordered the members, under pain of suspension, to wait for his consent to such action. When the Pontiff heard of this order of the cardinal, he condemned it ; but it seems strange that his Eminence was not at least deprived of his red hat. At this period De Noailles seems to have complacently regarded himself as the head of a powerful school ; and certainly the many Quesnellists in the Faculty, who had been influenced solely by fear of the king when they joined the majority in receiving the Constitution, took good care to

encourage his rashness. His grand-vicar tells us that at this time the rector of the University, in a public discourse, pronounced the prelate "the sole defender of the truth, the man from whom the Church expected to receive the rule of faith" (1). After the death of Louis XIV., the Quesnellists in the Faculty became bold; and on Jan. 4, 1716, they succeeded in forcing through a resolution that the University had never really accepted the *Unigenitus*: that the registration of March 5, 1714, was supposititious, and should be erased; and that deprivation of his privileges should be the fate of every doctor who would dare to contravene the present decision. This audacity was promptly rebuked by many of the bishops by an interdiction of the Sorbonne to their subjects; but the raving doctors pronounced these prelates "scandalous and schismatical." In a Brief of Nov. 18, 1716, Clement XI. revoked all the privileges of the Faculty of Paris; but the parliament of Paris suppressed the Brief by its decree of Dec. 16. Such was the lamentable state of affairs in the Church of France when four bishops presumed to sign an act of appeal from the Constitution *Unigenitus* to the decision of a General Council. These prelates were Charles-Joachim Colbert, a nephew of the great minister of Louis XIV., and bishop of Montpellier; Jean Soanen, a nephew of the celebrated Jesuit, Sirmond, and bishop of Sénez; Pierre de Langle, bishop of Boulogne; and Pierre de la Broue, bishop of Mirepoix. On March 5, 1717, these four bishops appeared before the Faculty of Paris, and the bishop of Sénez read the act of appeal, declaring that "the Constitution *Unigenitus* attacked the foundations of the hierarchy, the rights of bishops, and the liberties of the kingdom; that it contradicted the proper rules of penance; that it overturned the firm bases of morality, and even the first of the commandments; that it tended not only to extinguish the sacred fire which Jesus Christ brought upon earth, but also to remove that divine light which the faithful of every age, sex, and condition derive from the Scriptures, the reading of which is enjoined on all; that it stigmatizes propositions which have been taught by Apostles,

(1) *Diary of Dorsanne*, December, 1714.

Fathers, Popes, etc." Then the appellants calmly insisted that "although they intended to say or even think nothing against the Roman Church, or against the authority of that Apostolic See to which they would remain irremovably attached as long as they lived," nevertheless, "because of their love of peace" they were constrained to revolt against the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom, and thereby sow the seeds of discord in the Church. "We appeal from the aforesaid Constitution to a future General Council, which will meet in a secure place, and to which we can proceed freely and in safety. . . . We also appeal against everything that has happened or may happen, because of the same Constitution. And since we fear that the said Holy Father the Pope may issue excommunications, depositions, suspensions, interdicts, etc., against us, our churches, our clergy, and our flocks, we also appeal by this act against every such sentence." The reading of the revolutionary document was followed by a discourse in which Ravechet, the syndic of the Faculty, declaimed against the "illicit" Briefs which the Holy See had recently issued against the Sorbonne; and then the one hundred and five doctors in attendance voted on the question of adhering to the appeal. Only eight opposed the enterprise. Three days afterward thirty-one of the "accepting" bishops memorialized the regent, complaining of the action of the Faculty; but the contagion had spread beyond the control of the prince (1). It is certain, however, that the appellants, even at this period of their greatest effervescence, were, comparatively speaking, a feeble minority. All the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Sulpicians; nearly all the Lazarists; and many minor organizations; besides the greater part of the secular clergy, remained faithful to the behests of the Holy See.

On April 3, Cardinal de Noailles caused his appeal to be recorded in the registers of his secretariate, although he did not give it to the public until Sept. 18, 1718; and shortly

(1) Racine, copying the *Diary* of Dorsanne in his *Abridgment* (Cent. xviii., lect. iv., art. 1), says that in Paris alone more than 700 ecclesiasties were appellants. He enumerates 40 canons; 80 Oratorians; 23 Fathers of the Christian Doctrine, headed by their provincial and three superiors of houses; the provost and the professors of the College d'Harcourt; 10 canons-regular of Sainte-Victor; 18 of Sainte-Geneviève; 17 of Navarre; 68 Benedictines of Saint-Maur; 34 Feuillants; and 22 Dominicans.

afterward the number of appellant bishops was augmented by the promise of adhesion, when the promised Pastoral of his Eminence would appear, given by sixteen others. At this time there were probably two thousand ecclesiastics in all France who proclaimed themselves appellants; but it must be remembered that this number is much larger than that of those whose consciences were, either fanciedly or really, involved in the appeal. The records of the time show that very many adhesions were procured by bribery and other means of seduction. Thus the archbishop of Rheims, De Mailly, assured the hierarchy of France, in an apposite letter, that to him "the infamous traffic in appeals was an evident fact" (1). It was precisely at this period of the controversy that Peter I. of Russia, who was then visiting *la belle France* in the interests of his country's civilization, made an inspection of the Sorbonne (June 17, 1717); and the reader will be surprised if he peruses the arguments with which the dons overwhelmed the head of the Orthodox Church of Russia as they explained to him the heinous guilt of schism. One is reminded of Scott's description of King James's appreciation of Prince Charles's discourse on the meanness of dissimulation, and of Buckingham's praise of the beauties of purity. Pope Clement XI. took no public notice of the excesses of the appellants until it became evident that if he delayed to exercise the power of the keys, men would suppose that those excesses were manifestations of legitimate zeal. On Aug. 28, 1718, he addressed to all the faithful in Christendom the Bull *Pastoralis Officii*, in which, after a narration of all his efforts to conciliate the appellant prelates, he said: "It is not without some admixture of malice that these men glory in agreeing with us 'in matters of dogma,' while at the same time, like heretics, they dare to resist our Constitution, forgetting the respect that is due to it, and malignantly distorting it, not only by false interpretations of its contents, but by evident calumnies. . . . No less culpable are they who pretend to not oppose the Constitution, but only to desire explanations on things which are perfectly clear to others,

(1) For interesting details on this matter, see the *Ecclesiastical History of Berault-Bercastel*, bk. xxxv.

thus seeking to lay snares rather than to be instructed. Therefore let all those, throughout the Church, who glory in being Catholics, know that we do not consider as children of the Roman Church those who refuse or who will refuse all due and entire obedience to our Constitution, no matter what be the dignity of those persons; and since they have first separated from us and from the Holy Roman Church, if not by words, at least by multifold signs of their obstinacy of heart, we regard them as entirely separated from us, from our charity, and from that of the Holy Roman Church. Consequently they shall have hereafter no ecclesiastical communion with us or with the Holy Roman Church." This excommunication excited Cardinal de Noailles to misplaced activity; and in the beginning of 1719 he issued the Instruction which he had promised in the previous year, and by which he indicated unalterable hostility to the papal Constitution. On Jan. 19 of this year the Faculty of Paris took a step which the appellants fondly contemplated as an assurance of their ultimate triumph. Hitherto the most determined of the Gallican opponents of papal infallibility had admitted the tenability of the proposition which they combated; they had never dreamed of affixing the note of heresy on a belief which was held by at least three-fourths of Christendom. But now the appellant Faculty of Caen having declared, in its notification of its appeal, that the opinion in favor of the papal infallibility was *erroneous*, the Sorbonne applauded the enterprise; and registered its own decision to the same effect. Another proceeding of the Faculty of Paris at this time, while not so scandalous as the one just mentioned, indicated that the quondam ultra-conservative body was ready to tolerate any innovation that was advocated by the schismatics whom it had taken under its wing. One of its doctors, Petitpiéd, after the development of the "Case of Conscience" had fled to Holland, and now he had returned to teach his countrymen the proper way of conducting ecclesiastical ceremonies, especially those of the Mass (1).

(1) Lafléau, bishop of Sisteron, who was an eye-witness of the aberrations of Petitpiéd, describes them in his *History of the Constitution "Unigenitus."* Mass was to be celebrated only on Sundays and holy days. At all other times, the altar was to be bare of ornaments, etc., just as after the Office of Holy Thursday. Just before the celebration of the

Once the innovations of this ultra Jansenist would have brought upon him the censures of the Faculty ; but now he was welcomed, and his olden rights were restored to him. However, the people received Petitpied with such manifestations of disgust, that the regent ordered him to leave Paris.

In 1720 Cardinal de Noailles began to exhibit signs of discontent with the part that he had been playing for so many years. Continually urged by the regent, who was guided in the matter by the Abbé Dubois, his olden tutor (1), the cardinal issued a Pastoral "for the publication and acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, according to the explanations approved by very many of the French bishops." Alluding to the Pastoral Instruction issued by the forty bishops of the Assembly of 1714, his Eminence insisted that his own explanations were the same as those given in that document, and he concluded : "We respectfully and submissively accept the Constitution *Unigenitus*, we renew our condemnation of the *Moral Reflections*, and we condemn both the said book and the one hundred and one propositions with the same respective qualifications which his Holiness pronounced—and all this according to the aforesaid explanations which were approved by a great many of the French

Sacrifice, only one linen cloth was to be spread on the altar ; and there were to be on it neither cross nor candles. The absence of the cross was to be supplied by the presence of one which would be borne before the celebrant, as he approached the sanctuary ; and this cross was to be the only one in the church. The people were to give the responses at the *Introito* in a loud voice. After the psalm, instead of ascending the steps, the celebrant was to seat himself at the Epistle side of the sanctuary, and there he was to recite the Collects, and intone the *Gloria* and the *Credo*. He was not to recite the words which the choir would sing ; neither was he to recite the Epistle and the Gospel, since their chanting by the subdeacon and deacon sufficed. The bread and wine for the Sacrifice, the offerings of the people, and the first fruits of the season, were then all brought together to the altar, and placed upon it. The deacon, as well as the priest, held the chalice ; and both said the Offertory aloud, since they represented the people. All the signs of the cross, which the Roman Missal orders to be made over the Sacred Species, were made also over the offerings on the altar. At the communion of the laity, none of the prayers prescribed by the Missal were used. On certain feasts, extravagant ceremonies were introduced. Thus, on Holy Thursday, a kind of female deacon recited the Gospel in the vernacular.

(1) The Jansenists never forgave Dubois for his opposition to the appellants ; hence the stories of his wickedness with which we are regaled in the *Secret Memoirs* of Duclos, and in the sprightly pages of Saint-Simon, works which are greedily accepted as authoritative by nearly all our modern purveyors of history. We are often asked to lament the vices of Cardinal Dubois ; and we seldom read that the great statesman entered the Sacred College only two years before his death, and that he had been in Holy Orders only one year at the time of his nomination. We give a brief sketch of this famous man. Guillaume Dubois, an apothecary's son, born in 1656 at Brives-la-Gaillarde, when yet a youth was employed by M. de Saint-Laurent, sub-governor of the young duke de Chartres (after-

bishops ; explanations which we here give as indicative of the real meaning of the Bull ; and which we have deemed necessary to join to it with the object of preventing interpretations which are both false and contrary to its veritable significance, and with the object of preventing attacks on the faith, any corruption of morals, or any violation of the liberty of the schools." It is evident from this language that the cardinal was not yet prepared to abandon the cause of the appellants ; but it is also evident that his zeal in that cause was now waning. In 1721 Innocent XIII. succeeded Clement XI. on the papal throne ; and immediately the appellants spread a report that he was favorably disposed toward them. Seven of their bishops even presumed to send a letter to his Holiness, in which the memory of his predecessor was outraged, and Innocent himself was asked whether he intended to approve "the strange decision" on Quesnel. The audacious seven declared that "Pagan Rome would not have tolerated"

water regent of France, to assist him in the education of that prince. When Saint-Laurent died, Dubois became the prince's chief preceptor. There is not one shadow of proof for the assertion that the debaucheries of the future regent may be ascribed to the opposite teachings of Dubois. But the influence of the preceptor over the mind of his pupil was undoubtedly great ; and when he succeeded in determining the young prince to espouse Mlle. de Blois, the legitimated daughter of Louis XIV. by La Vallière, the gratitude of the king started him on the road to preferment. Although merely tonsured, he received several rich commendatary abbeys. He accompanied his pupil in many military campaigns, and was often charged with important negotiations. They who believe that the licentiousness of Dubois was notorious, should read the letter which Fénelon wrote in 1711, when the Abbé was in the fulness of his manly vigor, to Mad. Roujaud, recommending to her consideration "the Abbé Dubois, formerly preceptor of the duke d'Orleans, and my friend for very many years ; to whom any favor that you may extend I shall regard as shown to myself" ; and saying that if the lady knew Dubois well, "she would not need the recommendation" of Fénelon to make her esteem him. Dubois may have been secretly vicious ; but Fénelon was not the man to so recommend a notorious *roué*. When the duke d'Orleans became regent, he entrusted him with negotiations which culminated in the triple alliance of France, England, and Holland, in 1717 ; and in 1718 Dubois arranged the general pacification of Europe. The talents which Dubois displayed in his career as statesman were extraordinary. Sevellinges, who edited the *Secret Memoirs* of Dubois, and who is not too partial to him, says : "He had to triumph over very many political obstacles. In order to succeed, he required not only subtlety, but a profound knowledge of the condition of Europe, a powerful logic, and an exquisite tact for discerning the point at which he should stop. All of these Dubois possessed in an eminent degree. His manuscript correspondence for the conclusion of the triple alliance places him among the diplomats who have put their names to treaties which influenced an entire political system. The almost unhopd-for success of so important a negotiation caused the prince to confide the ministry of foreign affairs to his favorite." From this date Dubois played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical affairs of France ; and he acquired the hatred of the Jansenists. Dorsanne reproves him for always counselling obedience to the Pope, for opposing Cardinal de Noailles, and for having intimate relations with the Jesuits. Racine repeats the charges. In 1719 he joined Massillon, then bishop of Clermont, and the Oratorian La Tour, in that effort of conciliation which produced the declaration of 1720. No wonder that from that day the Jansenists discharged their

that judgment; that the Pontiff simply laid the communication before the Holy Office, and on Jan. 8, 1722, that tribunal condemned it as "schismatical in its entirety, and redolent of the spirit of heresy." Shortly after Pope Benedict XIII. ascended the papal throne (1724), he informed Cardinal de Noailles that the Holy See was not content with the Instruction of 1720, wherein the prelate had announced a qualified acceptance of the *Unigenitus*: that it was imperatively necessary for him to accept the Constitution *purely and simply*, and to retract his Instruction of 1719, wherein he had detailed the reasons for his opposition. The cardinal replied with a request for the formal approbation of "twelve articles" purporting to contain the pure doctrine of Sts. Augustine and Thomas, but some of which were couched in obscure terms, and could be easily interpreted by the insincere as favorable to Jansenism. The Quesnellists now feigned to

bile upon him. In 1720, probably at the solicitation of George I. of England, Dubois was appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai; and only then did he receive Holy Orders. Ardent Quesnellist as De Noailles was at that time, he refused to ordain Dubois; and he even refused permission for any other bishop to ordain him in Paris. The future archbishop was therefore raised to the priesthood by De Tressan, bishop of Nantes, in the village of Chanteloup. Duclos, Lacroix, and many other authors assert that by virtue of a Papal Brief all the Orders were conferred on Dubois in one morning; but the Jansenist Dorsanne, who was then vicar-general of Paris, and whose *Diary* notes every ecclesiastical event of importance, tells us that Dubois received the Minor Orders and the sub-diaconate on Feb. 24, 1720, the diaconate on the 25th, and the priesthood on March 4. He received episcopal consecration in the church of Val-de-Grace, in the presence of the regent, the entire court, and the foreign ambassadors. The consecrator was Cardinal de Rohan, bishop of Strasbourg and grand-almoner of the king; and the assistant-consecrators were De Tressan of Nantes and Massillon of Clermont. Can we believe that Massillon, who, even according to Duclos, was a man of extraordinary virtue and of apostolic zeal, would have profaned his ministry by countenancing the consecration of one whom Duclos and his imitators represent as a notorious debauchee? A year afterward the regent begged Pope Innocent XIII. to enroll Dubois in the Sacred College; and the request was endorsed by the German emperor and other sovereigns. Not a particle of proof has ever been adduced in favor of the tale which describes Cardinal Conti (the future Innocent XIII.) as promising, in the Conclave of 1721, to make Dubois a cardinal if France would work for his own election to the Papacy. When Dubois entered the Council of the Regency in 1723, he made many powerful enemies among the aristocracy; for by virtue of his cardinalate the apothecary's son ranked next to the princes of the blood-royal. This was his great offence in the eyes of Saint-Simon, "the great disdained" of Louis XIV., who was, said Duclos, "a duke, even unto fanaticism." We do not pretend to rehabilitate the memory of Dubois. He may have been a minister worthy of Philippe d'Orleans. But when we hear the atheists of the eighteenth century, those connoisseurs in matters of sacrilege, lamenting his sacrilegious consecration; when we note that his bitterest foes were the Jansenists whom he offended by supporting the Bull *Unigenitus*, and the Protestants who hated him because he prevented Philippe d'Orleans from restoring the Edict of Nantes; then we hesitate to believe that he was entirely the insolent reprobate, the Figaro of the Regency, whom most historians, so often deceiving and so often deceived, exhibit for our contempt.

believe that the Pontiff was about to issue a Doctrinal Brief pronouncing the "twelve articles" orthodox; and during the excitement caused by this report appeared the "Letter of the Three Powers," as it was afterward termed—a letter written conjointly to the Pontiff by Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissy, and by the celebrated Fleury, then bishop of Fréjus, who became a cardinal a year afterward, and who was prime-minister of France for many years. This letter is given by both Lafiteau and Racine; and it is valuable for the light it sheds on the question we are treating, and for its presentation of the reasons which prevented the Holy See from acquiescing in the qualified acceptance of the *Unigenitus* by De Noailles. The prelates begin by praising the efforts of Benedict XIII. "to bring back to the apostolic bosom his Eminence, Cardinal de Noailles," and then continue: "Undoubtedly you do not hide what is wanting in his obedience; but neither do you reprove severely his delays, and the precautions which he would take. . . . We have paid no attention to the recent rumors to the effect that your Holiness is too indulgent, and that you are led by an excessive love of peace to hearken to the opinions of certain persons which do not sufficiently provide for the security of the Church. . . . Engraved in our hearts are the golden words which your Holiness once pronounced concerning this affair: 'The essential for the Church is conquest, not triumph.' The faith, authority, and unity of the Church would be imperilled if she were to adopt the plan for peace which is now being urged. It is said that this plan includes three things; firstly, a new form of acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*: secondly, a declaration by Cardinal de Noailles on his Pastoral Instruction of 1719; and thirdly, a Brief to be addressed to the Dominicans, containing a new explanation of the Bull *Unigenitus*. Permit us, Holy Father, to express our thoughts on this project. I. As to the first article, it would certainly appear strange if new deliberations as to its manner of acceptance should be held in regard to a Constitution already received everywhere. . . . It is very important that nothing be admitted in the formula of acceptance which restless men may abuse, either in order to escape obedience

by deceptive clauses, or in order to weaken by malign interpretations that authority of the Church which resides in an unanimous episcopate. II. In regard to the declaration which Cardinal de Noailles ought to make in regard to his Pastoral Instruction of 1719, let nothing which we are about to say, Holy Father, be interpreted as indicative of any desire, on our part, to limit the goodness of your heart. You know, Most Holy Father, how baneful that Instruction may be in the matter of Catholic dogma and of ecclesiastical authority. Would your Holiness consider it a sufficient reparation if the cardinal were to merely declare that *if anything in that Instruction had displeased the Holy Apostolic See, it was against his will and sentiments that such a thing had happened, and that he now wished that there should be no more talk about the Instruction than if it had never been issued?*" The cardinal says, *'if anything had displeased.'* Can we have the slightest doubt that very many things in the Instruction have displeased the Apostolic See? If he still doubts, let him read again and attentively that work which escaped him in the midst of trouble, and when he was not sufficiently master of himself; let him weigh all its consequences; and then he will accord more than we demand. He would regard *as not having happened* a thing which has inflicted so much damage on the Church. . . . That document will go down to posterity; and attended by many more dangers, if the Supreme Pontiff agrees that it be not retracted by him under whose name it was promulgated. . . . III. The third point is of even greater importance; namely, the Pontifical Brief which your Holiness is supposed to be about to address to the Dominicans, and in which you would approve, it is said, the 'twelve articles' or at least certain other propositions, as unexceptionable and embodying laudable sentiments. . . . When these 'twelve articles' were made known in France, and when rumor represented that an Apostolic declaration concerning them was about to be requested, there was so much excitement that it required royal authority to calm it. If instead of these 'twelve articles' there be substituted other propositions on the same subjects, it is evident that the same inconveniences will be experienced. . . . Let it not

be said that a *pure and simple* acceptance may be dangerous. Nothing is safer than to think and talk like Peter and the Apostles; and we are witnesses to the fact that since the publication of the Bull, no change in Catholic doctrine, no movement contrary to the faith and to the holiness of the Gospel, has been effected under its shadow. Therefore let there be no more importunate demands for new explanations; let filial confidence triumph over vain terrors."

The *Diary* of his vicar-general tells us that Cardinal de Noailles and most of his counsellors arrived at the conclusion, in Jan., 1727, that a full submission to the Holy See was necessary; but not until May did he gather sufficient courage to announce publicly that his opposition to the *Unigenitus* was at length a thing of the past. On July 19, he wrote to the Pope, saying that his age warned him to bow to the decisions of the Holy See, and therefore to receive the Constitution of Clement XI. without reservation. On Oct. 11, he announced his retraction to his diocesans in these terms: "According as we approach that night when no one labors any longer, we feel an increase of the continuous grief which afflicts our heart because of the sad dissensions in our diocese on account of the Constitution *Unigenitus*. For what can be more bitter than to perceive that suspicions are ever arising concerning the sincerity of our respect for the Holy See; that there is doubt as to our union with our brethren of the episcopate; and that, against our intentions and even our character, our name is made one of faction and of discussion? Now in order to close the mouths of those who spread reports so contrary to the truth, we earnestly wish to manifest the sentiments which are engraved in our heart; and if we have deferred that manifestation until now, it has been through a desire to influence minds by a charity which is full of condescension. But this circumspection can endure no longer; for our age warns us every day, by the weakening of our strength, that soon we must render to God an account of our long and laborious episcopate, and we fear lest we be surprised by death before we shall have given serious and incontestable proof of our obedience to the decrees of the Holy See, and of the conformity of our sentiments with

those of the bishops of France and of the entire Church concerning the acceptance of the Bull *Unigenitus*. . . . Therefore we receive the Constitution *Unigenitus* with most sincere submission ; we condemn both the book *Moral Reflections* and the one hundred and one propositions extracted from it, with the qualifications given by the Pope who condemned them ; we warn the faithful of our diocese that they cannot harbor sentiments contrary to those defined by the said Constitution ; we prohibit the reading or the possession of the said book and of all writings which have appeared or may appear in defense of the said book or propositions ; and we declare that we will proceed by way of law against all who may dare to speak, teach, preach, or write against the said Constitution, or who by false interpretations of it may turn the faithful from the submission which they owe to it. And in order to give still further proof of our sincere submission to the Holy See, we revoke with heart and soul both our Instruction of Jan. 14, 1719, and all that has ever been published in our name in opposition to the sense of our present acceptance." Cardinal de Noailles died on May 3, 1729. Probably, as Lafiteau said, "his greatest misfortune was to have too easily listened to false friends, and to have too easily listened to himself. His resistance did much harm to the Church, and his submission was too tardy to effect much good." By his retraction the cause of the appellants received a mortal blow ; but his persistence in opposition to the Constitution *Unigenitus* had given renewed vigor to Jansenism when it was in a dying condition. When he died, there were, besides the bishop of Sénez who had been suspended by the Council of Embrun in 1727, only three appellant bishops in France : Colbert of Montpellier, Caylus of Auxerre, and Bossuet (a nephew of the great Bossuet) of Troyes. It is certainly strange that so obviously weak a cause could have found adherents among men who were incontestably learned and pious. Perhaps Picot solved the problem when he discerned the chief reason for the audacity of the appellants in their secret rivalry with those whom they termed Molinists, whose triumph the Constitution *Unigenitus* seemed to assure (1).

(1) *Ubi Supra*, vol. ii., p. 17.

And many of the appellants were secretly attached to the rigidism of the Jansenists; and they feared that laxism would rule through the condemnation of doctrines which appeared to inculcate only faith, charity, and penance. These zealots seem not to have perceived that the condemned propositions, in the sense attributed to them by Quesnel, were both extravagant and heretical; and that, as St. Augustine observed in the case of the Pelagians, "those very sayings which had been pronounced with truth and in a very Catholic sense; yea, which had been written with truth in the Scriptures; were no longer spoken Catholicly, since the intention of the speaker did not reside in a Catholic heart" (1).

We have seen how the Faculty of Paris allowed itself to be seduced by the Jansenists so far as to withdraw its adhesion to the Bull *Unigenitus*, or rather, in spite of the evidence of facts and of hundreds of witnesses, to declare that it had never recognized the Bull. However, fourteen years afterward, it repaired the scandal by accepting the *Unigenitus* without restriction, and by expelling from its ranks forty-eight appellant doctors. This meed of praise cannot be awarded to the parliament of Paris, which had imitated the crime of the Faculty. It never admitted its guilt; and as late as 1755 it ordered all ecclesiastics, even the highest, to observe a "respectful silence" in regard to the Bull. Naturally the bar imitated the parliament; and in 1730 all France was astonished by a consultation, signed by forty members of the Parisian bar, proclaiming principles which deprived the Church of all jurisdiction. Under Louis XIV., the parliament had perforce contented itself with its original prerogative, that of administering justice, without any attempt at interference in executive matters; from the beginning of his reign the grand monarch had made it understand that he was the king of France, when he forced it to register an edict forbidding it to ever deliberate on the government of the state or on finances. But when Philippe d'Orleans became regent for the child-king, Louis XV., the

(1) "*Quæ cum veritate et catholicæ dicta sunt, imo quæ in divinis literis cum veritate dicta sunt, non ab istis catholicæ dicta sunt, quia non intentioni catholici pectoris dicta sunt.*"—*On Nuptials and Concupiscence*, Ch. IV.

parliament of Paris resumed its usurpations. On April 25, 1733, and on Feb. 18, 1735, it presumed to decide that pontifical anti-Jansenistic decrees, especially the Constitution *Unigenitus*, were not to be regarded as rules of faith; that a "respectful silence" in their regard was all that they merited. The parliamentary theologians assigned as reasons for their decree the alleged facts that "those Bulls had not been received in the kingdom; that they had not been confirmed by royal letters-patent; and that neither their nature, nor any decision of the Church, invested them with the character of rules of faith." Any tyro in theological science could have told the parliamentary popes that the registration of pontifical decrees under royal letters-patent was a modern invention, having been first introduced by Louis XIV., in 1695 in the case of the Bull of Alexander VII., regarding the Formula; and that the grand monarch had not intended to convey the idea that his intervention gave any authority to the dogmatic decisions of the Holy See. The sole object of Louis XIV. had been to mark those decrees as laws of the state. So true was this intention of the king to merely cause more respect to be paid to the papal pronouncements, that when afterward the parliaments essayed to effect measures similar to those we are now discussing, his Majesty quashed the proceedings of their amateur theologism. We need say nothing concerning the parliamentary assumption that the deputies were competent to legislate in regard to purely spiritual matters; or concerning the implication that the Church is the Pope's superior. When the parliament tried to place itself in the place of the proper spiritual authority, it threatened to subject the Church of France to the civil power; in other words, to make it a national and schismatic Church, like that of Russia or that of Constantinople. When the parliament said that "neither their nature, *nor any decision of the Church*, had invested the papal decrees with the character of rules of faith," it implied that Peter was thereafter to be the confirmed, not the confirmer. Such pretensions naturally led to troubles in the world of practice. The Church necessarily regarded as rebels to her divinely-given authority all those who refused obedience, in fact and

in heart, to the Constitution *Unigenitus* : and therefore she could not administer the Sacraments to such persons. We mention only two of the many cases of parliamentary persecution visited on faithful ecclesiastics. In 1733, the pastor of Saint-Médard refused the Last Sacraments to an appellant who was contemning the *Unigenitus* with his dying breath. The same pastor acted in the same manner toward a principal of a college, and toward two nuns of Paris ; all three being obstinate and blatant Jansenists. In 1755 a canon of Orléans, a notorious appellant, asked for the rites of the Church ; but having insisted that the Bull was " the work of the devil," when he was told to submit to the Holy See, the request was refused. The parliament declared that these were cases for what was technically termed an *appel comme d'abus* (1). The pastor of Saint-Médard was subjected to civil process ; Mgr. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, who had sustained him, suffered sequestration of his revenues ; the bishop of Orléans was exiled ; and the Chapter of Orléans was fined 12,000 livres. To the credit of Louis XV. be it recorded that by a decree of May 1, 1733, he annulled the parliamentary decision in the matter of Saint-Médard, telling its framers that " the High Court ought to realize its incompetence in such matters " ; and on April 4, 1755, he annulled the proceedings against the bishop of Orléans, declaring that " the parliament had misinterpreted the views and intentions of the king."

The reader may form some idea of the afflictions entailed by the appellants on the Church of France almost to the time of the Revolution, if he reflects on the fact that the bishops were not all of the same opinion as to the manner of treating

(1) Gallican legists always contended that these appeals were known in the days immediately succeeding the triumph of the Church under Constantine. But down to the fifteenth century there is no instance of appeals like those of the eighteenth ; although in the fourteenth, when a reaction against the Church had already commenced, there was a disposition—not yet sanctioned by law—to reduce the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Only in the sixteenth century was the *appel comme d'abus* sanctioned by the civil law ; and only in the eighteenth did it become iniquitous. In 1419 we find the royal advocate, Barbu, laying down as a maxim that one can appeal *comme d'abus* from the ecclesiastical to the secular courts ; but the first edict in the matter was that of Villers-Cotterets, issued by Francis I. in Aug., 1539. Then came regulations as to the cases, forms, and effects of the appeal, made by Charles IX. on April 16, 1571 ; by the Ordonnance of Blois in 1579 ; by the Edict of Melun in 1590 ; by Henry IV. in Dec., 1606 ; by Lx. XIII. in Dec., 1610 ; and by Louis XIV. in March, 1696 and in April, 1695.

them. Some prelates refused to communicate with them *in divinis*. Thus, Condorcet, who had succeeded Caylus in the see of Auxerre, and had found his Chapter strongly appellant, passed many years without officiating in his cathedral, even at Easter. Not even the necessity of consecrating the Holy Oils could induce him to enter a church where he would perforce have communicated *in divinis* with his rebellious canons; he caused the Holy Oils to be brought from some other diocese (1). In some dioceses the appellants were left to their own consciences, and to the judgment of their confessors; in others, and especially at the hour of death, an explicit submission to the *Unigenitus* was required. Finally, the bishops laid their difficulties before Pope Benedict XIV.; and on Oct. 16, 1756, he replied in a Brief from which we take the following passages. "The Constitution *Unigenitus* is of such authority in the Church, and demands so much respect and obedience, that no one of the faithful can withhold his submission to it, or oppose it in any manner, without peril to his salvation. Hence it follows, in reply to the question that has been raised, that there can be no hesitation in declaring that the Viaticum must be refused to all who are publicly and notoriously rebellious to the said Constitution. . . . Those must be regarded as publicly and notoriously rebellious, who have been so pronounced by sentence of a competent judge on account of their obstinate refusal to accord the respect due to that Constitution; also those who judicially avowed themselves as such; also those who, at the very time of the administration (of the Sacraments), spontaneously avow their disobedience and obstinacy; and also those who are known to have committed, during their previous lives, some act which was manifestly opposed to the obedience due to the Bull, and to have persevered in the same spirit—if, that is, the knowledge of this fact be so extensive, that the resultant public scandal has not ceased. *In these last cases, there is the same moral certitude as there is in regard to those whom the judge has sentenced. . . . Since it sometimes happens that some priests, otherwise commendable for zeal and piety, become embarrassed when they*

(1) *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1755, cited by Picot, vol. iii., p. 278.

are called (in the cases under discussion) to administer the Holy Viaticum, we give a rule which they may follow in practice. Firstly, let the officiating priest discover whether he who demands the Holy Viaticum received Communion from his own pastor when he approached the Holy Table, especially at Easter. For if Communion has not hitherto been refused to him, there is a proof that he has not been considered a notorious sinner; and consequently the Holy Viaticum cannot be refused to him publicly, unless he has committed some act which would stamp him as a notorious rebel since the time of his last Communion. But if there are still strong presumptions against the sick man, or if any serious indications reasonably prevent the minister of the Sacraments from casting aside his scruples, then he must confer with the patient without witnesses. Let the confessor now speak to the sick man with all possible gentleness, conjuring him to enter into himself while there is still time; showing him that he will not be secure before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, if he eats and drinks judgment unto himself; warning him, in fine, that the Viaticum is about to be given to him merely out of obedience to the Church, who, seeking in general to avert public scandals, wishes especially to save the honor of a sick man, when she believes him to be a sinner before God, although she may not recognize him as a notorious sinner before her own tribunal." Moderate as was the tone of this Brief, the appellants resented its refusal of the Sacraments in certain cases, and France was again deluged with their incendiary pamphlets. The parliament of Rouen ordered the suppression of the Brief as "contrary to the liberties of the French Church and to the laws of the kingdom, and tending to disturb public tranquillity, and to break the silence ("respectful") enjoined in the Declaration of 1754." But the Brief continued to be the guide of the clergy in their treatment of dying appellants. For many years the parliaments continued their war on the *Unigenitus*, until their energies found a more practical vent in the equally philosophistic Jesuit-baiting which was to terminate in the temporary suppression of the Society.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROJECTS FOR A RECONCILIATION OF THE GERMAN LUTHERANS WITH
THE HOLY SEE. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BOSSUET
AND LEIBNITZ.

Before we approach the subject of this dissertation, it may be well for the reader to cast a glance on the ecclesiastical condition of Germany at the close of the eighteenth century. At this time the empire, properly so called, was divided into nine Circles. The three Circles of the North were Westphalia, Upper Saxony, and Lower Saxony; the three of the Centre were those of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and Franconia; and the three of the South were Suabia, Bavaria, and Austria (1). In Westphalia, although Protestantism was generally dominant, there still subsisted several ecclesiastical sovereignties, the principal ones being the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Osnabruck—the last being always occupied, according to the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia, by a Catholic and a Protestant in rotation (2). In most of the states of the Circle of Lower Saxony, such as Holstein, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Brunswick, etc., Protestantism prevailed, the sole ecclesiastical sovereignty being that of the bishop of Hildesheim, the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the bishopric of Halberstadt having been ceded to the elector of Brandenburg, the archbishopric of Bremen having been giving to Sweden, and the bishopric of Lubeck having been turned over to a Lutheran (3). There remained a large number of Catholics in this Circle of Lower Saxony; and in 1692, when the emperor Leopold gave the title of elector to Ernest-Augustus of Bruns-

(1) Formerly a tenth Circle, that of Burgundy, had been counted, since the Holy Roman Emperors of the House of Austria had succeeded to the possessions of the dukes of Burgundy, the Low Countries included, and had tried to incorporate them in the empire, so that the other states might have an interest in helping Austria to retain them. In reality, however, those provinces never belonged to the empire.

(2) When a Protestant was in possession, the diocese was administered by the archbishop of Cologne.

(3) This Protestant "prince-bishop" governed his Catholic diocesans through a Catholic grand-vicar.

wick as duke of Hanover (1), he insisted on the cession of a church in Hanover to the Catholics, and on permission for a vicar-apostolic to reside in the duchy. In the Circle of Upper Saxony, Protestantism dominated in the states of the elector of Saxony, as well as in the possessions of the elector of Brandenburg. The states of the elector of Brandenburg reached far beyond the limits of the empire, extending along the Baltic, and forming that territory which was termed Prussia, and which until 1660 had been vassal to Poland (2). In 1700 the elector of Brandenburg, Frederick III., obtained from the emperor Leopold the title of king of Prussia, as a reward for his abandonment of the cause of France in the recent wars. Just as he had protested in the case of the newly-made elector of Hanover, so now Pope Clement XI. protested against this sanction, on the part of a Holy Roman Emperor, of the usurpation of the electors of Brandenburg to the detriment of the Teutonic Order. The newly-made king, like all of his family, was a Calvinist, while most of his subjects were Lutherans. However, there were many Catholics in Berlin; and after a few years of hesitancy Fred-

(1) For several years this elevation was kept a secret; but when Pope Clement XI. learned that it had been effected, he protested vigorously against an act which ignored the rights of the Holy See in the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, and which was a sacrifice of the interests of religion to temporal policy. POLIDORI: *Life and Deeds of Clement XI.*, bk. iv., p. 10. In 1693, Leibnitz seemed to foresee the French conquests of a hundred years after, when he thus wrote concerning the elevation of the duke of Hanover: "It is quite natural to think of creating a ninth electorate. The ancient ones are in danger; and now they are not, as of old, in the middle of the empire, but at its extremity. I must whisper in your ear that I fear we shall be obliged to create several more electorates in order to prevent France, now becoming every day more powerful along the Rhine, from dominating in the electoral college. If you wish me to express more clearly what I fear, it is that France may subject to herself the entire Rhine country, and thus having cut off one-half of the electors, and destroyed the foundations of the empire, the edifice itself will tumble into ruins." *Letter to Ludolphus*, in 1693. *Works of Leibnitz*, vol. vi.

(2) The Prussians, now so thoroughly Germanized, were a purely Slavic people for many centuries. In the fifth century the Wends, a Slavic tribe, took the place of the Gepidi, Goths, Burgundians, and Vandals, in the north of Germany. Charlemagne made them feel his power; the emperor Henry I. partly subdued them; and in 1133 the emperor Lothaire gave their territory, now the province of Prussia, to Albert the Bear, of the House of Ascania, styling him Margrave of Brandenburg. At that time the Benedictine monks of Citeaux were trying to convert the Slavic idolaters of what is now termed Pomerania; and after their subjugation by Waldenaers I. of Denmark, many military and monastic associations from Germany established themselves in the land. In 1201, Albert, bishop of Riga, founded the military religious order of the Sword-Bearers for the armed conversion of the Livonians, still idolaters; and soon Conrad called on the Teutonic Knights, another order of the soldier-monks, to combat the Slavic idolaters of the Baltic regions who were then known as Borussians, a term which was changed eventually to "Prussians." Ere long these Borussian Slavs were Germanized, and from them are descended the modern Prus-

erick allowed them to have a church in that city. The Circle of the Lower Rhine, styled also the Electoral Circle because of its three archbishop-electors—those of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence, was overwhelmingly Catholic. In the Circle of the Upper Rhine, which included the Hesses and the Palatinate, the Catholics and Protestants were about equal in number. In the Circle of Franconia, much of which is incorporated in the Bavaria of our day, there were many Catholics; and the bishops of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstadt, were sovereign princes. The Circle of Suabia was Catholic, with the exception of the margravate of Baden and the duchy of Wurtemberg, in which the Protestants predominated. The Circle of Bavaria rejoiced in a long series of dukes-electors who had ever been enthusiastically Catholic, and the people vied with their rulers in this respect. In this Circle the archbishop of Saltzburg had an extensive territorial sovereignty; and that enjoyed by the bishops of Ratisbon, Passau, and Frisingen, was proportionably rich. The Circle of Austria, comprising that duchy which was destined to give its name to a new empire when the last Holy Roman Emperor would obey the French conqueror by abdicating his venerable title, was entirely Catholic. Here there were no ecclesiastical sovereignties. In the olden time there had been many; but it had been the undeviating policy of all the Holy Roman Emperors of the House of Austria, kings of the Germans during four centuries, to exclude from the ranks of the princes of the empire, whenever opportunity offered, all the bishops of their jurisdiction. Perhaps it

sians. In 1320 the Ascanian dynasty became extinct, and the margravate of Brandenburg was taken by the emperor Louis IV., and raised to the rank of an electorate. In 1417 the emperor Sigismund enfeoffed it to Frederick of Hohenzollern, who took the name of Frederick I. The foundations of the present kingdom of Prussia were really laid by Albert of Brandenburg, grandson of the elector Albert Achilles, and last grand-master of the Teutonic Knights. This recreant monk yielded to the temptation of Luther to convert his power into a secular principality, appropriating the property of his Order, uniting himself with the princess Dorothy of Holstein, and becoming first duke of Prussia and a vassal of the king of Poland. The elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I., joined the German reformers in 1539. The elector John Sigismund acquired the duchy of Prussia, still a Polish fief, in 1618, by marriage; and in 1624 he acquired the duchy of Cleves. By the Treaty of Westphalia the elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, called by the Germans "the great elector," acquired Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and much of Pomerania; and in 1660 the Treaty of Wesiau freed him from his vassalage to the king of Poland. In 1700 the emperor Leopold allowed Frederick III. to proclaim himself king of Prussia.

would have been well for the Church, if, at this time, none of the German bishops had been temporal sovereigns. Certainly there militated for their sovereignty none of the reasons which demonstrate, beyond the possibility of doubt on the part of a well-informed and observant Catholic, that the Supreme Pontiff should be the subject of no earthly power ; and although it is true that the titles of the prince-bishops to their sovereignties were founded in justice and confirmed by the prescription of ages, it is certain that these sovereignties were often the cause of appointments of men who possessed no qualifications for the ecclesiastical state. It is true that the prince-bishops all had grand-vicars who had received episcopal consecration, and who performed all of the episcopal functions. "But these subaltern prelates," observes the judicious Picot, "did not possess the same authority as the bishops who employed them ; and even though their zeal were great indeed, it could not produce the effects which the bishops themselves might have produced. It must be admitted that the mixture of temporal with spiritual authority in Germany did not prove so favorable to religion as one might suppose. The sage Fleury (1) observed this fact ; and the same reflections may be permitted to us, without any accusation that we approve of an upheaval which increased the evil, instead of remedying it. These episcopal sovereigns too often forgot that they were bishops, in order to dwell more upon their princely condition. As a rule, they never entrusted to another their temporal administration ; they would have deemed it unwise to confide that to one who might have acted as the veritable sovereign. They preferred to retain the reins of the civil government, leaving ecclesiastical details to a grand-vicar, whose ambition they did not dread, and who rarely thought that he was bound to pay to duty more attention than the prince himself paid. Hence it was that clerical education was neglected ; instruction and regularity were rare ; and the bonds of discipline were relaxed. There is good reason to believe that Protes-

(1) Let not the student hesitate to respect the views of the champion Gallican, Fleury, when his Gallican prejudices are not involved ; for few ecclesiastical historians are so judicially calm as this same Gallican is, when he remembers that he is, above all, a churchman.

tantism would have been less easily propagated in Germany, if the episcopal sees of that country had been filled by prelates who possessed only one bishopric (1), and who were not distracted by the cares of temporal government ; if those sees had not possessed so much wealth and power as to excite the cupidity of temporal princes, and thus furnished a pretext for the complaints of the enemies of the Church " (2).

Leopold I., who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1657, always made great professions of piety (3), although he could, on occasion, surpass Richelieu in a subordination of the interests of religion to what he regarded as good state policy. We have noted how he endangered the prospects of Catholicism in Germany by adding another Protestant member to the Electoral College (4), and by giving a royal crown to a prince whose power had originated in a sacrilegious robbery and spiritual adultery ; and we may add that he gave a blow to Catholicism in England when, in order to deprive France of a possible ally, he contributed to the dethronement of James II. However, he could protect religion when his temporal policy seemed not to be compromised by the action ; and therefore, when he perceived that certain sanguine Catholics and certain mildly-disposed Protestants of Germany ventured to believe that Rome and Augsburg could be reconciled, he gladly encouraged their efforts for so desirable a consummation. The individual who had started this current of anticipation was Cristoforo di Spinola, an Italian Franciscan, whom the empress Margaret Teresa, a daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, had chosen for her confessor, and whom the Pope had created titular bishop of Tina in Bosnia.

(1) At the time of which we are treating, not to mention many other instances of this abuse, the archbishop-elect of Cologne, Joseph Clement of Bavaria, was, by a triple infraction of the canons, also bishop of the three dioceses of Liège, Hildesheim, and Ratisbon. What was worse, this prelate was not only not a priest, but not even in Minor Orders. Pope Innocent XI., pressed by the importunities of the emperor and by the well-meriting House of Bavaria, had agreed to countenance the ecclesiastical advancement of the young scion of the latter family, even so suspending the canons as to allow the eleven year old boy to be named bishop of Cologne, Liège, and Hildesheim, on condition that the sees of Ratisbon and Frisingen, already held by him, should be declared vacant. Even this condition was not entirely fulfilled, as the boy retained the see of Ratisbon.

(2) PICOT : *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 133. Third Edit., Paris, 1853.

(3) From his childhood he had been destined to the priesthood ; but the death of his elder brother caused his parents to change their views as to his vocation.

(4) For the consequences of such a measure, see p. 31.

Spinola was a man of discernment and moderation, and to a profound knowledge of general theology he joined an accurate appreciation of the circumstances which had favored the so-called Reformation. From the day of his arrival in Germany he had availed himself of every possible occasion for an interchange of ideas with the more learned and influential of the Protestant ministers; and he had arrived at the conclusion that many of these clergymen believed in the possibility of a common ground on which a stand could be taken by both the upholders of the Council of Trent and the followers of the Confession of Augsburg. It appeared both to Spinola and to many of the Protestant divines that in many points the Confession of Augsburg differed from the Tridentine enactments only in certain inexactnesses of expression, which might be easily rectified; and several Protestant clergymen seemed to opine that even where the Confession diametrically opposed the Council, the contradiction had arisen from the fact that the Reformers foolishly attributed to the Church sentiments which she herself disavowed. When the emperor learned that Spinola had won both the esteem and confidence of the leading ministers of Germany, he obtained from the Holy See an exchange of the Italian's titular see of Tina for the bishopric of Neustadt, a city near Vienna: and by an imperial rescript of March 20, 1691, the now German bishop was empowered to treat with Protestant communities or individuals on the matter of a restoration of the pristine unity of faith in the fatherland. Spinola immediately proceeded to Hanover, where the Lutherans were especially desirous of reunion, and where Duke Ernest-Augustus had openly avowed his sympathy with that aspiration, although his ambition to succeed Queen Anne on the English throne prevented him from imitating his brother, John Frederick, who had, many years ago, made his abjuration. At this period the ablest man among the Lutherans was Gerard Van der Meulen, now better known by the Latin form of his name, Molanus, who was director of the consistorial churches of Hanover. Just as conciliatory as Spinola, he was naturally chosen by Duke Ernest-Augustus to confer with the quasi-official representative of German Catholicism.

After seven months of conference, Molanus submitted to Spinola, in the name of all the Lutheran clergy of Hanover, a project for reunion which the Catholic champion found to be inadmissible; but since its tone appeared to evince a certain amount of respect for the decrees of Trent, Spinola deemed it prudent to consult the first controversialist of the age, Bossuet, before he either rejected the overture or drew its author's attention to its defects. A distinguished German princess, then resident in France, had already expressed a desire that the Eagle of Meaux should be associated in a work which tended toward the conversion of her countrymen to the true faith. The celebrated abbey of Maubuisson at Pontoise had for its abbess at this time the princess Louise-Hollandine, called "the princess-palatine," because she was a daughter of that unfortunate palatine whom we, when treating of the Thirty Years' War, have seen losing both his hereditary Palatinate of the Rhine and the throne of Bohemia which he had usurped (1). When the battle of Prague had ruined her father's hopes, he took up his residence in Holland. In time his daughter began to study the doctrines of that Church which she had been taught to regard as Anti-christ; and her duty becoming plain to her, and knowing that flight from her parents could alone enable her to fulfil it, she secretly took her departure, leaving in her apartment this little note: "I am leaving for France, there to become a Catholic and a nun." Having made her abjuration on Jan. 25, 1658, she took the Cistercian habit at Maubuisson, and made her profession in 1660. A few years afterward Louis XIV. made her abbess of her community. At the time of which we are treating there resided at the abbey that Mme. de Brinon who had assisted Mme. de Maintenon in the establishment of Saint-Cyr; and through the medium of this lady the abbess Louise held continual correspondence with her German relations, in the hope of bringing them eventually into the Fold of Christ. Chief among these wandering sheep was the sister of the abbess, Sophia, the wife of the duke of Hanover, whose son was destined to ascend the

(1) The reader will remember that the palatine had married the princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., and that therefore the princess Louise-Hollandine was that monarch's grand-daughter.

usurped throne of the Stuarts as George I. Mme. de Brinon had already established relations between the historiographer, Pellisson, and Leibnitz; and by their means she was enabled to forward to the duchess of Hanover many of the religious works which appeared in France, and to keep up a confidential correspondence with her. When the abbess learned that Spinola and Molanus were engaged in an attempt to undo the fell work of the Reformation in Germany, she wrote to her sister that it would be well to associate the greatest publicist of the day in what would necessarily be a task of great difficulty. Therefore shortly after Spinola had sent the project of Molanus to Bossuet, the latter received from Mme. de Brinon the letter which the duchess had sent to the abbess, begging that the good cause might have the aid of him whose works were the delight of Christian Europe. In this letter Sophia showed that well informed as she was, she knew no more about the schismatic churches of the East than do the immense majority of the Protestants of our day; and in his acknowledgment of the letter, sent to Mme. de Brinon, the bishop of Meaux took care to instruct her Highness as to the concessions "which the Church had made to the Greeks," as she had expressed the idea, and which she thought the Church might with propriety grant to the Lutherans. Bossuet began by informing the duchess that "she should know that while the Roman Church might relax somewhat, according to circumstances, in indifferent matters and in those of mere discipline, the same Church *would never yield in one point of defined doctrine, and especially not in any that had been defined by the Council of Trent.*" Then touching on the differences between the disciplines of the Western and the Eastern Patriarchates, Bossuet observed: "The Church has made no difficulty in allowing the use of marriage to the Eastern priests; and they themselves do not pretend to contract marriage after their ordination. All the oriental bishops are bound to celibacy, and hence their bishops are always taken from among the monks, who are vowed to celibacy. Nor is any difficulty made in regard to their use of leavened bread in the Eucharist; nor as to their communicating under both species. Their ancient customs

are not disturbed ; but you will never find that they have ever been received into the communion of the Catholic Church without an explicit profession of the dogmas on account of which the two Churches were separated, and which were defined conformably to our doctrine in the Councils of Lyons and Florence. These dogmas are the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son ; prayer for the dead ; the reception of sufficiently purified souls into heaven (before the Last Judgment) ; and the primacy of the Pope. . . . The Orient has always had certain customs which the West has not disapproved. . . . But the Lutherans and Calvinists have no right to change the customs of the entire West. Such changes can be effected only by the consent and authority of the head of the Church ; for without subordination the Church would be an anomalous assemblage in which each member, by doing whatever he wished to do, would disturb the harmony of the entire body. Of course the Lutherans may receive certain concessions which they earnestly request, such as the Communion under both species ; and certain explanations as to certain doctrines might be adopted. But to pretend that there should be no capitulation (on the part of the heretics) in the matter of defined dogmas, and to say that the constitution of the Church would not suffer by such a concession, would be a subversion of the foundations of religion" (1). When the duchess of Hanover had read this frank explanation in which Bossuet showed that he would neither deceive nor be deceived, and that the matter in hand was very different from a political affair which might properly be a subject of compromise, she forwarded it to Molanus, who in turn communicated it to the theologians of Hanover. The loyalty and firmness of Bossuet were not displeasing to Molanus ; and he soon replied with a treatise entitled his *Private Sentiments Concerning a Means for Reuniting the Protestant Churches with the Roman Catholic Church* (2), a work which evinces clearly the intimate

(1) Letter to Mme. de Brinon, Sept. 29, 1691, in the *Works* of Bossuet, vol. viii., p. 657. Edition Chalandre, Besançon, 1846.

(2) *Cogitationes Privatorum de Methodo Reunionis Ecclesiæ Protestantium cum Ecclesiâ Romanâ Catholica*. Both the original Latin and the French translation are given in the *Works* of Bossuet, *ubi supra*, p. 523.

conviction of this candid Lutheran that the early Reformers had abused the credulity of the German masses in order to withdraw them from the Roman communion. So evident is this disposition of Molanus, that it is morally certain that, as Bausset believes, if Leibnitz had not interfered in the controversy, the great Lutheran theologian and Bossuet would have soon agreed on every point of doctrine (1).

Bossuet spent three months in reflection on the propositions of Molanus before he transmitted his reply to his friendly adversary, and a less scholastic version of it in French to the princes and princesses of the House of Hanover, who would scarcely have understood the forms and phraseology of the schools. The nature of our work warns us not to enter on an analysis of writings which are purely theological in their scope and in their method; if the reader needs an intimate knowledge of the details of all the controversial reasonings which were emitted during the course of this attempt at Christian reunion, he may consult the *Works* of Bossuet, and Cardinal Bausset's *History* of the great prelate. In regard, however, to the disciplinary demands of Molanus and his fellow-theologians of Hanover, which enter more naturally into our province as historian, we may be allowed to record the opinions of one who would have manifested the spirit of conciliation even unto its last logical development. Having admitted that the repugnance of the Lutherans to a formal retraction might be considered, and that it might be sufficient for them to recognize the truth by a formal declaration, Bossuet says that when this declaration would have been made, the Supreme Pontiff *might* be disposed to hearken to the disciplinary requests of the Protestants, and to grant to them the following concessions: "I. In places where there are only Lutherans, and where there is no Catholic bishop, the Lutheran superintendents who will have subscribed the Formula of Faith, and who will have brought into the fold the people who recognize them, may be consecrated bishops; and similarly the Lutheran ministers may be ordained priests and appointed as pastors. II. In other places the superintendents and other ministers may be raised

(1) *History of Bossuet*, bk. XL., § 6.

to the priesthood under the authority of the bishops, with such distinctions and subordinations as may be prescribed.

III. To all the newly established bishops and priests there might be assigned revenues from proper sources ; and consciences would not be disturbed because of the present possession of ecclesiastical property. However, I would make an exception to this latter provision in the case of hospitals ; for it seems to me that there can be no dispensation from the obligation of restoring to the poor all that has been taken from them.

IV. If there are now among the followers of the Confession of Augsburg any persons whose episcopal consecration or sacerdotal ordination shall have been found to have been real and valid, they may be left in their present places if they subscribe the Formula of Faith ; and the same consideration shall be shown to their priests.

V. Care must be taken to celebrate Mass on all solemn festivals with all possible propriety ; and as is customary, sermons or instructions will be given. In certain parts of the service, prayers and hymns in the vernacular may be introduced. Whatever is recited in Latin will be carefully explained to the people ; and according as the bishops may deem it advisable, translations of these Latin prayers, accompanied by explanations, may be circulated.

VI. The Holy Scriptures in the vernacular may be left in the hands of the people. Use may be made even of the version by Luther, because of the elegance which it is supposed to possess ; but it must be revised, and all that has been added to the text—such as the proposition that ‘faith alone justifies’—must be eliminated. The Bible, thus translated, may be read publicly whenever it is deemed appropriate to do so, and with befitting explanations. All notes which are redolent of the late revolt must be suppressed.

VII. All who wish to communicate must be exhorted to do so at the solemn service ; but even though there be no communicants, the Mass must not therefore be omitted.

VIII. Communion under both species may be given to all who have made their profession of faith ; but great care must be taken for the preservation of the reverence due to the Holy Sacrament.

IX. The newly established bishoprics and parishes will not be forced to institute convents of either

male or female religious ; but they should be urged to institute them. X. Everything smacking of superstition or of sordid gain shall be removed from the veneration of saints and of holy images ; this matter should be regulated according to the Tridentine decrees, the bishops exercising the authority which the Council gave to them in the premises. XI. The public prayers, the Missal, the Ritual, and the Breviaries will be corrected according to the usages in the churches of Paris, Rheims, Vienne, La Rochelle, and in other illustrious churches, as well as in the celebrated monastery of Cluny ; eliminating all doubtful, suspicious, and superstitious things, so that everything may be redolent of solid and ancient piety." These concessions were certainly liberal in the extreme, and there is no reason to suppose that they would not have been ratified by the Holy See. They may be of interest to that school of English Protestants who, in our day, have been dreaming of a "corporate reunion" with Rome. But there remained the delicate matter of a married clergy, on which the Lutherans quite naturally insisted. Bossuet remembered that while neither the Church nor the oriental schismatics allow a priest to marry, nevertheless the latter ordain men already married, and the Church tolerates in the Greek and other Eastern Uniates the ordination of married men and their use of marriage. Therefore the bishop of Meaux felt that he was justified in assuring Molanus that "The Lutheran superintendents and ministers who, having made their Profession of Faith, shall have been raised to the episcopate or the priesthood, may retain their wives (1) ; but when these clergymen die, they must be succeeded by persons of mature age, of approved regularity of morals, and vowed to celibacy" (2).

While Bossuet was awaiting the reply of Molanus and his associates to these propositions, Leibnitz, then at the height of his reputation as first among the *savants* of Germany,

(1) The reader will observe that Bossuet grants to the converted Lutherans who become bishops privileges which neither the Uniates nor the schismatics in the East accord to their prelates. In none of the oriental rites, whether among the separatists or among those in communion with Rome, is a married bishop known or imagined.

(2) "*Superintendentibus ac ministris in episcopos ac presbyteros ex hujusmodi pacti formula ordinatis, quando erunt superstites sua conjugia relinquuntur. Ubi decesserint, calibes præficiantur, multa probatione, et tate matura.*"

(and admired even in Italy and France, since he wrote his more important works either in French or in Latin), aspired to break theological lances with one whom many regarded as the latest Father of the Church. Influenced by the later conduct of Leibnitz in this affair, some writers have doubted as to his sincerity in relegating Molanus to the background in order to present himself as the Protestant leader in the movement for reunion. But if Leibnitz was not sincere, at least in the beginning of his relation with Bossuet, his sole motive must have been the acquisition of more glory by an association of his name with that of the great controversialist; and that motive could not have actuated him, since it was understood that the negotiations were to remain secret, and since, in fact, they were not made public until fifty years after his death. The first move of Leibnitz in this important matter was a letter to Mme. de Brinon, informing her that he agreed with Bossuet in his declaration that the project submitted by Molanus to Spinola was not sufficient; that said project, however, was useful, by way of a beginning; that Rome would never yield one particle in matters of defined doctrine, and that any compromise in such matters was out of the question; that the Tridentine doctrinal decrees were received in France, as in every other land of Catholic Christendom; and that satisfaction could be given to Protestants only in reference to certain explanations, and in regard to certain points in discipline. Such admissions might have led one less perspicacious than Bossuet to regard his cause as gained, in so far as Leibnitz himself was concerned; and even Bossuet felt that he might say to his adversary: "If you do really agree with the propositions mentioned in your letter, then, Monsieur, you cannot remain much longer in your present religious condition" (1). But the Eagle of Meaux had noticed that Leibnitz, with more subtlety than accuracy, had pretended that in following the Tridentine doctrines, France had not accepted them because of the Conciliar definition, and that she had never declared that the Council of Trent was veritably œcumenical. Therefore Bossuet immediately asked Leibnitz to reply

(1) Letter of Bossuet to Leibnitz Jan. 10, 1692.

to the following questions : "Can you doubt that the Tridentine decrees were received by all the Catholics of France and Germany, in all that regards faith, as much as they were received in Italy or Spain ; and have you ever heard of one Catholic who thought himself free to reject the faith declared by the Council of Trent ? Do you believe that in any of the points which the Council of Trent defined against Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and against the Confessions of Augsburg, Strasburg, and Geneva, the Council did anything else than propose for the acceptance of the faithful those doctrines which had been believed when Luther began his rebellion ?" Replying to these questions, Leibnitz said that "they seemed to be difficult of solution." In regard to his opinion as to whether the Tridentine decrees were received in France and Germany just as they were received in Italy and Spain, he said : "I might adduce the opinion of certain Italian and Spanish doctors who reprove the French for deviating, in certain points, from the teachings of this Council ; but leaving that matter aside, I answer as I have already answered, that even though the entire Tridentine teaching were received in France, it would not follow that therefore the French received it as coming from an Œcumenical Council." The reader who has accompanied us in our reflections on the customary Protestant objections against the œcumenicity of the Council of Trent (1), will probably doubt the sincerity of Leibnitz at the moment when he emitted this would-be subtle, but flimsy argumentation. Passing to the question whether what was defined at Trent had been regarded as Catholic doctrine before the Lutheran ebullitions, Leibnitz avers that this point admits of much discussion ; "but even though it be granted that the Tridentine decisions had already been held by common opinion to be veritable, it by no means follows that (the doctrines confirmed by) these decisions had always passed for matters of faith."

While corresponding with Pirot, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, Leibnitz had advanced his opinion that the Council of Trent was not œcumenical ; and Pirot having refuted his arguments, he had composed a memorial in further

(1) Vol. iii., p. 524, *et seqq.*

defense of his position—a treatise which leads Bausset to opine that the German scholar might have become a grand theologian, if he had devoted himself exclusively to the “science of sciences.” Now that he was engaged in debate with the foremost champion of Catholicism, Leibnitz availed himself of this composition, forwarding it to Bossuet as his main reliance. All of the arguments which he advanced were as old as Protestantism itself; and we have refuted them all when treating of the earlier General Councils. It is remarkable that in their presentation Leibnitz separated himself far from those Lutheran theologians whose champion he had constituted himself. In their first project, submitted to Spinola, the ministers of Hanover had enunciated views on conciliar œcumenicity which Leibnitz explicitly contradicted in his *Memorial*. Thus, for the legitimacy of a General Council they had declared: “No conditions should be demanded, other than those demanded hitherto by the Church, and which are found to have been observed by the first four General Councils. . . . No attention need to be paid to the number of the synodals, or to their nationality. Since all the bishops ought to be convoked, it appears evident that no one should insist that there should be such or such a number of bishops of such or such a nationality; that certain bishops should be preferred to others; that the bishops of each nation should be admitted in equal number, and that some legitimate bishops should be excluded in order to arrive at that equality. . . . The decrees published by the president, with the consent of the greater part of the assembled fathers, have always been regarded as definitions of the entire Council.” Certainly it is strange that these Lutheran theologians, like the Catholic theologian, Bossuet, should have shown more of a spirit of conciliation during this entire negotiation, than was evinced by Leibnitz, whose moderation was generally his chief characteristic. And in his reply to Bossuet’s refutation of his *Memorial*, we cannot avoid discerning, with Bausset, “a kind of hesitation and embarrassment which indicate the futile efforts of a man of great intelligence who tries to resist the ascendancy of a man of genius.” He merely reiterates the objections which he has presented, and

with greater force, in his previous papers. Again he urges the fact that at the first abjuration of Henry IV. at Saint-Denis, the bishops said nothing about the Council of Trent in the Profession of Faith which they tendered for the monarch's subscription. The German disputant knew well that the entire doctrine of the Council was expressed in that Profession, even though the name of the assembly was not mentioned. He harps again on the frequent protests of French ambassadors at different times against the Council; although he knew that those protests had no connection with the Conciliar definitions on doctrine. He dwells again on the fact that the French government has not yet formally received the Tridentine decrees; although he has read innumerable authentic documents which show him that this non-acceptation has been due to the incompatibility of certain of the Conciliar disciplinary decrees with the laws and customs of the kingdom. In only one instance, in this reply to Bossuet (June, 1693), does Leibnitz manifest good faith. He speaks of the leniency shown by the Council of Basel to the Bohemians in the matter of the chalice, and of the promise of the Baseleans to listen to the Bohemian expostulations concerning the Council of Constance; and he urges these condescensions as proofs that Rome might allow the Lutherans to ignore the Tridentine decrees, at least for the present. Bossuet had already done justice to this suggestion when it was offered by Molanus. "It is true," said he (1). "that the Bohemians were received into communion, although they were still hesitating in regard to an article decided by the Council of Constance; but they submitted to a Council actually assembled, and unlike the Lutherans of to-day, they did not appeal to a Council yet to be convoked, and which a thousand obstacles might indefinitely postpone. . . . The Bohemians did not demand that their priests should be seated as judges along with the bishops, as the Protestants demand when they insist that no Council is legitimate unless the contending parties are all equally judges, thus preventing all ecclesiastical decisions, and doing away with the last remedy for schism or heresy. . . . Although the Council of Basel

(1) *Reflections on the Pamphlet of Molanus*, pt. ii., ch. 8, no. 2.

condescended to say nothing about the Council of Constance to the Bohemians, the latter submitted to that Council when they bowed to the authority of the Baselean assembly ; for the Church was in session at Basel merely by virtue of the decree of the Council of Constance (1). But the Protestants, on the contrary, when they ask for a suspension of the decrees of Trent, demand a suspension of all the Councils which have been held during the last thousand years ; for nearly all the errors professed by the Protestants were condemned, not only by the Council of Trent, but by the preceding assemblies during those thousand years. In other words, the Protestants would have us suppose that during the last thousand years there has been no true Church."

After a silence of five years, probably intentional on the part of Bossuet, who had tired of answering the same objections again and again, Leibnitz endeavored to re-open the controversy. On Dec. 11, 1699, he wrote to Bossuet, asking for information as to the principles admitted by Rome in order to distinguish matters of faith from matters which are abandoned to the disputes of men. When this desire had been satisfied, he treated Bossuet to an attack on the decree of the Council of Trent affixing the note of canonicity to certain books of the Scriptures which were not numbered in the Hebrew Canon, and which many churches, during the first centuries of the Christian era, had rejected. Bossuet replied with what is probably the most erudite and most complete dissertation on the subject that has yet been written. He demonstrated that the books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Maccabees*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, and a few others, were not new books when Christianity was founded ; that the Council of Trent, which placed them in the Canon, had found that they had been regarded as canonical in the fourth century, the century most distinguished for ecclesiastical science ; that Pope Innocent I., in 405, and Pope Gelasius, his successor, at the head of a Roman Council, had consecrated this tradition ; that from that time the Roman Church had never varied in the matter ; that the entire West had imitated the Mother Church,

(1) The reader will notice that Bossuet, in accordance with the Gallican theory of his day, regarded the Council of Basel as œcumenical. See our vol. iii., p. 120.

and that many of the Eastern Fathers had been of the same opinion. If certain churches, explained Bossuet, have not admitted the books in question into their Canon, it was because they wished to copy that of the Hebrews, and to use, in argument, only such books as were not contested by either Jew or Christian. To the Protestant objection that the tradition concerning the inspiration of these books ought to be universal, in order to demand acquiescence, Bossuet replied that the Protestants themselves should try to solve it, since it affected them as much as it affected the Catholics. They admitted the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Apocalypse*, both of which were contested by many. This letter of Bossuet, dated Aug. 17, 1701, closed the momentous correspondence, in the earlier stages of which Leibnitz had apparently given evidence of the sincerity of the many Catholic sentiments with which he had already startled his fellow-religionists. There is no need of wide speculation in an effort to discover the reason of his change of mind. When Leibnitz took the place of Molanus, the House of Hanover, to which he was entirely devoted, was apparently not destined to other glory than that which surrounds the sceptre of a fifth-rate principality ; its ultimate claims to the throne of England, brought into light by the dethronement of James II. in 1688, were as yet far off in a long perspective. Queen Anne then had a son, and gave every promise of a numerous progeny. Not much sacrifice of temporal grandeur, therefore, would have then attended an abandonment of Protestantism by the princes of Brunswick ; and Leibnitz cheerfully yielded to the commands of his reason, and perhaps to the dictates of his heart. But nine years after he had entered into relations with Bossuet, the duke of Gloucester, the last surviving child of Queen Anne (1), was the sole barrier between the Hanoverian Guelphs and the British throne ; and then the conciliatory tone of Leibnitz's letters to Bossuet began to diminish. In a few months, Gloucester died ; and the English parliament declared the succession devolved on the Protestant grand-daughter of James I., the duchess Sophia of Han-

(1) Anne had seventeen children by her husband, George of Denmark ; but nearly all were prematurely born, or still-born.

over, and the heirs of her body. From that day Leibnitz wrote no more to Bossuet. It is only when we turn our gaze on the Court of St. James's, and on the modest palace of the elector of Hanover, that we can understand how the project instituted by Spinola and Molanus, and encouraged by the best minds among the Lutherans of Hanover, was finally rendered abortive by a man who seldom spoke of the Holy See otherwise than respectfully, and who often showed himself willing to place the Roman Pontiff on an eminence which many Catholic sovereigns would not have accorded to him. In fact, so long as Leibnitz acted the philosopher, he tried to undo the work of Luther; when he collapsed into the German courtier-theologian, he combated Christian unity. We may understand how much the negotiations of Leibnitz with Bossuet were affected by the former's care for the temporal aggrandizement of the House of Hanover, if we pay some attention to that decision of the Lutheran University of Helmstadt on the marriage of a Protestant princess to a Catholic prince, which so agitated the minds of English and German Protestants in the year 1707.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover having agreed on a marriage between the archduke, Charles of Austria (afterward emperor as Charles VI.), and a princess of the family of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, the Lutheran University of Helmstadt was asked "whether a Protestant princess, about to marry a Catholic prince, could conscientiously become a Catholic?" On April 28, 1707, the doctors of Helmstadt issued the following declaration, supposed to have been framed by the erudite Fabricius, then a professor in that Faculty: "We are convinced that Catholics agree with Protestants, and that any dispute they may have with each other is merely one of words. The fundamentals of religion subsist in the Roman Catholic Church; and hence one may be orthodox in it, live well in it, die well in it, and obtain salvation in it. Therefore, in view of her marriage, the most serene princess of Wolfenbützel may embrace the Catholic religion." When Leibnitz read this pronouncement, he affected astonishment, as though he himself had not frequently uttered worse inconsistencies in the matter of the relations

of Protestantism with the ancient Church; and he wrote to the enterprising Fabricius several denunciatory letters which, as Bausset judiciously remarks, might have been used by Bossuet in his *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, had they been written when that work was being produced. In Sept., 1708, Leibnitz tells Fabricius that Basnage has written to him, asking whether the dons of Helmstadt really pronounced the judgment attributed to them, and insisting that Protestants should not be forced to bear the fatal consequences of such a decision. Then Leibnitz adds that he is about to inform Basnage that Fabricius and all the other professors of Helmstadt disavow the declaration; but that he will not send the letter until he has heard from Fabricius. And he warns his friend that the decision has caused great displeasure in England. But in vain did Leibnitz propose to Fabricius a plain stultification of himself; the declaration was known as the work of the Faculty of Helmstadt by men who could not be deceived. However, the dons tried to attenuate the force of their decision. Their effort, said Leibnitz to Fabricius on Sept. 17, was not sufficiently explicit; "it showed what they did not think, but not what they thought," and Fabricius should know that "several English bishops, devoted to the House of Hanover, had declared that the expectations of that House to ascend to the throne of England—expectations recently justified—*would be destroyed by the toleration and indulgence which the University of Helmstadt was extending to the Catholic Church.*" Five days afterward, Leibnitz showed that he was reconciled to the admission of the authenticity of the declaration; but he asked for the suppression of the second clause, which allowed the Brunswickian princess to become a Catholic. "Since the dethronement of James II., a great revolution has occurred in the teachings of English theologians. The bishops of England no longer entertain the olden ideas concerning episcopacy; they are by no means so far from Presbyterianism as they once were. So great is the flow and reflow of opinions, that they almost ridicule the episcopacy of the archbishop of Canterbury" (1). On

1) "*Apud Anglos theologos magna facta est rerum conversio ab expulsiōe Jacobi II. Ipsi episcopi pterique hodie non admodum episcopales habentur; a presby-*

Oct. 8, Leibnitz writes that the enemies of the House of Hanover are circulating the declaration of Helmstadt throughout England, in order to prevent the succession of that family to the throne; and on Oct. 15 he says that the explanation furnished by Fabricius does not satisfy the archbishop of Canterbury, "because it does not state that the authors of the declaration abhor Popery." He adds that "*the claims of the House of Hanover to the British throne are founded solely on the hatred and exclusion of the Roman Church; and therefore they should carefully avoid anything which might indicate that they were at all tepid in that matter*" (1).

We have favored the idea that Leibnitz, in the first stage of his controversy with Bossuet, was sincerely desirous of furthering a submission of the German Protestants to Catholic authority; but we are by no means certain that he ever regarded visible communion with the Holy See as necessary, or that he was really Catholic at heart. While he was arguing with Bossuet, the newly converted landgrave, Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels, frequently urged him to become a Catholic; and he always replied that he was "in the *interior* communion of the Church, like a person who has been unjustly excommunicated." He also contended that it was through no fault of his that he did not join the *exterior* communion of the Church, but rather the fault of his philosophical opinions, "of which he was convinced, and which he could not abandon." And he naively observed: "If I were in the Catholic Church, and the Holy Sacrament were refused to me because of these opinions, I would leave the Church. I think of the adage, '*Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes*—it is more disgraceful to be put out of the house, than it is to be kept from entering.'" In a letter to Mme. de Brinon he contends: "It is not essential to Catholicity to communicate exteriorly with Rome; the true and essential communion is charity, which makes us part of the Body of Jesus Christ." In practice, Leibnitz was neither

terianorum sententiis multo minus quam olim recedunt. Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis episcopalitas pene per ironiam in proverbium abiit; adeo quidem est sententiarum fluxus et refluxus."

(1) "OMNE NOSTRUM IN BRITANNIAM JUS IN RELIGIONIS ROMANÆ EXCLUSIONE ODIQUE FUNDATUM EST. ITAQUE MERITO FUGIENDA SUNT, QUIBUS IN ROMANENSES TEPIDI VIDEREMUR."

Protestant nor Catholic during the most intellectual part of his life. During his last twenty years he never approached the Lord's Supper, as he had hitherto done; and he did not even enter a Protestant house of worship. When dying, his servants asked him whether he did not wish for ministerial assistance, and he replied: "Let me rest; I have never injured anyone." He was buried without any religious ceremonies. Both Catholics and Protestants have exhibited his writings as proofs of his having been with them in religious belief; and both Catholics and Protestants have been mistaken in their judgments. One may cite passages from Leibnitz, the ultra Protestantism of which would befit the most audacious ranter who ever delights a besottedly ignorant audience; and other passages may be adduced in apparent proof that the writer understood and appreciated the Church as vividly and heartily as did Bossuet himself. As an illustration of the thoroughly Protestant ability of Leibnitz to travesty ecclesiastical history, and to misinterpret the Canons of the Church, we submit his reply to Baronio, as that annalist observes that the deposition of Pope John XII. by the German Otho I. was illegal, "since a superior cannot be judged by an inferior" (1). Leibnitz contends that "these words, uttered by flattery and ignorance," were refuted, long ago, by men of the Roman communion who place a Council above the Pope. He says that bishops are not subordinate to the Pontiff by any divine law, and that the Pope himself styles the bishops his brothers. He holds that the Pope's jurisdiction, in the minds of all the princes and peoples in the Holy Roman Empire, ceased when (like John XII.) he became a wolf; and that then he was subject to the judgment of the "Emperor of the Romans." After this mixture of courtier-theologism with an affected ignorance of history, Leibnitz groans as follows: "Grieving because Rome, by her measures or by her negligence, inflicted such damage on the purity of divine worship; because she rendered Christianity contemptible or ridiculous by schisms which she fomented; because, under favor of the barbarism of the time, she introduced an unreasonable theology which was

(1) For the history of this pretended deposition, see our vol. II., ch. 8.

unknown to the Apostles of Christ ; nevertheless, I have always yearned for the authority of the first episcopal see, and for the restoration of the ancient form of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, under the condition with which Melancthon signed the Articles of Smalkald—that is, that the Popes should give to the Gospel the place that it ought to occupy. Why should there not arise, after Charlemagne (*sic*) and Otho, a *third* grand *Germanic* emperor, who would make Rome Catholic and Apostolic ? ” But listen to the following judgment on the tenth century : “ Then the Pope was regarded as the representative on earth, not of God, but of Peter. Then the dream of the Pope’s infallibility was unknown. Then the authority of the Church was not founded in blood. Then the Sacrament of the Altar was not exposed for public adoration ; it was not carried in procession ; and it was not mutilated by depriving the people of the chalice. Then the ancient form of Baptism was still used ; the bishops of Germany taught in the temples, as of old ; the canons lived in community ; and each cathedral or important Church had its flourishing school, under the management of eminent men. But all this disappeared when the bishops of Rome seized the domination of the Church ; when their emissaries, the mendicant monks, became masters of the schools. Then ridiculous subtleties took the place of reasonable doctrines ; an insensate cruelty raged against religious opinions with fire and sword ; and Germany, thanks to the intrigues of the clergy, remained without a head, and permanent discords tore her bosom ” (1). These ravings certainly seem to justify Pertz in his opinion that “ There can be no doubt concerning the faith of Leibnitz. He was a Catholic like Luther and Melancthon, like the entire Protestant Church.” But on the other hand, there are innumerable passages in the works of Leibnitz which are distinctively Catholic. He defends the use of apostolic tradition ; he places revelation above reason ; he rejects the “ free will a slave ” of Luther, and the absolute predestination of Calvin ; he admits the necessity of good works, insisting, in his *Theodicea* : “ Without beneficence, without devotion to our neighbor, there is

(1) *Annals of the Dominion of Brunswick.*

no salvation." And he holds that "He is a Catholic who is in communion with the Apostolic See, and who is a part of the Christian Church; a heretic is outside the Catholic Church, separated from Jesus Christ, and there is no salvation for him." He says that he has "not tears enough to shed on account of the unfortunate schism of Luther"; and in 1691 he writes to Mme. de Brinon: "You are right when you regard me as a Catholic at heart; I am one even openly." He writes to the landgrave Ernest: "The visible Catholic Church, through a special assistance of the Holy Ghost which was promised to her, is infallible in all the articles of faith which are necessary to salvation." His *System of Theology* is a plain exposition of Catholic doctrine (1). Even those philosophical opinions, which he alleged as restraining him from entering the Catholic fold, present nothing which Rome would be disposed to censure. What, then, must be our conclusion with regard to the religious belief of Leibnitz? We are disposed to agree with the Abbé Le Noir, who discerns in him the "mere philosopher, professing a theoretical Catholicism which is rather a universal religious syncretism than the Catholicism of the Church of Christ" (2). As for the opinion of many of his Protestant contemporaries, that Leibnitz believed only in the Natural Law, it was held only by men who were chagrined because of the philosopher's frequent leanings toward Catholicism. In all of his writings, even in his most familiar correspondence, the most hypercritical search will fail to discover any trace of disbelief in Divine Revelation. His principal work, the *Theodicea; or Essays on the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil*, shows by its very title that it is a defense of revealed religion; and in it he glorifies Providence, and

(1) In 1803 the celebrated Sulpician, M. Emery, published a collection of passages drawn from the works of Leibnitz, and entitled *Thoughts on Religion and Morality*, which proved plainly that the philosopher was a zealous defender of the great principles of religion. Some years after the publication of these *Thoughts*, M. Emery learned that there was in the Library of Hanover a manuscript of an as yet unedited work by their author. With much difficulty M. Emery procured the manuscript, and passed the winter preceding his death in collating the text with the numerous additions and corrections with which Leibnitz had complicated it. Death having interfered with a labor which the venerable Sulpician deemed conducive to the interests of religion, his comrades finished it, and in 1818 it appeared under the title of the *System of Theology of Leibnitz*.

(2) *The Dictionary of Bergier, Adapted to the Intellectual Movement of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. Art. Leibnitz. Paris, 1876.

devotes most of his energies to a refutation of Bayle, who revived the Manichean ideas on the origin of evil.

CHAPTER XVII.

FEBRONIANISM.

Among the German Catholic clergy of the eighteenth century, many had devoted far more attention to the works of Sarpi and Van Espen, than they had paid to books and principles authorized by the Church. Consequently they believed, or affected to believe, that the Church was in a state of desolation; that its government was vicious, its laws tyrannical, its usages superstitious, its discipline unbearable, and even its doctrine more or less corrupted. If they could be allowed to reconstruct the edifice of Catholicism, then indeed the "halcyon days" of the early Christians (which never existed) would return. These would-be innovators, who wanted only a little courage to become as dangerous as the Jansenists; who needed only more consistency to become more powerful than the Gallicans; who were all, to a man, courtier-theologians; would have despoiled the central authority at Rome of all its divinely-accorded prerogatives. Not only would they, of course in the interests of the German empire, have deprived the Pontiff of his secular dominion over the Patrimony of St. Peter; but they would have reduced to nothing the spiritual power of the Holy See, since they copied all the errors of Protestantism in the matter of ecclesiastical authority. This school of theologians and canonists was greatly elated, when, in 1763, there appeared in Brussels a *Book of Justin Febronius on the Present Condition of the Church* (1), which proved to be the fullest and clearest exposition of its notions that had yet been read. It was soon learned that under the name "Febronius" was concealed the identity of John Nicholas von Hontheim, titu-

(1) The first edition was a quarto of 656 pages, with three dissertations by Barthel in an appendix. Barthel had been educated in Rome, under the guidance of Lambertini, afterward Pope Benedict XIV.; and Hontheim termed him "the prince of German canonists." The second edition of *Febronius* appeared in 1765, with 120 additional pages, and four new appendixes.

lar bishop of Myriophitos, and auxiliary of the elector of Treves (1). Hontheim affected to regard the Church as a kind of republic, over which the Pope had usurped the power which he then exercised. Authority over this republic, said he, belongs to the entire body of the Church, which delegates its exercise to the pastors. He recognized in the Supreme Pontiff scarcely any prerogatives which every bishop does not possess. As to the Church, Hontheim showed himself a veritable successor of the German courtier-theologians of the Hohenstaufen times; he would have made the Church, even in spirituals, the slave of the civil power. He hurled the most bitter invectives against all who opposed his theses, invectives which were almost as strong as those which he emitted against the alleged vices of the court of Rome; but not always could his partisans discover the course which he would wish them to pursue, so flagrant were his frequent contradictions. Thus, sometimes he plainly accorded to the Roman Pontiff a primacy of jurisdiction; and sometimes he recognized in General Councils the sole right of judging as to matters of faith, whereas elsewhere he had discerned that right in the dispersed Church. Equally contradictory were his views concerning the Council of Trent, the Bull *Unigenitus*, Paolo Sarpi, etc. Shortly after the appearance of *Febronius*, Germany resounded with the acclamations of so-called Catholics, hailing the book as the most solid and profound of modern times; but just as many pronounced it a mere repetition of the declamations of the first "Reformers," varied by some extracts from the later innovators beyond the Rhine. The work was condemned by Pope Clement XIII. on March 14, 1764, in a Brief addressed to Prince Clement of Saxony, bishop of Ratisbon; but the Febronians, for the most part, ignored the decision, although it was formally published by the archbishop of Cologne, and by the bishops of Constance, Augsburg, Liège, and other ordinaries.

The first attack on *Febronius* was made by a Lutheran, Frederick Bahrdt, in a dissertation which appeared in Leipzig very soon after Hontheim had entered into the arena. In

(1) Hontheim had adopted the pen-name of "Febronius," out of affection for his niece, a religious, whose conventual name was Febronla.

1761 the celebrated French Augustinian, Eusebius Amort, published a lengthy refutation ; as did also a Jesuit of Heidelberg, Joseph Kleiner. In 1765, Trautwein, a canon-regular of Augsburg, issued a voluminous defense of the Papal prerogatives, upholding them especially in spite of Hontheim's assertion that they depended on the genuineness of the Isidorian Decretals (1) ; and also in 1765, the University of Cologne published an academical treatise against the innovator. In Italy, the Dominicans of St. Mark's in Florence, and Sangallo of the Minor Conventuals of Venice, published apposite dissertations in 1766. But none of the works directed against *Febronius* in any country were so successful as Peter Ballerini's disquisition on the Primacy, which had been published at Verona in 1730, and written in refutation of Bossuet's *Defense of the Declaration of 1682* ; it required considerable audacity on the part of Hontheim to attempt an advocacy of principles, the absurdity of which Ballerini had so lucidly demonstrated. In 1767 appeared what is probably the most exhaustive, and at the same time the most concise and trenchant refutation of *Febronius* that has ever been written—the *Anti-Febronio* of the Venetian Jesuit, Francis Anthony Zaccaria. The possessor of the work of Ballerini and of that of Zaccaria will be equipped for a defense of the *vis ac ratio* of the Papal Primacy, as he could be equipped by no other weapons.

If we are to credit Hontheim, his object in writing his famous work was a furtherance of unity in Christendom, and especially the conversion of Protestants : "Every honest man should be zealous for the glory of the Spouse of Christ, and labor for the reunion of Christians" (2). "How I would rejoice, if God were to deign to bless this, my pure intention!" (3). This much desired union he proposed to effect by a restriction of the Papal authority ; by a reformation of the abuses of the Roman Church ; and by a General Council of all Christians, to the decisions of which the Roman Pontiff would respectfully bow. When he presented the first means for a reunion, Hontheim closed his eyes to the

(1) For this question of the Isidorian Decretals, see our vol. ii., ch. 6.

(2) In *Addendis*, p. 624.

(3) In *Preface*, at end.

stubborn fact that most Protestants refused to recognize in the Holy See even that "primacy of direction" which he was willing to accord. As Bossuet observed: "Any superiority whatever of the Roman Pontiff was the object of Luther's most bitter aversion; from the day when the Pope condemned him, he spurned all reconciliation with Rome, and he forced Melancthon to sign a document wherein the entire body of Reformers was represented as protesting: 'We will never admit that the Pope has any power over the other bishops'" (1); and nearly all the Protestants of the eighteenth century, like those of to-day, agreed with Luther at least in that matter. And how could Hontheim hope that Catholics would become Protestants, as they certainly would become, if they abandoned the idea of a "primacy of jurisdiction," which is an immutable article of Catholic faith? As for the second means proposed by Hontheim, a reformation of the abuses in the Roman Church, it is certain that although this would-be innovator declared that "only a blind man would not see that the Catholic Church was full of abuses" (2), he did not mention any which the Council of Trent had not eradicated. As for the third means, a convocation of a General Council which would dictate to the Roman Pontiff, Hontheim knew well that an assembly so presumptuous would not be a General Council, since no Council ever has been regarded as œcumenical until it received the approbation of the Pontiff, and no Pope would approve dictation to himself, the Head of the Church.

In his anxiety to obtain some respectable support for his subversive theories, Hontheim claims the friendship of the Gallicans; he would have the Germans believe that his doctrines accord with the maxims of that glorious Church, one of whose first bishops, St. Irenæus, proclaimed "the greater principality" of the Chair of Peter, and which, to use the words of Pope Gregory IX., "has ever excelled all others in devotion to the Apostolic See" (3). Speaking of his own theories, Hontheim has the audacity to pretend that "The French, and those who think correctly outside of France, are of this opinion; and they proclaim the liberties of the Univer-

(1) *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, bk. iv., no. 39.

(2) Chap. vi., § 14.

(3) Letter to the Chapters of the Four Provinces, in Rinaldi.

sal Church, trying to free her from unwarranted slavery " (1). He calls upon "all nations to imitate the French in this matter" (2); and he urges "the Germans especially to adopt the sound principles of the French" (3). He insists that the "Gallican liberties" are really a "portion of the ancient liberty, which the French have known how to preserve, in spite of the innovations and insults of the *Curia Romana*" (4). All the champions of Gallicanism would have spurned an alliance with Febronianism as an insult to the Eldest Daughter of the Church. In the first place, the fundamental maxim of Hontheim is that the government of the Church is not monarchical; while the Gallicans held that it is monarchical. The great Gerson, upon whom Hontheim exultantly calls whenever it suits him to do so, says: "The Papacy was supernaturally and immediately instituted by Christ, having in the ecclesiastical hierarchy a monarchical and regal primacy" (5). In 1441 there appeared in the Council of Florence a French embassy; and its chief, the bishop of Meaux, there repudiated, in the name of King Charles VII. and of the recent Council of Bruges, the attempt of the synodals of Basel to change the monarchy of the Church into an aristocracy or a democracy (6). When Marcantonio de Dominis pretended that the Faculty of Paris held his views as to the aristocratical nature of the government of the Church, that Faculty, in 1617, denounced the assertion as a calumny. Another *toto cælo* difference between the Gallican maxims and those of "Febronius" is found in the latter's assertion that the primacy of the Roman Pontiff is, *de jure*, one of mere direction, not of jurisdiction. Hontheim wonders that the bishops are as tolerant of the papal demands for their obedience, "as though they were mere plebeians" (7); and he ridicules

(1) Ch. viii., § 9, no. 5.

(2) *Ibi*, no. 6.

(3) Ch. ix., § 6, no. 8.

(4) Second Edition, p. 679.

(5) *Ecclesiastical States*, Consid. I.

(6) "*Nimio fervore resistendi Basileenses ad hanc vesaniam devenerunt, quod supremam postestatem in uno supposito consistere negent, sed eam in multitudine collocant, et sic pulcherrimam monarchiam Ecclesiæ quæ Christianos hucusque tenuit in unitate fidei, in una professione Religionis Christianæ, in uno ritu Sacramentorum, in una observantia Mandatorum, in iisdem ceremoniis divini cultus, atque pacem et tranquillitatem asseruit, nunc abolere et suppressere contendunt, nobilissimam politiam ad Democratiam vel Aristocratiam redigentes.*"

(7) "*Ut quid toleratum est, ut hi, potestatis ecclesiasticæ a Deo acceptæ socii, et fidei conjudices, ita cum plebe confunderentur, ut ab illis, æque et ab hac Papa omnino-*

appeals from episcopal decisions to the Holy See. In 1683, one year after the celebrated Declaration of the Clergy, the parliament of Paris having requested from the Faculty of the Sorbonne a doctrinal definition on a proposition submitted to it, the well-qualified representative of Gallicanism expressly declared that the Pontiff exercises over the Universal Church a primacy, not only of honor, but of jurisdiction, which primacy the See of Peter received directly from Our Saviour (1); and ten years before the appearance of Hontheim's incendiary volume, the same Faculty renewed its declaration in the same identical phraseology. At the very time when Gallicanism was in its prime, the famous Le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, than whom there never existed a more strenuous advocate of the fancied Gallican "liberties," proclaimed in the Assembly of the Clergy of 1681 that "he who denies the papal primacy of authority and jurisdiction is a schismatic, and even a heretic"; and the Assembly recorded in its register that the prelate had spoken *optime*. The great Bossuet, whom Hontheim would fain adduce as a defender of his vagaries, declares that *true obedience* is due to the Roman Pontiff; and he draws attention to the *Profession of Faith* prescribed by Pope Pius IV., in which this true obedience is numbered among the matters concerning which "there can be no controversy among Catholics" (2). A third difference between Gallicanism and Febronianism is found in the contention of the latter that the Pope is merely the "ministerial head" of the Church. Of course every Catholic will admit that this appellation is appropriate inasmuch as the Pope is a minister of Christ, and inasmuch as it is his duty to see that the laws of Christ are observed (3). But Hontheim holds that the Pope is "a mere instrument

dam obedientiam erigat, quando recera in illos non obtinet nisi jus inspectionis et vigilantie, quæ eorum caput, non monarchia." Ch. viii., § 9, no. 2.

(1) "Cum in ipsa propositione de Romano Pontifice sit sermo, cujus pura non modo illusa esse ubique voluit Facultas, sed et quaque occasione data religiose venerata est, exposuit copiose, strenue defendit, antiquæ suæ in Sedem Apostolicam reverentia esse durit, hic licet ea de re præfari, disertique repetere, quod olim non semel professus est, Romanum Episcopum esse jure divino summum in Ecclesia Pontificem, cui omnes Christiani parere teneantur, et qui immediate a Christo non honoris solum, sed potestatis ac jurisdictionis primatum habeat in tota Ecclesia."

(2) *Defense of the Declaration*, pt. 1., bk. 1, ch. 1.

(3) TERNSELY: *The Church*, quest. v., art. 2, Edit. Venice, 1765.

of the Church" (1); that he cannot enact new laws, unless with the permission of the Church (2); that he can grant dispensations, only when the Church gives to him the necessary faculties (3). So much, in the mind of Hontheim, is the Pope a mere agent of the Church, that whenever it pleases the Church to do so, the primacy may be transferred to Paris, Vienna, or any other see (4). These insanities have never been broached by even the most extreme of Gallicans. A fourth difference between Gallicanism and Febronianism is evinced by Hontheim's insistence on the *absolute* necessity of General Councils. It is true that the few "appellant" bishops of France, whom we met during our consideration of the Bull *Unigenitus*, advanced this opinion; but no theologian or historian will contend that the "appellants" represented the French Church. Such Gallican luminaries as Duval (5), Juvenin (6), Tournely (7), Cardinal de Bissy (8), and the Faculty of Paris, assert the contrary of the Febronian proposition. In 1663, the parliament of Paris having condemned the proposition defended by Gabriel Drouet, that "although useful, General Councils are not absolutely necessary," it then ordered the Sorbonne to register the condemnation. But the Faculty refused obedience to the absurd command.

Febronianism soon became the fashion in Germany; and several of the Catholic Universities, not only in Germany, but also in the hereditary states of the House of Hapsburg, adopted its language, and frequently taught its doctrines. But in 1778 the auxiliary of Treves surprised his disciples by addressing a retraction to Pope Pius VI. We give a synopsis of this document, or rather of a *Commentary* on it, which Hontheim issued in 1781, as its perusal will enable the reader to appreciate at its true value the entire system which dominated, at this time, the court of Vienna. Hontheim begins by expressing his sorrow for having written anything which the Holy See could regard as injurious to itself and to the interests of religion; and he protests that he is de-

(1) Ch. vii., § 1, no. 8.

(2) Ch. ii., § 4, no. 2.

(3) *Ibi*, no. 7.

(4) Ch. ii., § 3, p. 98, Second Edition.

(5) *The Supreme Power of the Roman Pontiff in the Church*, p. 234.

(6) *Institutions of Theology*, vol. i., diss. 4, p. 3, ch. 1.

(7) *Loc. Theol., de Conc.*, quest. 8.

(8) *Pastoral Refuting the Arguments of the Bishops of Pamiers, etc.* Paris, 1725.

terminated, "after having asked for pardon from the paternal clemency of His Holiness, to prefer the judgment of the Holy See to his own, and to place no limits to his submission." Then he submits thirty-eight articles of retractation. I. He acknowledges, he says, "with Tournely," that the keys were given at the same time to Peter alone and to the unity (universality) of the Church, in such guise that the one (reception) does not exclude the other. II. The keys were given to Peter alone, inasmuch as he received from Jesus Christ the primacy and the power of governing the entire Church, and inasmuch as he represented the Church as its supreme head after Jesus Christ. III. The keys were also given to the unity; that is, for the sake of unity, the power of teaching and governing were given principally to Peter, to the exclusion of the people, and to the other Apostles and the bishops, their successors, but with dependence from and subordination to Peter, who, according to Optatus, "received the keys which were to be given to the others." IV. We should therefore reject that doctrine, derived from Protestantism, that the Church is a sort of college, and not a society in which the faithful live, according to the institution of Christ Himself, under the government of legitimate pastors, and principally under that of the Supreme Pontiff—a government which all are bound to obey. V. Our Lord wishing His Church to be one, instituted the primacy for the formation and support of that unity, and gave it to St. Peter alone. VI. Honthelm avows with St. Optatus that he is a schismatic who sets up a chair in opposition to the unique (*singularem*) Chair of Peter, or who withdraws from its communion, or refuses obedience to it. VII., VIII., IX. He acknowledges that the primacy, which is not merely one of direction or inspection, but one of veritable authority and jurisdiction, was to be as perpetual as the unity of the Church for the preservation of which it was established; and that by divine right it was inherited by the Roman Pontiffs, the successors of St. Peter, who are the "centre and root of unity, in such sort that the primacy cannot be transferred from the Roman See to another." X., XI. Therefore he avows, "with the Fathers of the Œcumenical Council of

Florence, that Jesus Christ gave to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of Peter, full authority to nourish and govern the Universal Church." XII. But since this power cannot subsist without jurisdiction, including the right of excommunication, Hontheim admits that the power to excommunicate "resides in the Roman Pontiff, having been given by Jesus Christ." XIII. He declares that the Roman Pontiff is the supreme judge in all controversies concerning faith or morals; that therefore, when there is diversity of opinion in such matters, "we must follow the course indicated by St. Jerome when he wrote to Pope Damasus: 'I unite myself with your Beatitude.'" XIV., XV. "In opposition to the error of the innovators who condemn the multitude of bishops when they are either explicitly or tacitly united with their head, I avow that it is impossible for the episcopal body, when united with its head, the Roman Pontiff, to fall into error; and that therefore, even before the Council of Trent, the Church, having the Pontiff at its head, had already, through his utterance, definitively and irrevocably condemned the heresy of Luther." XVI. Hontheim admits that the Church has the right to judge of Dogmatic Facts; that in such judgment, the Church is infallible; that therefore "the faithful are bound to acquiesce in it by a submission of their own interior judgment, a *respectful silence not being sufficient*." XVII. He affirms that entire obedience is due to the Bull *Unigenitus*, as to a dogmatic decree of the Apostolic See and of the Universal Church. XVIII. "I say with St. Avitus of Vienne that in case of doubts as to the *condition of the Church*, we should refer the matter to the Supreme Pontiff." XIX. "I profess with Sts. Gervase and Leo that the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs are to be received respectfully, and religiously observed." XX., XXI. He acknowledges that it is the prerogative of the Pope to convoke, and to preside over General Councils; and that "by his concurrence those Councils acquire full infallibility, independently of any other acceptance." XXII. He affirms that the Council of Trent was a free agent, both in regard to things of faith and concerning matters of discipline; but he complains that "because of circumstances, that

Council did not carry its work of reformation as far as certain worthy men desired." XXIII. He admits that the Council of Trent (Sess. 24, ch. 5) quite properly reserved the criminal causes of bishops to the Holy See. XXIV. He admits that "it is not permitted to elude, by far-fetched interpretations," the force of the Tridentine canon (Sess. 14, ch. 1) which asserts the right of the Pontiff to reserve grave criminal cases of ecclesiastics to his own tribunal. XXV. He avows that the Pontiff can dispense from a decree of a General Council, "for legitimate reasons." XXVI. He acknowledges that from the first days of Christianity, bishops were regarded as "false ones," whenever the Apostolic See refused to recognize their election or consecration; and among such "false bishops" he locates the Jansenist bishops of Holland. He adds that while in the olden times the confirmation of episcopal elections pertained to the provincial Councils, and especially to the metropolitans, a return to that discipline (abrogated in the West for good reasons) "ought not to be made without the free consent of the Holy See." XXVII. He says that the same should be said in regard to the transfers and depositions of bishops and in regard to the establishment of new dioceses. XXVIII. He admits that Alexander III. (y. 1159) very properly reserved canonizations to the Apostolic See. XXIX. He avows that while in the early days of the Church only "greater causes" were referred to the Pontiff, a legitimate and general custom soon sanctioned the right of appeal to Rome in all ecclesiastical cases. XXX. He declares that it was *de pleno jure* that Pius II., Julius II., and Gregory XIII. condemned appeals from the Pope to a future Council—appeals which had been condemned already by Pope St. Gelasius (y. 492). XXXI. He professes that although in the first centuries of Christianity all benefices were of episcopal collation, nevertheless it came to be regarded as appropriate that the Supreme Pontiff should have the disposal of some in the various provinces. He adds that this reservation of benefices cannot be qualified as unjust, since it has frequently been sanctioned by the many Concordats made with various governments. XXXII. He admits that these Concor-

dates have the force of treaties. XXXIII. He upholds the legitimacy of *annates*, which contribute to the support of the Roman court, which labors in the interest of all the churches. XXXIV. He grants that the "privileges of Regulars" cannot be abrogated by any particular Council, and still less by any civil power. XXXV. He avows that the Council of Trent provided for cases of abuse which might arise from these exemptions of Regulars. XXXVI. He admits that although in early times the jurisdiction of bishops was more extensive than it is at present, any transgression of the canons, which have restricted it, is not permissible. XXXVII. He recognizes the full right of the Church to rule in all matters of faith, Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline, without any intervention of secular governments; but he holds that "because of the protection which the two powers owe to each other, the secular power should defend the ecclesiastical canons when the Church desires such defense, and it should use temporal means for their enforcement." XXXVIII. Finally, he deems it necessary that the best means be adopted for a perpetual preservation of peace between Church and State.

The retraction was dated Nov. 1, 1778; and on Feb. 3, 1779, Hontheim addressed a notification of it to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Treves, reminding them also of the orders of the archbishop-elect, prohibiting the reading of his book. These proceedings of their quondam champion were naturally offensive to the lovers of novelties in Germany, and especially obnoxious to the courtier-theologians who surrounded Joseph II., then fully committed to the policy of the Masonico-philosophistic faction which infested his court and very many of the presbyteries of the empire. By order of the emperor, the publication of the retraction of Hontheim was forbidden in the Low Countries and in Lombardy, as derogatory to the rights of sovereigns; and the imperial agents assured the credulous subjects of Joseph that the document had been extorted from the persecuted luminary of the Church (1). But Hontheim repelled this allegation

(1) *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1779, cited by Picot, in his *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv., p. 105. Third Edit., Paris, 1855.

in a letter to the archbishop-elect, dated April 2, 1780; and he promised to confirm his retraction in a work which he was then preparing, the *Commentary* from which we have quoted. However, one cannot avoid observing in many passages of this *Commentary* a hesitancy to abandon entirely the condemned opinions of "Febronius." It is true that Hontheim here ranges himself among the orthodox in the matter of Jansenism; that he recognizes the binding force of the Bull *Unigenitus*; and that he professes to interpret most of his own propositions in the sense of the Four Articles of 1682, which was of course *permissible*. But it is evident that although he feigns to follow in the traces of Bossuet, whom he lauds as "the latest star which has risen in the firmament of the Church," he rather follows such guides as Dupin, Pithou, Gibert, and Van Espen. Thus, in his sixteenth proposition, although he ostensibly yields in the question of Dogmatic Facts, he says that the fallibility of the Church in such matters is held by many who are *plane Catholici*. In the seventeenth, he does not condemn the *silence* which is ordered by sovereigns under the pretext of public tranquillity. In the thirty-seventh, he recognizes the right, claimed by certain sovereigns, of prohibiting the publication of pontifical decrees, even when dogmatic matters are their subject, which have not been endorsed with the royal *placet*. The retraction of Hontheim affected but little the fortunes of Febronianism; during the entire reigns of Joseph II. and Leopold II., it continued to make Europe wonder why its partisans were not sufficiently logical to become open Protestants. We shall meet manifestations of this inconsistent system when we come to treat of the pontificate of Pius VI.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FREEMASONRY. *

Volumes have been written concerning the origin of Freemasonry, and it is very doubtful whether any of their read-

* Most of this chapter appeared as an article in THE AVE MARIA, vol. xvi.

ers have derived thorough satisfaction from them. But it is of little importance whether the Masonic idea originated in the pagodas of India, or among the temples of Memphis; in the Grecian *Eleusinia*, or in the worship of the Roman *Bona Dea*; in the iniquities of the Gnostics, Manicheans, Albigenses, or of the corrupted Templars; or rather in the relatively modern "Charter of Cologne," or even in the English secession of 1717. None of these presumed sources will render a natural more worthy than a revealed religion; none of them can justify the fundamental principle of modern Masonry—the substitution of man for God. One may admit, with Frederick Schlegel (1), that the suppressed Templars were the "bridge" by which moderns received, so far at least as their form is concerned, the Masonic mysteries; or one may assign, with Weishaupt (2) or with Ragon (3), these mysteries to a Gnostic source; in either case, he will justify the Church when she declares that Freemasonry tends to a restoration of the most perverted kind of paganism. We shall, therefore, dwell only for a moment on the origin of Masonry. In the early Middle Age, throughout all Europe, but especially in England and Germany, there flourished Masonic corporations—that is, "guilds" of Masons instituted for the protection of members, and for the better custody of the secrets of their craft, and having an initiatory oath, *conjuratio*, for a safeguard. One guild, established at York, adduced excellent arguments to show that its charter dated from the year 926 (4). Down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, saving ecclesiastics, none but builders were admitted to these unions. The German Masonic guilds, although organized by Erwin von Steinbach in the thirteenth century, did not adopt a definite constitution before 1459, at the construction of the Cathedral of Strasburg. Their statutes were thoroughly orthodox, and the Popes often granted them privileges; indeed, as late as 1563, when these statutes were revised, they exhibited no trace of

(1) *Philosophy of History*, lesson 18.

(2) *Code of the Illuminati. Scotch Knight*.

(3) *Course of Initiation in the Masonic Grades*, pp. 130, 149.

(4) LEVASSEUR: *History of the Working Classes in France before the Revolution*, p. 101.

hostility to the Church. But in 1816 there was discovered a document relative to the foundation of a lodge at Amsterdam in 1519, which, if authentic—and many good critics deem it such—indicates that before the year 1535 anti-Christian principles, nearly identical with those of modern Masonry, had invaded the lodges. This document is known as the "Charter of Cologne" (1), and bears among its nineteen signatures of "masters-elect of the order consecrated to John," those of Hermann de Wicc, archbishop of Cologne, Admiral Coligny, and Melancthon.

Here we find an association ostensibly devoted to charity, but really dedicated to the preservation of a secret doctrine which is to be held as superior to any decision of the Church. It is only "prudence," regard for the prejudices of the time, which causes the nineteen masters to decree, "for the present," that only professing Christians be received into the order. The Catholic Church is placed on a level with the sects, and is blamed for all the woes of society. The presumed signers of this charter were all, so far as history informs us, bitter foes of Catholicism. Hermann de Wicc was placed under the ban of the empire for favoring heretics; Coligny and Melancthon need no description. Condorcet holds that the transformation of Masonry had been gradually progressing since the suppression of the Templars (2); but even in the year 1546 the Academy of Vicenza, says Lefranc, was careful to hide its Masonic tendencies (3), and the same must be said of the Cabalists of that time (4). In England, however, thanks to Protestantism, the change was more open. Findel may err when he discovers Masonic ideas in Bacon's *Nova Atlantis* (5) but it is certain that the Rosicrucian fraternity (*Rose-Croix*) was propagated in England in 1616, as well as by the antiquarian Elias Askmol, the author of the ritual adopted by the Grand

(1) Among the defenders of its authenticity we notice Janssen, the eminent author of the *History of the German People*.

(2) *Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind*, epoch 7.

(3) *The Veil Lifted; or, The Secret of the Revolution*, 1791; BARONIO: *Annals*, y. 1546, no. 157.

(4) See a sketch of the life of Agrippa von Nettesheim (to whom Goedike gives a place in his *Lexicon of Masonry*) in the *Universal Encyclopedia* of Ersch & Grüber.

(5) *History of Freemasonry*, p. 126.

Lodge of London in 1717. In the seventeenth century English Masonry had lost its professional character almost entirely, so general had become the admission of persons foreign to the builder's craft; and it was because of this foreign element that the ancient term of "Free" Masons came to be qualified by the adjective "Accepted." Leconteux Leconteux adduces many Masonic authorities to show how Oliver Cromwell, a Mason of high degree, used the order for his purposes (1). After the Restoration, the Masons, for many years, chose their grand-masters from the Stuart family; even in his exile, in 1689, James II. founded a lodge at St. Germain-en-Laye, which followed the ritual of Askmo. After the failure of 1715, the order definitively abandoned the Stuart cause. In 1717 a physician named Désaguliers, a theologian named James Anderson, and one George Payne, left the old society, and founded an entirely new one, which would, they contended, supply that unity which the Reformation had broken, would establish a new spiritual community amid hostile parties, and would foster a philanthropic spirit among its members. From this society is derived Freemasonry as it is constituted to-day. The new organization soon spread over the continent; Hamburg had a lodge in 1733, and very soon Brunswick, Berlin, and Leipzig followed. The first constitution of the modern order is dated March 25, 1723.

Freemasonry was not denounced to the Holy See before the reign of Clement XII.; and this Pontiff's Constitution *In eminenti*, dated April 24, 1738, was the first act of the Church against this organization. By this Constitution excommunication, to be incurred *ipso facto*, was pronounced against all who would join a Masonic lodge, assist at any Masonic assembly, or have any connection with the sect. A few years afterward, on March 18, 1751, Benedict XIV. issued his Bull *Providas*, in which, after declaring the falsity of the report spread by the Masons that the Constitution *In eminenti* was no longer in force, he renewed the proscriptions and censures

(1) *Secret Societies*, p. 165, Paris, 1862.—*The Freemasons Crushed*, Amsterdam, 1747.—Mosdorf, Imhof, and Nicolai, much esteemed by erudite Masons, assert the same; but, above all, Von Haugwitz, at the head of the order in the eighteenth century, attests the Masonic and extended to Cromwell.

of Clement XII. Benedict XIV. states the reasons which have guided him in issuing this Bull. The first reason for this condemnation is the fact that in the Masonic reunions men of every sect and religion are associated intimately—a thing which must involve prejudice to the purity of Catholic doctrine. The second reason is found in the absolute secrecy which covers all that is done in the Masonic conventions. The third reason is furnished by the oath taken to preserve inviolable silence as to what is said and done; as though it were permitted to absolve one's self, merely by an oath, from the obligation of replying to the interrogatories of legitimate authority concerning whatever is done in these reunions to the detriment of religion and the State. The fourth reason is desumed from the prohibition, made by both the civil and the ecclesiastical law, to form any society or corporation without the sanction of the public authority. The fifth reason is given in the prohibition of the Masonic lodges, already promulgated by many sovereigns. And a final reason is found in the condemnation of Masonry by wise and prudent men. In fact, at this time several governments enacted severe laws against Masonry. In Spain, on July 2, 1751, Ferdinand VI. declared that all Freemasons would be punished for high-treason. In Naples, all Masonic assemblies were prohibited, in 1751, as "suspicious and dangerous." Similar decrees were published, at the same period, by the governments of Holland, Tuscany, and the Palatinate.

A study of this wonderful organization must be interesting, and to some it may be necessary. But how can such a study be prosecuted? Certainly, just as we insist that non-Catholics should learn what are Catholic doctrines only from the Catholic Church, so in this matter we should recur for information to Masonic sources—not to ex-Masons, persons who are apt to be classed with "ex-priests" and "ex-nuns" in the matter of reliability—but to men who are acknowledged as Masons of good standing. But is not even the most innocent "apprentice" sworn to neither speak nor write in the "profane world" anything concerning the secrets of his order? Nevertheless, in the preface to the first edition of his great work, Deschamps confidently asserted: "Catholic

by birth, a priest by vocation, devoted to the Church and to all the duties she imposes on her ministers, we have never belonged to any secret society; we have taken none of their customary oaths; we have never received any intimate confidence from any of their members. And yet we are convinced—and many Masons will be convinced—that we are better acquainted with Freemasonry than most of its members,—better even than most of those who are, apparently, the most advanced” (1). How, then, must we proceed, to learn anything about this association? The first source of information is formed by the Masonic statutes approved by the various Grand Orients. A second source, and no less reliable, is found in the *Manuals*, or *Tilers*; the official *Rolls* of the different grades; the *Rituals* for reception into these grades; the *Instructions*, *Catechisms*, and *Oaths* of the order. And these sources are not difficult of access. In the preface to his *Pictorial History of Freemasonry*—a work again and again re-edited after his elevation to the rank of officer of the Grand Orient of France,—Clavel tells us that the Grand Lodge of London published, in 1723, the statutes and esoteric ceremonies of Masonry, under the name of Brother Anderson, and with the approbation of the Grand Lodge. And all other Masonic administrations, continues Clavel, “have translated or reprinted Brother Anderson’s work, or published similar ones. The Grand Orient of France went so far as to issue, in 1777, its *Condition of the Grand Orient*, a journal devoted to the narration of our most secret labors; and since 1813 this journal has been replaced by the *procès-verbaux* of the solstitial festivals, in which one may read the discourses of the orators, the work done during the half year, and even our most mysterious formularies. In our own day there is not one lodge of this jurisdiction which does not use the printed rituals of French Masonry in its assemblies and in its reception of the profane; and these rituals are even publicly sold. A few years ago the Grand Orient appointed as its chief-secretary Brother Bazot, who had already issued a *Manual* of the Masonic rituals, and a *Tiler*

(1) *The Secret Societies and Society*, by N. Deschamps, with an Introduction on the Action of Secret Societies in the 19th Century, by Claudio Jannet. 6th edit., Avignon, 1882.

containing the passwords, etc., of all the degrees. By this act, the Grand Orient implicitly sanctioned the publication of these works." But above all we can confidently recur to the *Interpretative Course* of Master Ragon, a brother who, as he himself says, "was raised from youth in the conservative rigorism of the Departmental lodges"; who was the founder, after twelve years of exercise, of the "Trinosophs" (one of the most celebrated lodges of Paris). This book was solemnly approved by the Grand Orient of France, on the 24th of June, 1840, "as the work of a profoundly instructed brother"; and the Capitular Lodge of Nancy, "addressing the reverend lodges of the two hemispheres, certifies as to the morality and utility of this work," and recommends a "new edition, altogether Masonic, to be entitled a *sacred* edition," and to be used only in the lodges, for the purpose of "reconstructing unity of view and of thought, from which will come, in time, unity of power and of action."

Such are the principal sources available to the outsider, as well as to the adept, if he chooses to learn something more concerning Masonry than his Masonic friends will tell him, even if, indeed, their knowledge of Masonic matters—in all save trivialties or absurdities—be any more extensive than his own. These statutes, manuals, rituals, etc., we say, are the principal sources for the "profane" investigator; but there are others which must not be neglected—namely, the writings of such prominent Masons as Weishaupt, Knigge, Saint-Martin, Saint-Simon, Enfantin, and Karl Marx; those of the duke of Brunswick, chosen in 1782 Grand-Master of all Masonry by the deputies met in Willhemsbad, and "representing all the lodges in the universe"; the *Memorial to the Congress of Verona* (1822), by Baron Haugwitz, director of the lodges in Germany, Russia, and Poland; the works of Helvetius, D'Alembert, Diderot, Rousseau, Condorcet, Cabanis—all prominent in the order, and whose principles, as we are assured by Brother Bazot, secretary of the Grand Orient of France, are the principles of Masonry; and finally the avowals and judgments of such Masons as Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Grégoire, Robespierre, Bonaparte, Sieyès, Cambacérès, Crémieux, Mazzini, Cavour, and Palmerston. With

such sources of information, and such guides in his investigation, the student will acquire a sufficiently accurate knowledge of Masonry ; the rank and file, the immense majority, of the order will know little more than he will learn. All historical and polemical studies are attended by inherent difficulties ; but a study of Freemasonry is made especially difficult by the mystery and deceit with which all secret societies veil themselves. Hence it is that each investigator may fall into certain inevitable errors of detail ; but such errors, remarks Jannet in his Introduction to the work of Deschamps, will not destroy the general certainty of his discoveries ; for that certainty will be founded on the agreement of so many witnesses, on the similarity of so many facts, that no judicial charge, no parliamentary inquiry, ever showed better guarantees of exactness.

And now a few words concerning the organization of Freemasonry. Its lodges follow various "rites," but it is essentially one and universal, and this unity rests on the three "symbolic degrees" of apprentice, companion, and master. Five masters may form a new lodge. An individual becomes, by his reception in any lodge, a part of the entire order, and may claim its privileges. The three symbolic degrees form the basis of all the rites ; the higher, or as they are also called the capitular or philosophic, degrees are of modern introduction. The French or modern rite adds four capitular to the three symbolic degrees ; the Free and Accepted Masons of England also have seven degrees ; the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite—the one reformed by Frederick II. of Prussia, and afterward annexed by the Grand Orient of France—added eight to the twenty-five degrees which constituted the Ancient Scottish rite of "perfection" or of "Heredom" (1) ; the rite of Strict Observance, formed at the convention of Willhemsbad, has five degrees, but the fifth has three sections ; the rite of the Temple also has eight degrees, making of the seventh a preparation for the last ; the rite of Zinnendorf, which is that of the Grand National Lodge of Germany, has seven degrees ; the "Illuminati," properly so called (founded by Weishaupt) have

(1) Saint-Martin reduced these thirty-three to ten.

nine degrees ; the Swedish rite has twelve, and the Swedenborgian six ; the rite of Misraim divides and sub-divides its degrees into ninety, consisting of four classes. As to the organization of the Grand Orient of France, Clavel, one of its officers, says that "it is formed by the venerables of the lodges and presidents of workshops, who practise the high degrees of the French and the Ancient Accepted Scottish rites ; when the presidents are wanting, these bodies are represented by special deputies, annually elected by a majority of votes. The Grand Orient has *supreme, dogmatic, legislative, judicial, and administrative* power over all the workshops of all the rites existing in France. A general meeting of the Grand Orient is held once a year, and decides all questions submitted. The effective direction is in the hands of the council of the order, composed of thirty-three delegates from the general assembly of the Grand Orient ; and these delegates must reside in Paris. The Grand Orient is divided into five principal branches : a chamber of Correspondence and Finance, constituting the administration ; a Symbolic chamber, which concerns itself with everything relative to the first three grades ; a Supreme Council of Rites, which takes charge of the superior degrees ; a Council of Appeal which gives advice, and pronounces definitively on all cases arising between brethren or between workshops ; and the Central Committee, which is the Council of Appeal sitting with closed doors. Besides these five chambers, the Grand Orient also has a Grand College of Rites, which confers the superior degrees ; a Committee of Finances, and one on Inspection of the Secretariate" (1). When the Grand Orient had a grand-master—that is, before 1869,—this personage was chosen from among reigning families, or at least he was some prominent government official. The grand-master had no real directive power ; all that was, and is, in the hands of Committees.

Concerning the multiplication of degrees, Brother Malapert, one of the most distinguished among modern Masons, thus addressed the lodge "Alsace-Lorraine," over which, in 1874, he presided as "orator" of the Supreme Council of

(1) *Pictorial History of Freemasonry*, p. 26.

the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite: "After the mastership, nothing is to be learned. The great work resides, all entire, in the apprenticeship, companionship, and mastership. The *Rose-Croix* and the knights *Kadosch* know no more than the masters know. Beyond the mastership, there are some brethren who attend to a more direct realization of our general theories, and this is the reason of being for the superior degrees; but one may work usefully even though he does not possess these degrees" (1). Louis Blanc, speaking of the days preceding the first French Revolution, says: "As the three degrees of ordinary Masonry comprised many persons who were opposed, by condition and principle, to every project of social subversion, the innovators multiplied the degrees of the mystic scale. They created inner-lodges, reserved for ardent spirits; they instituted the high grades of the elect, the Knights of the Sun, the Rose-Cross, the Strict Observance, the *Kadosch*, or regenerated man—a darkened sanctuary, the doors of which were not opened to the adept until he had undergone a long series of trials, calculated to testify to the progress of his revolutionary education, to prove the constancy of his faith, and to try the temper of his heart. . . . It was to these subterranean schools that Condorcet alluded when, announcing that history of the progress of the human spirit which was interrupted by his death, he promised to reveal the blows received therein by monarchical idolatry and superstition" (2). *Kadosch*, the last philosophic degree, and the quintessence of the Masonic spirit, belongs to all the rites. In the "modern French rite" it is called *'Au*: it is identical with the 30th degree of the "Scotch rite," with the 65th of "Misraim," with the 25th of *Heredom* or of "Perfection," with the 5th of the "Temple," with the 6th of the "Strict Observance," with the 7th of *Adonhiram*, with the *Epopot* of Bavarian Illuminism, and with the *grand' eletto* of the Carbonari. John de Witt, than whom erudite Masons will desire no better authority, says in his *Memoires* that (at least among the Illuminati) the recipient of the degree *Kadosch* "swears the ruin

(1) Quoted in the Masonic *Chaine d'Union*, 1874, p. 85.

(2) *History of the Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 80. Paris, 1847.

of all religion and government; and to effect that ruin by every means—by poison, by false oaths, but especially by the dagger, as more sure and less noisy.” And this *Kadosch* is the degree of which the authoritative Ragon, with the solemn approbation of the Grand Orient of France, says that “it is a summary of the most sublime philosophy, and the essential complement of true Masonry: the three inferior degrees are purely administrative. Only the *élite* among Masons should receive this degree. It is the sanctuary, the source of knowledge for the wise ones who are admitted to it; and it is designed to signify the object of Freemasonry in all its degrees.” And this same mouthpiece of the French Grand Orient—while lamenting that in some Orient “horrible maxims, and therefore anti-Masonic ones,” have been assigned to this grade, “and undoubtedly inspired Barruel with his hatred of Masonry,—admits that “in very old manuscripts of English Masonry the *Kadosch* is called ‘assassin.’” And why should it not be so styled? In the *Tiler of the Scotch Rite* (Paris, 1821), we read that in this degree, “the real object of the Scotch rite, and the *nec plus ultra* of the Templar rite, is commemorated the abolition of the Templar Knights by Philip the Fair and Pope Clement V., and the execution of the first [*sic*] grand-master, Molay.” Here there is no longer any question of Hiram; for that allegorical personage is replaced by J. M. B. [James Molay, Burgundian], whose death the recipient swears to avenge, *figuratively* on the authors of the execution, or *implicitly* on those who merit the punishment [the successors of Clement V.]. Here is no room for allegory; observes Deschamps; “the legend is authentic history. At the moment that this vengeance is *motived* and historically specified, I can see in the recipient [of the degree *Kadosch*] only the apprentice *assassin*. Clement V. and Philip the Fair exist no longer, but there are still kings and *Pontiffs*. ‘War on the throne and on the altar!’ That is the cry of the order.”

When Masons speak of the “Masonic Powers,” they allude to the Grand Lodges, Mother Lodges, Grand Orients, and the Supreme Councils—the directing centres which have

multiplied with the rites. In France there are now four Masonic Powers, namely: the Grand Orient, the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite, the Symbolic Scotch Grand Lodge, and the Supreme Council of the rite of Misraim. Since 1869 the Grand Orient of France has had no grand-master, but a president. The Grand Orient was constituted in 1772; the Supreme Council is a little older, but did not assume its present name until 1803; the Symbolic Scotch Grand Orient was constituted in February, 1880, by eleven of the principal Parisian lodges that had seceded from the obedience of the Supreme Council; the rite of Misraim, or Egyptian rite, originally founded by the charlatan, Joseph Balsamo (Cagliostro), is followed, nearly exclusively, by Jews. And here, since we have mentioned the name of Cagliostro, one of the luminaries of eighteenth century Masonry, the reader will pardon what may seem a digression, if we give a brief sketch of that extraordinary man who was one of the last "victims of the Inquisition."

It is a remarkable fact that the latter part of the eighteenth century, that period when Freemasonry had just attained its virility; the period of the Encyclopedia—that "ocean of every poison that was ever distilled"; the period which is often said to have witnessed a surprising enlightenment of the human intellect; that same period showed a wonderful increase of superstition on the part even of those who claimed to have disengaged themselves from its degrading bonds. So true is it that when men have ceased to adore at the shrine of pure and healthy doctrine, their aspiration after ideals—so natural to humanity—leads them into the darkness of occult "science," as into a refuge from the consequences of the renunciation of Christian hope. Just at the time when self-styled philosophers were flattering themselves that they had *effacé l'infame*, new miracle-workers appeared on every side, and faith was put in charlatans; while others of the dissatisfied ran after the mere wonderful as a compensation for their abandonment of the (for them) too severe lessons of truth. Some of these thaumaturgists were mystics—*e. g.*, Swedenborg, Lavater, and Saint-Martin. Others were revolutionists, like Weishaupt. Many were ras-

cals *simpliciter* : convulsionaries, magnetists, cabalists, Rosicrucians, and inventors of the immortality-giving elixir. An *Essay on the Sect of the Illuminati*, published in 1789, says that there were then in Paris "a crowd of little *antiphilosophiques*, composed of learned women, theological *abbés*, and pretended sages. Each group has its belief, its prodigies, its hierophant, its missionaries, its adepts. Each tends to explain the Bible in favor of its own system, to found a religion, to fill its temple, to multiply its catechumens. Here Jesus Christ plays a prominent part; there it is the devil. On one side you have nature, and on another faith. Barbarin somnabulizes; Cagliostro heals; Lavater consoles; Saint-Martin instructs; all employ error to attain a reputation." There was the marquis de Saint-Germain, who was really a son of a Transylvanian prince, a man of prodigious memory which he utilized in narrating how, in ancient days, he had conversed intimately with King David; how he had assisted at the marriage in Cana of Galilee; how he had hunted with Charlemagne; and how he had drunk wine and beer with Luther. And many believed him. But easily prince among these *chevaliers d'industrie* was the founder of the Egyptian Rite of Masonry. Joseph Balsamo was born at Palermo in 1743. In his youth he became a member of a charitable and religious confraternity, styled the *Fatebenefratelli*, or "Do-Good-Brethren"; and among them he acquired much of that knowledge of chemistry and medicine which he afterward found so profitable. Some bloody difficulties caused him to flee from Sicily; and, proceeding to Malta, he became acquainted with a famous chemist named Pinto, whose secrets he stole. He was a profound student of mankind, and he came to the conclusion that there was no limit to the gullibility of the masses. He therefore resolved to use the fools for his own ends; and, having assumed the name of Count Cagliostro, after having for some years used many others, he entered upon his wonderful career of champion cheat of the world. At first his thaumaturgic abilities were confined to such tricks as any ordinary wizard is wont to perform for the wonderment of rustic bumpkins; but, having become wealthy by means of extensive forgeries (per-

formed with the aid of a certain Marquis Agliata, who was afterward hanged), he began to claim stupendous powers, in order to avert suspicion as to the derivation of his revenues. Soon he was obliged to exercise whatever power he really possessed; for his extravagant mode of living and the dishonesty of friends had impoverished him. Accordingly, he began to rejuvenate decrepit persons of both sexes, and to beautify the less fortunate of the fairer one. Indisputable testimony shows his success in this field; but just as reliable proofs indicate that much of his talent was devoted to the manufacture of false gems, and to the production of counterfeit bank-notes. For some years he treated the Spaniards, English, and Russians to the fruits of his genius; but in England he was tried for felony several times—always escaping; and in Russia, the intrigues of his wife with Potemkin excited the jealousy of the empress Catharine to the point that this princess was glad to pay him an immense amount to leave the country. One of his master-strokes was a “reformation” of Freemasonry, to which he had been affiliated in his early manhood. He was not satisfied with the sect as it then was; hence he devised a new rite, which he termed the Egyptian. To this new field for the adepts of Square and Triangle, however, Cagliostro would admit none who had not matriculated in the ancient system. He instituted the most extravagant symbols, long fasts, peculiar regimen in matter of diet; he taught that all religions were equally good, but he was the Grand Copht. To the neophytes, if they were men, he assigned the names of the prophets; the women received the names of the sibyls. All the adepts were to acquire perfection through physical and moral regeneration—that is, by use of Cagliostro’s elixir of immortality, and by that of a pentagon on which angels had written sacred characters. Those who learned to interpret these characters would reach the state of perfect innocence. He insisted that his great object was an elevation of Catholicism, and he inculcated a kind of mysticism. He pretended to enjoy the Beatific Vision, and to work miracles; he certainly did perform wonderful and incomprehensible cures, and was blessed by thousands. He made great use of a

number of little children, whom he called his "doves"; through the ministry of these he read the future in a cup. In the year 1783 the journals announced that this great man was about to arrive in Paris—then, as now to some extent, the modern Babylon. Immediately upon his coming among them, all that was learned, powerful, rich, and beautiful in the capital of refinement called upon Cagliostro in his sumptuous palace. It was the time when Mesmer had furnished to men who were already tired of "pure reason," a glimpse of the supersensible by means of animal magnetism—a thing which, contrary to the general opinion of the present day, was well understood by Marsilio Ficino and Pomponazzo, more than two centuries before the name of Mesmer was heard (1). Unlike Mesmer, our charlatan used only the touch; no instrument, no manipulations. But, what was perhaps more wonderful, he asked no money for his cures, and he begged the poor to come to him. He seems to have relied much upon audacity, magnificent dress, and a pompous manner. His contemporaries agree that his physical presence was not calculated to help him; for they say that he was ugly, and had an oblique cast of eye. Besides, they credit him with choler, haughtiness, and an absence of refinement in speech and gesture. One of these contemporaries writes: "Initiated in the cabalistic art, he is Rosicrucian in his communication with the absent and the dead. He is versed in all human sciences. He can transmute metals; he cures the poor gratuitously, and sells immortality to the rich for little" (2). He was a ventriloquist, an electrician, and a magnetizer; he moved tables, hypnotized, and was so perfect a necromancer that he astonished the Swedenborgians with whom he used to summon the dead in their reunions in the Rue de la Sourdière. Some idea of the importance to which Cagliostro attained at this time may be derived from the fact that when a congress was held to devise means to unite in one sect the Rosicrucians, Cabal-

(1) In his *De Vita Calitus Comparanda*, Marsilio Ficino says: "The mind, when affected by a passionate desire to do so, can operate, not only on its own body, but upon that of any one there present, especially if that one be of a weaker temperament." And Pomponazzo, in his work on the *Causes of Wonderful Affections*, says the same in almost identical terms.

(2) *Moving Tableau of Paris*.

ists, Illuminati, and Humanitarians, first at Wilhelmsbade, then in the lodge of the "Reunited Friends" in Paris, he figured therein with Saint-Martin, Mesmer, and Saint-Germain (1). Much of Cagliostro's success was due to his wife, a Roman, whom he had married chiefly because of her talents and evident adaptability to his purposes. He said to her from the beginning of their union: "I will turn the heads of these simpletons, you will do the rest." This precious lady announced, shortly after their arrival in Paris, that she would give a course of magic to the fair sex, if she could form a class of three dozen, at one hundred *louis-d'or* for each person; and before night the class was formed. Doubtless the reader is familiar with the famous affair of the diamond necklace, in which Cardinal de Rohan and Queen Marie Antoinette played so prominent a part, and which contributed not a little to advance the French Revolution. Well, Mme. de la Motthe was not the sole criminal in that transaction: our sublime thaumaturgist was more than involved in it, although he escaped conviction at his trial. When he came out of prison, the mob—by no means all unwashed—escorted him in triumph to his residence. From that day until he found it convenient to leave France, his door was watched by a self-appointed guard of honor, consisting of men of the first families of the land; and at his departure from Boulogne, thousands of adoring and weeping admirers waited upon him to receive his parting benediction. His credit now began to diminish; and, after many wanderings, he yielded to the prayers of his wife, who yearned for her native land, and also wished to reform her life by proceeding to the Eternal City. In Rome the ex-forgery, alchemist, necromancer, and accomplished charlatan feigned a conversion to the faith of his boyhood; but on December 27, 1789, the papal authorities ordered his arrest, and the sequestration of all his books and symbols. The nature of his imputed crimes rendered him a prisoner of the Inquisition; and as he found his ecclesiastical judges—unlike those of whom he had experienced the corruptibility in other lands—to be unbribable, he deemed a full confes-

(1) See Barruel's *Masonry in Itself*, Liege, 1815.

sion most likely to secure for him a leniency which he did not merit. Naturally this avowal will be accepted with some hesitancy ; but it is at least interesting reading, and is probably true in its main points. We shall restrict our account of Cagliostro's avowed aberrations to a sketch of his own admitted Masonic experiences. There were, he said, many Masonic sects, but the most important were those of the Illuminati and that of the *alta observantia*. The former aimed at a revenge for the destruction of the Templars—that is, at the subversion of Catholicism ; the latter merely sought for the philosopher's stone. It was to this latter society that Cagliostro had been affiliated in London. In his own new Egyptian rite, the Masonic adept had eliminated, he declared, all the magic and superstition which had soiled the elder Egyptian system. Its sacred words were *Helion*, *Melion*, and *Tetragrammaton* : and to the Grand Copht—that is, Cagliostro himself—were given adorations ; and to him and in his honor were chanted parodies of the *Te Deum* and the *Veni Creator*. Besides the Feast of St. John the Baptist, celebrated by all the Masons of that day, the Egyptian rite kept that of St. John the Evangelist, because of the similarities between the *Apocalypse* and the ceremonies of that rite. In order to attain moral perfection, a retreat of forty days was practised by the adepts, in which, after the thirty-third day, the recluses communicated with the primitive angels ; on the fortieth day each received the pentagon—a sheet of printed characters which filled the soul with divine love, and which caused the holder to aspire to a perfect quiet, in which he would reach immortality, and could say : “ I Am Who Am.” By physical perfection, this philosopher implied a prolongation of life until five thousand five hundred and fifty years had been enjoyed ; and this devoutly-wished-for consummation could be attained by retiring with a friend, every fifty years, at the full moon of May, to some solitude, there to swallow some white drops and a grain “ of primal matter ” *materia prima*, that which God created in order to render man immortal, but which the sin of Adam took away from him, and which grace and Masonic virtue can restore. When the adept has swallowed this

Masonic bolus, he will have convulsions for three hours ; a good drink will restore him ; and then, after some fever, delirium, falling out of the hair, shedding of his skin, cutting of new teeth, etc., he will take a bath, be anointed with balsam, and will return to an admiring society a new man. Such was the *olla podrida* of Christianity, paganism, deism, pantheism, and Masonicism with which Cagliostro, as he audaciously told the Inquisition, had designed to strengthen the Catholic Church at the same time that he reformed Freemasonry. Everywhere, he said, he had been welcomed by the Brethren of the Three Points ; and everywhere he had preached, prophesied, healed, procured visions, instituted lodges, etc. His primary lodge had been formed at Lyons, with the title of Triumphant Wisdom ; and it was consecrated with rites similar to those of the Church. This ceremony of consecration is described by one of the brethren in a letter which was read at the impostor's trial. It says : "Never has Europe witnessed a more august ceremony. . . . Our brethren showed a fervor, a noble and sustained piety, which greatly edified the two brothers who had the glory of representing you. . . . At the moment when we besought the Eternal to inform us whether our vows were acceptable, and while our master was suspended in the air, there appeared, without being invoked, the First Philosopher of the New Testament, who blessed us, after he had prostrated himself before the blue cloud." Quite plausibly, therefore, Cagliostro asserted that he had always copied the Church as much as possible, and had always hoped to see his rite approved by the Pope—and with good reason, he added ; for one of the vows of his adepts was to procure the conversion of Protestants, though without violence. And everywhere that he had preached and apostolized, as he told the Holy Office, people prostrated themselves for his blessing, calling out : "O my master ! After the Eternal, my all !" — "I lay my heart at your feet." — "Give your sovereign orders, O master ! We owe you blind obedience." His influence among the Masons was certainly great ; and many believe that he was the author of the famous cipher, L. P. D., the initials of *Lilia pedibus destrue*,—"Crush the

Lilies of France,"—then in vogue among the brethren, and which they adopted as a species of war-cry during the French Revolution. Cagliostro protested to the Inquisition that he had never held any dealings with the demon; but that he "had never understood, nor did he then understand, the meaning" of the deeds he had wrought. In fact, he piteously told the inquisitors, "he did not understand himself." And then he cried: "Pity my miserable condition! I ask only for help for my soul"; adding that he would retract his errors "in face of a million of his followers." His apparent repentance prevented his judges from consigning him to the secular power, a procedure which would have been equivalent to a sentence of death; hence he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress, having first been absolved from the censures he had incurred. The sentence further decreed that his manuscript entitled *Egyptian Masonry*, together with the symbols of the sect, was to be publicly burned; and the Freemason society, especially the Egyptian rite and that of the Illuminati, was to be again condemned. This sentence is dated April 7, 1791. The charlatan was then taken to the historic Fortress of St. Leo, and the days of his miracles were ended. Before long he asked for a confessor; and when a Capuchin friar was sent to give him the supposedly desired religious consolation, the hypocrite tried to throttle the good priest, hoping to escape under cover of the Capuchin tunic. History spoke no more of him thereafter; and now, were it not for the entrancing pages of the elder Dumas, few persons would know anything of one who was once as much talked about as any individual of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the reader will agree with Mirabeau, who said of Balsamo: "Tolerate Cagliostro, tolerate Lavater; but also tolerate those who term them insane" (1).

(1) The curious reader will find many interesting and instructive details concerning this luminary of modern Masonry, which our limits will not allow us to adduce, in the *Compendium of the Life of Joseph Balsamo, Styled the Count Cagliostro, Drawn from His Trial in Rome in 1790, and Aiding One in Comprehending the Character of the Sect of the Freemasons* (Rome, 1791); in the *Confessions of Count Cagliostro, with a History of His Travels* (Paris, 1798); in the *Authentic Memoirs Serving for a History of Count Cagliostro* (Strasbourg, 1786); and in the *History of the Marvellous by Figuier* (Paris, 1860).

Less interesting than the career of Cagliostro, but of more importance in the annals of Masonry, was that of the founder of the Illuminati. Weisshaupt was a professor of law at Ingolstadt in Bavaria. Dominated by hatred of Christianity, and desirous of notoriety, he conceived the idea of a secret society, modeled on Masonry, to which he first gave the name of "Perfectibilists," and afterward of "Illuminati." His design, as he expressed it, was to "bring together, by a durable tie and because of elevated interests, educated men from every quarter of the globe—men of all religions and of different opinions and passions; to make them love this new interest and this new tie so much that, united or separate, they would act like one individual, treat each other as equals despite their social inequality, and willingly and through conviction effect what public constraint had never yet effected, since the world and men came into existence." Feller says that Weisshaupt, who had been educated by the Jesuits, took the Society, to a great extent, as a model for his organization; but that he intended that what, according to him, the Jesuits had used only to produce evil, should be used for the progress of philosophy. The statutes of the Illuminati imposed blind obedience on the adepts, and in certain cases, auricular confession to the superiors. The real secret of the order was not revealed until the superiors were well assured of the adept's sentiments. The instructions of Weisshaupt and his confidants tended to the gradual extinction of every idea of religion in the minds of their dupes. These unfortunates learned to despise civil government as a tyranny; the rights of property as usurpation. The military caste was taught to despise merchants and tradesmen. Each adept knew only the members of his own grade, and those of the one immediately subordinate. Each member had a name as an Illumined one; thus that of Weisshaupt was Spartacus. The real names were known only to the superiors. Circumstances favored the designs of Weisshaupt. For many years audacious writers had striven in Germany, even more than in France, to destroy every vestige of religious principle. Many of the German sovereigns were downright infidels. Frederick of Prussia openly professed irre-

ligion. Even the emperor, Joseph II., yielded to the flatteries and sophisms of the philosophasters. "I am assured," wrote Voltaire, "that the emperor belongs to us." And Frederick told the cynic in 1770 that Joseph "loved his works, and was anything but superstitious." On Dec. 11, 1773, Joseph issued a rescript in which, while he admitted that he knew, "of his own knowledge that many Masonic lodges had been the occasion of many indecencies," he nevertheless authorized the lodges, provided they would observe a regulation which would guarantee a respect for his idea of religion and morals. It was natural that the example of Frederick, Joseph, and many of the minor princes, should affect the minds of innumerable Germans; especially the young, to whom Weisshaupt directed his principal efforts. A Hanoverian baron, Knigge, was his chief lieutenant, and to him was entrusted the perversion of the northern Germans, while Weisshaupt looked after the southern. Knigge profited by a general assembly of Freemasons at Wilhelmsbade, held by command of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, the grand-master, to extend the new association. In a short time very many of the nobles of Germany, and several of the sovereigns, were Illuminati. We can only suppose that these dignitaries were not informed of the entire scope of the order; that they ignored its hatred of all crowned heads, and simply acclaimed its enmity to religion and especially to the Catholic priesthood. One strange feature of Illuminism was the number of German ecclesiastics who joined it; not only many Catholic pastors are mentioned as members in the archives of the order, but, if we may credit Barruel's *Memoires on Jacobinism*, there was at least one German bishop among the adepts. In 1784 the Bavarian government prohibited "all secret communities, societies, and confraternities; and every association which was not approved by the laws." The olden Freemasons closed their lodges; but the Illuminati relied on their friends at court, and continued their meetings. In Feb., 1785, Weisshaupt was deprived of his chair, and expelled from Ingolstadt. It was well known that many of his disciples had become frightened at his doctrines, and had left the order; these were now interrogated,

and although they seemed not to have learned all the objects of the association, sufficient was gleaned to terrify the friends of religion and of society. Meanwhile the father of the sect, having taking refuge in Ratisbonne, was executing his plans with renewed ardor. One day while he was giving his last instructions to an emissary destined for Silesia, the poor man, Lanz by name, was struck by lightning and fell dead at his master's feet. Weisshaupt's terror was so great that he forgot, as he fled, to remove the credentials and written instructions which were in the pockets of Lanz; and when the papers were read by the elector, Charles Theodore, that prince realized that he and all the other German princes had been sleeping over a volcano. Many of the Illuminati were exiled. In Oct., 1786, two of Weisshaupt's chief adepts, the Count Bassus and Zwach, were arrested; and all the statutes and secrets of Illuminism were found. These were afterward printed by order of the elector, and their authenticity was never contested by the interested parties. Copies of them were sent to all the courts, and legal proceedings were instituted against many of the guilty. Some were deprived of their employments in the government service; others were imprisoned; not one was put to death. It is very strange that none of the other German governments took any measures against these enemies of society. The duke of Saxe-Gotha even gave his hospitality to Weisshaupt; and many other princes of that family emulated him in encouraging Illuminism, the avowed foe of public authority and private property. The tenets of Weisshaupt may be thus summarized. Liberty and equality are essential rights of man, received by him when he was in his original and primitive perfection. The first attack on equality was made by the establishment of the right of property; the first attack on liberty was made when the first civil government was formed. The sole supports of the right of property and of government are the civil and religious laws; therefore, in order to restore to man his primitive rights of liberty and equality, we must begin by destroying all religion and all civil society, and we may then finish by abolishing all proprietary right. Weisshaupt reproached the philosophers of his day with cowardice and

inconsistency; he certainly pushed the theories of his contemporary philosophasters to their last consequences. We must not forget to note that some years before his death (1822), Weisshaupt recanted, and was reconciled to the Church. *One of his last acts was the foundation of a Catholic church in Gotha (1).*

Returning to our main subject, we now assume the consideration of a point which is often raised by Masons themselves, or by the comparatively few weak-minded Catholics who have been tempted to join the order. It is frequently asserted that the Masonic idea does not interfere with a member's religion; that, on the contrary, Masonry respects the religious faith and the political sympathies of its subjects. There is indeed a Masonic statute to this effect, but nothing is more certain than that Masonry substitutes itself for any and every system of religion. Of course this substitution is more easily forgiven by the average Protestant than by even a nominal Catholic, for the former is no positivist in dogmatic matters; but the fact still remains, even for him, that, by making itself supreme in religion, Masonry does interfere with whatever semblance of religious conviction he ever entertained. But let us hear some eminent Freemasons on this point. Bazot, general secretary of the French Grand Orient, in his *Historical, Philosophical, and Moral Tableau of Freemasonry*, written when he had been thirty-one years a Mason, says: "Our religion is the natural, primitive, unique, universal, and unchangeable religion—it is Freemasonry." Ragon, in his *Interpretative Course*, solemnly authorized by the French Grand Orient in 1840, says that "he who would make a religion of Masonry, falsifies it"; but, in order to agree with Brother Bazot, who calls it "the primitive and universal religion," he makes this distinction: "The first man who, on perceiving the order manifested in the universe, concluded that there is a God, was a benefactor to the world; but he who made that God speak, was an impostor." According to Ragon, therefore, Masonry is not to be regarded as a religion, only in this sense—it rests on

(1) ROHRBACHER; vol. xxvii., p. 525—*Etudes Religieuses et Historiques*, No. 39. Paris, 1866—*L. Monde*, Aug. 4, 1867.

no revelation. *The Pelican*, the organ of Brazilian Masonry, cited by Mgr. Antonio de Macedo-Costa, bishop of Grand Para, in his *Instruction on Masonry*, 1871, declares that "Masonry is a great temple, which, like an ancient one at Rome, gives hospitality to all the gods, because, taken together, they form one God." In the *Freemason Orator*—"a selection of discourses pronounced on Masonic solemnities, relative to the dogmas and history of the order, and to the morality taught in the workshops," and published by the French Grand Orient (Paris, Caillet, 1825),—we read the following words of a member of the Lodge of Mt. Tabor, Paris: "Nothing is more incontestably true than nature—that is, existence. The Masonic order is derived from the ancient mysteries, which themselves arose from nature, and had nature for a sacramental [*sic*] basis. It certainly follows that this royal art, this symbolic and mysterious temple, in fine the Masonic order, is the emblem of nature, of pre-existing truth. Therefore, this order is natural law, the true and unique religion." In the *Courrier de Bruxelles* of March 7, 1879, may be read a report of an address made by Brother Goblet d'Aviella to the lodge of the "Philanthropic Friends" of Brussels, in which the following passage occurs: "Masonry shows that it is not only a philosophy, the philosophy of progress, but that it is also a religion, the religion of the ideal. Can one contest the utility of a vast association like Masonry, which, while theocracies are everywhere tumbling down, meets to dedicate temples, as we do to-day, for that worship which will survive all others, because it rests on a progressive conception of nature?"

The above quotations are sufficiently eloquent, but Masonry will stand still more strongly convicted of Satanic ambition if we dwell a while upon its much-vaunted *Secret*. According to Masonic Constitutions, the Secret is the first characteristic of the order, although the immense majority of its members—even of those of high grade—do not receive any confidences. In 1794 the duke of Brunswick, then grand-master, thus spoke to all the lodges: "Your masters told you, as our fathers told us, that the secrets of the association can be known only by certain masters; for what would be

come of secrets if they were known to many?" Even the grand-master or an Orient may know none of the secrets. In the German lodges, says Eckert, an erudite Saxon who devoted his whole life to Masonic investigations, a "Knight of St. Andrew" or a "superior Scotch master" takes the following oath: "I freely swear to God, the Creator of the universe, and in the hands of the legitimate master of this lodge, and in the presence of the Scotch brethren here present, to conceal, in the most effective manner possible, the secrets that I may have acquired, and all the conclusions I may have drawn from them; and to reveal them to no one, *not even to the grand-master of the whole order, if I do not meet him in a regular High-Scotch Lodge, or if he is not designated to me as such by my superiors of this lodge.*" But, notwithstanding these precautions, we of the "profane" world can penetrate the Secret, if we carefully study the writings of the Masonic leaders, and if we carefully scan the events in which these leaders have taken part. The Secret is undoubtedly communicated to the members of the "interior order"; but he also can penetrate it who is able to decipher the symbols of Masonry, as is plainly shown by the famous Droeseke in a discourse pronounced, in 1849, before the Olive Branch Lodge of Bremen, and cited by Eckert in his *True Signification of Freemasonry*. He says: "Above all, we regard Masonry as an institution emanating from the Divinity. He who has it, will receive unto satiety; but to him who has it not, Masonry can give nothing. In our temples there is constantly question of the Secret; or, to be more exact, we speak only of the Secret. This Secret can not be hidden from him who has eyes; he penetrates it without aid from the lodge; he is initiated without entering into the sanctuary. Another person may never acquire it, even through the lodge, and even though he has received all the degrees; *he is one of the profane, even though he be seated at the right of the Temple, and wear the jewels of the grand-master.* Even the means that we employ to solve this problem—our symbols, images, and signs—are held by us as secrets. But why, and by what right? Our symbols do not serve merely to kill time and to amuse children. *They are*

the sacred vessels in which the Holy of Holies is kept and exposed to the view of the initiated. Such are the words that would be profaned if they were thrown before unclean animals." A contemporary German author, Bluntschli, professor at Heidelberg, and grand-master of the Grand Lodge of Bayreuth, thus exposes, in his *General Theory of the State*, what he rightly regards as "the spirit of the day," but which he would have styled with still greater justice "the spirit of Masonry," were it not his custom, in all his works, to abstain from open mention of the order's influence: "The modern state is founded *humanly* on human nature. The state is a human community of life, created and administered by man, *for a human end*. . . . The modern conscience hates all theocracy. The modern state is a human constitutional organization; its power is regulated by public law; its policy seeks the public good, in accordance with the conceptions of human reason, with human means (1). The modern state regards itself as a person, composed of a spirit (the 'national spirit') and a body (the 'Constitution'); it feels itself independent and free, even in regard to the Church, which is a collective person, also possessed of spirit and body; and it asserts its high right even over her.' In an address to the Italian Parliament (Jan., 1867), the famous *Italianissimo* publicist, Scialoja, said: "There are no longer any mixed questions; the human principle, which knows everything, claims the sole right to decide everything. *The sovereign state admits no right against its right*, and its claims can be comprised in these words: *The Church should enjoy that liberty which is allowed her, as to other associations permitted by the state.*" Masonry everywhere uses this language, and, as Pachtler well remarks, in place of the divine order, which is *Humanity with God*, Masonry would erect an edifice of *Humanity without God, or against God* (2). Consider for a moment the fundamental and universal allegory of Masonry—its very essence, as taught by its most authoritative exponents, and by its very manuals and rituals. A vast temple to be constructed; "apprentices, companions, and

(1) Odilon Barrot, in 1828, expressed this idea more frankly when he said: "The law is atheistic, and ought to be such."

(2) *The Positive Side of Freemasonry*, Fribourg, 1875.

masters " at the work ; Hiram, or Adonhiram (1), one of these masters, assassinated by three companions who wanted the " password," or " master's word " the body of Hiram to be found ; his death to be revenged ; the construction of the temple resumed, and to be accomplished. This allegory is indicated in the degrees of " apprentice " and " companion " ; it is developed in that of " master " ; and is completed, after passing through the degrees of " Rose-Cross " and " Kad-osh," in those of the rite of Misraim. What mean this " temple," asks Deschamps, and the " assassins of Hiram " ? Who is this Hiram ? All Masonic rituals tell us that the temple is the *temple of nature*, or the Masonic Golden Age. The god herein adored is *nature*—the God-All. The *fire* is his essence, and is represented by the " sun " and the Indian *Lingam*—all that is most material in ancient paganism. The " assassins " are superstition, ambition, tyranny, ignorance, and prejudice—in a word, the Catholic Church. Nay, as Deschamps carefully proves in his wonderful work, by these " assassins " Masonry understands every rule of morals, all authority, the family, property, nationality. " Hiram resuscitated and *conqueror of all his enemies*, the adorer and adored of the temple, is the true Mason, the philosopher, the sage, the primitive man—man restored to the Golden Age of Masonic liberty " (2). Masonry does not believe in original sin ; it contends that man is naturally good, and that he is made evil only by the institutions of human morality, by religion, property, etc. Weisshaupt expresses this idea very plainly : " Equality and liberty are man's essential rights, which he received from nature when he was in his original and primitive perfection. The first attack against this equality was made by property ; the first attack against liberty was made by political society—that is, by governments ;

1. According to the system of those who find the origin of Masonry in the Garden of Eden, one of the *Elohim* became father of Cain by Eve, while *Adonai*, another of the *Elohim*, created Adam, to whom Eve bore Abel. The descendants of Cain invented the arts. Adonhiram was entrusted by Solomon with the construction of the great temple, and while executing the task he was killed by a giant, and cast into the fiery abyss. But he returned to complete his task. Solomon became jealous of Adonhiram, and caused his murder. However, nine masters found the corpse, killed the assassins, and in a triangle of fire they placed the name of the Great Architect of the Universe, which was guarded by a chosen few. CASTU. *Heretics of Italy*, vol. III., p. 299.

(2) B. I., chap. I., § 2.

and the only supports of property and of governments are religious and civil law. Therefore, in order to restore to man his primitive rights of equality and liberty, we must begin by destroying all religion, all civil society, and end with the abolition of property " (1). One would imagine he were listening to a communist of the "International." And this is the spirit of the association which certain weak-minded Christians would fain believe to be indifferent, if not respectful, to the religious convictions of its members! We will conclude this point with some citations from one of modern Masonry's most authoritative sources.

Down to the year 1859, even during the period when Cavour exercised unparalleled authority over them, the Italian lodges had always been dependent on some foreign Grand Orient (2). But in that year, under the auspices of the *Assonia*, just founded at Turin, many new independent lodges were instituted, and they set about the election of a grand-master. After four years of rivalry between Nigra, Cordova, and Garibaldi, the last, who had already, on January 1, 1862, been proclaimed "the first Mason in Italy," obtained the almost unanimous vote of the convention at Florence for his elevation to the grand-mastership. Then Italian Masonry renewed and published its Constitution, and in Art. IV. it was declared: "Masonry recognizes its God in the principle of moral and social order, under the symbol of the Great Architect of the Universe." And in Art. VIII. it is said: "As the definite object of its labors, *Masonry proposes to unite all free men in one great family, which will and ought, little by little, to succeed all the churches founded on blind faith and on theocratic authority: to succeed all superstitions, intolerant, and mutually hostile forms of worship: and thus establish the true and only Church of Humanity.*" It is not strange, therefore, that in the "Congress of Peace," held in 1867 at Geneva, by the leading Masons of Europe, the new Italian grand-master declared: "The religion of God is adopted by this Congress, and each of its members pledges himself to

(1) *Unanimous Code. General System.* See Robiano's *Continuation of the History of the Church*, vol. II., p. 295, et seq.

(2) Thus, the lodges of Geneva and Lehorn were subordinate to the Supreme Council of Paris.

spread it throughout the earth"; and that when a member demanded, "Of what God do you speak?" Garibaldi replied, "By religion I mean the religion of reason." No wonder that the Congress then decreed that "the Papacy, being the most harmful of all sects, is declared deposed from among human institutions" (1). Speaking of the question "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?" used in the ritual of the Roman Grand Orient, the *Rivista della Massoneria* of Aug. 1, 1874, says: "Everybody knows that this formula possesses, by general consent, no exclusive signification, still less a religious one. It is adapted to all tastes, even to that of an atheist." And the *Monde Magnifique* of 1878, p. 204, says that now in the Italian lodges the question "What do you owe to God?" is not put, but this one, "What do you owe to humanity, your country, and yourself?"

It is well known that in 1877 the lodges of England and the United States ceased to hold relations with the Grand Orient of France. This fact would not interest us of the "profane world," were it not based upon a most important action of the most important of all Masonic bodies; namely, the abolition, by the French Grand Orient, of that one of its statutes which proclaimed, as a very basis of Masonry, a belief in the existence of God and in the immortality of the soul. Since the Convention of October 26, 1854, the statutes of the French Grand Orient had declared that "the order of Freemasons has for its object: beneficence, the study of morality, and the practice of every virtue. It has for its basis: the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the love of humanity." Of course, this statute owed its existence to the fact that Freemasonry had become an official institution of the Second Empire, and that Napoleon III. felt that something was due to the faith of the immense majority of the French people; and it had remained, despite the indignation of a majority of the order. But in a convention of the lodges of the east of France, held at Metz on July 29, 1869, the suppression of the above statute was demanded, with the request that it should be replaced by one declaring "human solidarity" to be the sole principle of Masonry. It

(1) *Annuaire of the Grand Orient of France for 1877*, Published By The Committee, p. 126.

was not difficult to carry this point; for as the *Monde Magique* had already said in 1862, the old statute was by no means a real indication of Masonic faith in a personal God: "God, the Great Architect of the Universe, is a generic term, which all men, since Plato, can accept, even though they do not believe in God." It was natural, therefore, that French Freemasonry, represented by means of its delegates in Paris on September 14, 1877, should have replaced the obnoxious statute with this one: "Freemasonry holds as its principles, absolute liberty of conscience and human solidarity." The English and American lodges resented this formal and public avowal of atheistic sentiment. In England and the United States, says Deschamps, "Masonry has allied itself with the Protestant churches, and has assigned to the Bible a prominent place in its ritual. If religion has not gained by this alliance, at least the lodges have lost thereby much of their original impious character. But the attitude of the English and American lodges is merely an isolated fact."

We are now brought to a point which is often urged by Masons. Why is it that Masonry is so much more openly atheistic, so much more violent, in Catholic countries than in those where the principles of the Reformation have taken root? The reason is evident. In the latter countries the work of Masonry is more than half accomplished; in the former, a solid, healthy, and imperturbably confident organization successfully impedes that work. In the language of an influential Masonic review (1), "from a religious point of view, Protestantism is one-half of Masonry. It, however, considers the essence of religion as a divine revelation, and permits to reason only a vain attempt to give form to an object outside its domain. In Masonry, on the contrary, reason has to furnish not only the *form* but the very *substance* of religion. At last, Protestantism must either return to Catholicism, or stop in the middle of its course; or, ever progressing, end by adopting the Masonic religion. . . . There is no medium between belief and disbelief, between being a Catholic or being an atheist." Pachtler, in his *War against Throne and Altar*, quotes a letter written to the *Leipsic Bauhütte* by the

(1) The *Latonia*, vol. ii., p. 164.

Venerable Master Conrad, in which we read : "No more attention need be paid to Protestantism than to a mere statistical rubric ; for it is lamentably reduced to the slavery of the mere letter of a book ; and, as it has no living discipline to excite the labors of the spirit, it is broken up into numberless confessions, all without any strength. Catholicism alone, with its strongly coherent organization, presents a formidable barrier to the advance of *independent humanity*. . . . This Church is a challenge issued against, not only Freemasonry, but against all civilized society." Masonry, therefore, can afford to be tolerant, if not really friendly, to all the sects of Protestantism ; just as it is to Mohammedanism and to the schismatics of the East, who affect to ignore it ; just as it is to Judaism, many of whose ostensible followers court it, and, to a great extent nowadays, rule it. But between it and the Catholic Church there must be persistent war. If the impossible could happen—if the Catholic Church could be eliminated from the face of the earth,—then, indeed, all heresies might fear the attacks of Masonry ; for then the very logic of evil, in which Masonry is such an adept, would impel it to attack even natural social order wherever found. Concerning its final object, Masonry no longer resorts to subterfuge : it openly declares itself as *the* religion of mankind. How, then, can there be anything else than war between it and that Church which insists that she alone is the authoritative teacher of religion among all men ? Which will conquer ? Even the infidel must admit that the Catholic Church has the better founded reason for confidence ; for at least she believes that she derives from God, and such confidence goes far to secure victory. Masonry, on the contrary, is of the earth, earthly ; and, though it may prate much about some mythical Great Architect of the Universe, few of its votaries seek inspiration above the roofs of their houses. As for the Catholic's faith in the promises of God, and therefore in the triumph of the Church over every enemy, infernal or earthly—it would be futile to draw a Mason's attention to that matter. But let both profane and initiated study the past. A knowledge of history will convince them that Freemasonry has attempted the impossible.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS.

Besides the continued onslaughts of her olden foes, the Church of the eighteenth century had to withstand those of three combatants newly arrived in the arena; and the paucity of none of her previous enemies had been so well fitted for a struggle for life or death, as that with which the newcomers were equipped. These new enemies were Freemasonry, Jansenism and Philosophism. From the day of its transformation from a beneficent organization, once protected and even blessed by the Church, to a society aiming to supplant the divinely-founded teaching body in its control of the minds and hearts of men, the first of these systems had perforce challenged Rome to a combat in which quarter would be unknown; and the year 1738 saw that the Roman Pontiff was on the alert, and that the gauntlet had been lifted by the Bull *In Eminenti*, whereby, for the first time, the Holy See stamped upon the audacious society the seal of condemnation. As to the other newly enrolled enemies, few systems could present greater differences, both in origin and object, than were exhibited by Jansenism and Philosophism. The former was austere, the latter epicurean. The former idolized authority, providing, of course, that it had the fashioning of the idol; while the latter knew no worship but that of "pure reason." The former was devoted to the Church—albeit, travestied by imaginative architects; while the latter had adopted as its watchword the cry of the Sage of Ferney, "*Ecrassez l'infâme.*" But these so-differing foes of a representative of God on earth rivalled the adepts of the Square and Triangle in their opposition to the Queen who sat enthroned on the Seven Hills. Now it happened that about this time a large number of Christians had come to discern the right arm of the Holy See in the celebrated Society of Jesus. Against this powerful organization, therefore, were principally directed the arrows of the "liberal" forces, as they skirmished around the beleaguered fortress of Christian faith.

Ere long these besiegers were reinforced by an acquisition of strength which, by the very nature of things, one would suppose, should have been enlisted on the other side. The royal power in Portugal, Spain, France, Austria, Naples, Tuscany, and Parma, wielded by ministers whose notions of statecraft were diabolic rather than Christian, became the principal instrument in producing one of the most terrible catastrophes of modern times. If we are to credit the judgment of the Parliament of Paris, a tribunal which, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, deemed itself fully competent in all matters ecclesiastical, the Society of Jesus had become a propagator of simony, blasphemy, sacrilege, astrology, idolatry, superstition, impurity, perjury, lying, theft, murder—especially regicide—suicide, Arianism, Socinianism, Sabellianism, Nestorianism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and even the olden errors of Wycliffe, Pelagius, and Montanus. At first sight of this rather inconsistent arraignment, one would suppose that it would not be credited even by that average *muliercula*, the scapegoat for so many absurdities, whom ecclesiastical writers are wont to render responsible for many vagaries of an infantine intellect. But credited it was by many persons of fair understanding; and, of course, the rank and file of the philosophists affected to believe it well-founded; while heresy, Gallicanism, Jansenism, and court-theology, each assured its partisans that if the terrible Jesuits were only banished from the earth, or at least disarmed and deprived, as it were, of their teeth, by a decree of the supreme ecclesiastical authority, then the Church would breathe freely, for the lay powers would no longer combat her. In fine, if the Jesuits could be made a thing of the past, the lion and the lamb would at last lie down together; for, at length, morality would reign, that scandalous laxism of the Society being erased from books of casuistry; and there would be a perpetual love-feast between rulers and the governed, since one blow would have destroyed both Jesuits and their doctrine of the propriety of regicide.

Among the innumerable diatribes which were issued during the thirty or forty years preceding the attainment of their object, the suppression of the hated Society, scarcely

one was not based on the alleged authenticity of a work which, even in our day, the more ignorant Jesuitophagi are wont to quote—that collection of purported *Monita Secreta*, or secret admonitions, said to be received only by the professed, for the government of the organization and the conduct of its members. Sarpi seems to have doubted the authenticity of this famous arsenal of weapons against those he so bitterly hated; for, writing to Dell' Isola, he said: "I have always admired the policy displayed by the Jesuits in keeping their secrets. Their *Institutions* are certainly printed, but one cannot lay a hand on a copy. I say nothing concerning the *Rules* which were printed at Lyons, for they are puerilities; I allude to the regulations for their government, which are so carefully guarded. Members are dismissed from the Society every day, and many leave it of their own accord, and still these secrets are not revealed. No other organization of men in the world, conspiring for one object, is managed with such accuracy, and shows such zeal in its work." Good sense, if not blinded by passion, ought to have led to the conclusion that these secret rules did not exist; and Sarpi appears to have had enough of that good sense, for he adds: "I have read that book, and it contains things so extravagant, that I doubt its genuineness; men are certainly wicked, but I cannot believe that such ribaldries are tolerated anywhere in the world." These *Monita* have been ascribed to Schoppe, a converted Lutheran of paradoxical proclivities who was invited to Rome by Clement VII.; but there is better reason to believe that they were invented by Zaorowski, a Pole expelled from the Society in 1611. Certainly, they are of a date anterior to 1613, when they were confuted by the Jesuit Gretzer. Scotti, one of the most venomous of a venomous tribe, says nothing of these secret rules, although he details many of the laws of the Jesuits, and probably would have detailed all, had he not told his reader that they fill fifty immense volumes (1).

Sarpi feigned to believe that the Jesuits are capable of

(1) *Monarchia Solipsorum*, under the pen-name of Lucius Cornelius Europæus. Venice, 1645. Scotti says that the *solipsi* venerate their *monarcha* (the general) more than any other being, and that their fundamental law is to labor for the subjugation of the entire world to that *monarcha*.

committing any evil; and he insisted that "there is no greater enterprise than that of diminishing the credit of the Jesuits. If they are beaten, Rome is taken; if they disappear, religion will be reformed, of its own accord." But Fra Paolo yields in audacity of attack, in recklessness of assertion, and in many other arts of the calumniator, to an author from whom, in his early career, very different things were anticipated. The first works of Gioberti were marked by learning, art, charity, and faith. For a restoration of philosophy, he had deemed necessary a general return to Catholic ideas and institutions, and his early pages are redolent of historical truth, as he magnifies the pontifical authority and its upholders (1); although, remarks Cantù, his immoderate praise of Italy, for which he claimed the primacy among the nations, because it is the seat of the hieratic centre and of the religious and moral tie of the world, "innoculated his country with a pride which was to harm it greatly." In his *Primacy of Italy*, he had so eulogized the pontifical authority and the Jesuits, that he displeased that rank and file, for whose praise, as events proved, he hankered. Accordingly, in order to avoid the accusation of "Jesuitizing," he issued his *Prolegomena*, and finally his too celebrated *Modern Jesuit*, in which he undertook to prove that "the Jesuits are souls without pity, souls of iron; they are impenetrable to sentiments the most sacred, to affections

(1) Gioberti drew these generous principles from Manzoni, Cantù, Balbo, and similar polemics, who had originated the *Neo-Guelphic* school. "This school," says Cantù, "in the unpreventable conflict between the Church and the State, that is, between the peoples and the rulers, had embraced the party which preferred the moral authority of the Pontiff to the armed supremacy of the emperor; and they saw in this a means to establish a supremacy of the national idea over foreign domination. In Italy they wished to re-establish concord and dignity; to substitute a cult of liberty instead of the revolutionary orgy; to render faith more than a mere speculation which tries to conciliate everything in some vague kind of fashion, and which is neither a nutriment nor a restraint; to lead our compatriots back from a belief in the God of *galantuomini* and from Voltairian contempt, to a faith in a personal and living God, our Creator and our Redeemer. In history, in the study of law and of statistics, they declared that they found that liberty had been always protected by the Popes, who by their opposition of a universal equality of souls to a universal empire of force, saved civilization; who prevented the subjugation of Italy by the barbarians, and were ever favorable to any struggle for real Italian independence. Confronting the glorious dangers of impopularity, the Neo-Guelphs believed that by the actuation of these ideas they might effect the elevation of Italy, humiliated by foreign violence and by our own faults, and that this elevation could be effected by the exertions of Italians alone. They prognosticated a league, the head of which was to be the Roman Pontiff; and by means of this confederation, the foreigner was to lose, at first, his superiority, and finally his dominion in Italy." *Theories of Italy*, Discourse LV.

the most noble ; they are ever ready for fraud, imposture, and calumny ; they are men without heart, apostles of hell, ministers of perdition ; in fine, they form the most terrible and fatal enemy of humanity and Christianity which modern times have known. . . . They teach a ribald morality which has only the semblance of being Christian, and they inculcate things of which an honest Gentile would be ashamed ; their idea of justice is contradictory to public law, and can have the sanction of none but assassins " (1). In diametrical opposition to the work of Gioberti, we have the too famous apology for the Jesuits by Cretineau-Joly. The impartial reader who turns from the exaggerations and absurdities of Gioberti, the venomous sputterings of Sarpi, and the idiotic ravings of the inventor of the *Monita Sacra*, in the hope of discovering pure and simple truth in this work, will be sadly disappointed. We hear much, on the part of the foes of the Jesuits, of a tendency of certain devotees to confound the celebrated Society with the Church ; we do not believe that such persons exist ; but certainly Cretineau-Joly approaches, as nearly as any one of sane mind can, to an assertion of that identity. For a medium between Gioberti and the French enthusiast, one may turn to the pages of the learned Oratorian, Theiner ; especially for a refutation of the cruelly false allegations, brought by certain superlatively zealous apologists of the Society—especially Cretineau-Joly—against the mem-

(1) The Abbé Le Noir, in his *Adaptation of Bergier's Dictionary to the Intellectual Movement of the Nineteenth Century* (Paris, 1876), makes these apposite reflections on the teachings of the Jesuits: " We can find no foundations for the charges brought against the Jesuits. Whatever charge would be of real importance, if sustained, has either never been proved, or vanishes when subjected to scrutiny. And how many things are alleged against them, which really redound to their praise. . . . Their very virtues, their services and amiability, their spirit of tolerance and their sociability, even that civism which is generally in advance of the times ; all of these qualities are turned against them. At the moment when we are writing (1873), we learn of the discovery in the Sainte-Geneviève Library, of the original score of the opera *Jonathas* by Charpentier. This composer had set to music the *Malade Imaginaire* of Molière for the Jesuit College which was located on the site of the present Lycée de Louis-le-Grand. This opera, like many other pieces, had been represented on the stage of the College theatre ; for the Jesuits wished to call the drama and music, and all the arts, to their aid in the cultivation of the minds and hearts of their pupils. They brought to their College stage the best actors of the capital. . . . At the time when the unintelligent rigidism of Gallicanism and Jansenism reigned among us, the Jesuits counterbalanced it in their own practice, with as much courage as good sense. . . . We cannot be malevolent toward such men ; but we feel like cursing that blind perversity which persists in regarding all the good and beautiful that the Jesuits have effected, all their own excellence, as so much hypocrisy and treason."

ory of Pope Clement XIV. This work, however, did not please the Society; "it afflicted the general, Father Root-haan, profoundly," says Ravignan; "he perceived in it an attack on the Society," and he thought that "a better apology for the Pontiff who suppressed the Society might be made." Ravignan produced "a better apology," not of Clement XIV., but of the Society (1); and not the least of its many merits is one that cannot be discerned in any other of the numerous narratives of the Suppression which have appeared in our day. Not once does the name of Cretineau-Joly appear in the work. The excellent review of Theiner's book, from the pen of another Jesuit, Boero (2), is invaluable because of the wealth of documentary evidence which it adduces; but it is deficient in that which constitutes the chief merit of Ravignan's apology—a calmness of tone which causes one to forget that he is reading a strictly polemical work.

Before we enter upon a detailed account of the persecutions which preceded the suppression of the Society of Jesus, we must observe that the Holy See, certainly the best judge in the premises, did not regard as well-founded the reasons which were adduced in justification of those persecutions. We abstain from any citations of the praises which Clement XIII. lavished on the Society, since its enemies have always found fault with that Pontiff for an excessive friendship toward it; but we may reasonably ask consideration for the opinion of Benedict XIV., who has never been charged with an exhibition of more affection for the Jesuits than strict justice demanded. While still archbishop of Bologna, Cardinal Lambertini thus wrote in his *Ecclesiastical Institutions*: "Here we must make special mention of the brethren and companions of Blessed Francis Regis, the religious of the Society of Jesus, whose aid we have ever requested and shall ever request in behalf of the flock committed to our charge. No one is ignorant of their zealous care in the religious and literary training of youth, in the proper celebration of the divine offices in their churches, in leading sinners to repentance, in the instruction of the ignorant; all know how

(1) *Clement XIII. and Clement XIV.* Paris, 1854.

(2) *Observations on the History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV., Written by A. Theiner, Priest of the Oratory.* Monza, 1853.

they aid the pastors of souls by teaching the principles of Christian doctrine to children, by their preaching the word of God ; and all know also the great fruit which follows the exercises of the retreat which they give to ecclesiastics." And when he had mounted the pontifical throne, Benedict XIV. said in his Bull *Devotam*, published in 1746 : " We know that the society founded by St. Ignatius, under the name and auspices of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, devoted to the glory of God and the salvation of souls, renders continually the most useful services to the Church ; and that for more than two centuries it has been *happily and prudently governed according to the very wise laws and constitutions which its holy founder devised.*" And in his Bull *Præclaris*, issued in 1748, the same Pontiff declares : " Following in the footsteps of our predecessors, who have showered favors on the illustrious Society of Jesus, we do not hesitate to give new testimonies of our pontifical benevolence toward a society whose members are regarded as, and are in fact, the good odor of Jesus Christ." Finally we may adduce the Bull *Constantem*, issued in the same year, in which Benedict XIV. says that " The clerics of the Society of Jesus, faithful followers in the glorious footsteps of their holy founder, Ignatius, give an example of religious virtue to the world ; and at the same time they teach all the sciences, above all, the sacred science of religion."

The rumblings of the coming storm, which was to prove so disastrous to the Society of Jesus, had been heard in France for several years ; but it was in Portugal, a land which had hitherto rivalled Spain in whole-souled devotion to all that was cherished or even tolerated by the Roman See, that the tempest first descended. For all time the Catholic historian will ascribe the horrors which Portugal now witnessed, and the melancholy events which those horrors encouraged in other lands, to Sebastian Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal. The annals of Portugal mention Joseph I. as one of the kings of that country ; but no Merovingian monarch was less of a king than this Joseph, and no *maire de palais* was more effectively sovereign than Pombal. From his youth Pombal had been inclined toward novelties ; and

long residence in foreign lands had enabled him to enter into relations with incredulists, Protestants, and Jansenists. When he became prime-minister of Joseph I., he immediately entered on a course of "reforms" which were destined to convert a peaceable and religious land into a bedlam of disorder. In order to pave the way for his "liberalism," he caused the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others of that ilk, to be translated into Portuguese, and to be scattered broadcast among the people. But his masterpiece of statecraft was his capture of the Portuguese Inquisition. The reader will remember our reflections on the Spanish Inquisition; how we showed that it was a political, rather than a religious institution, depending from the king rather than from the Pope (1). The Portuguese tribunal had always been very similar to the Spanish in its subservience to the royal power; but Pombal succeeded in rendering it his docile creature. Without any pretence of law or right he deposed the grand-inquisitor, Don Joseph de Braganza; and placed in that tremendously responsible position his own brother, Paul Carvalho, a notorious enemy of the Holy See (2). Secular historians will inform the reader how Pombal confiscated the property of the Church and nobles, in order to enrich himself; how his administration was sullied by acts of cruelty which would have befitted the reigns of Nero, Elizabeth, or Catharine II. We simply record that he was known to send in one day, without reason, a hundred persons to the scaffold; and that when the bishop of Coimbra published a pastoral against the infamous *Pucelle* of Voltaire, he thrust the prelate into a subterranean dungeon. Such was the man who, on Feb. 10, 1758, denounced the Society of Jesus to Pope Benedict XIV., calling the attention of the Pontiff to a narrative of the "crimes" of the Jesuits in America, which the marquis had just written and published. Writing in the name of his Most Faithful Majesty to Francis d'Almada, the Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See, Pombal says: "Your Excellency will find in this *Relation* evidence that for many years these religious have forsworn all obedience to the Bulls and commands of the Popes, all

(1) Vol. ii., p. 403.

(2) PACCA: *Memoirs on the Nunciature of Lisbon*.

observance of the laws which are necessary for the peace of the kingdom, all fidelity to their sovereign, and the religious care of their subjects. They have sacrificed all these Christian, religious, natural, and political obligations to a blind, insolent, and unlimited greed for political power, to an insatiable thirst for wealth, and to a usurpation of the rights of sovereigns. . . . The extreme corruption of these unworthy sons of a holy society has become so extreme in the kingdom of Portugal, and especially in the dominions beyond the sea, that there are among us very few Jesuits who do not appear to be merchants, soldiers, and tyrants, rather than religious." His Holiness, therefore, was besought to nominate a visitor, whose duty it would be to "reform" the so lamentably degenerated Society. The lie was immediately given to Pombal, on the part of the Portuguese hierarchy, by the archbishop of Evora and the bishop of Tipaza, in apposite letters to the general of the criminated Society; and when fear of the tyrant prevented other Portuguese bishops from manifesting their real sentiments, many of the Spanish prelates protested to the Holy See against the calumnies of the dictator of Lisbon. The *Relation* which Pombal sent to the Pontiff was simply a verbose assertion that the Jesuits of Paraguay were merchants rather than religious, warriors rather than missionaries of Christ. Ravignan thus replies to the accusation: "The 'reductions' of Paraguay and a few other missions were administered, even as to temporal matters, by the fathers of the Society of Jesus. The bishops of those regions, and the colonial governments, had constantly approved that state of things as one which alone befitted those populations whom faith and piety had led, as it were naturally, to the pure and simple habits of the primitive Christians, or even of religious. The fathers-procurators did for the Indians just what is done in community life. They sold the produce of the soil and of the labor of the neophytes; they bought the things that were necessary. These operations were not contrary to the canons which forbid commerce to the clergy; they could not be regarded as 'business,' for that is a buying in order to sell; they brought no profit to the Society of Jesus. The accounts

were rendered to the civil authorities and audited by them. Nevertheless we have here the foundation of the edifice of calumny which Pombal deemed fitting for his designs. They talked of the gold mines which the Jesuits were working; they tried hard to find them, but neither gold nor silver mines have been found in Paraguay. For some time these ridiculous charges have been properly appreciated. All the registers and account books of the Jesuits were seized; the archives of the Society were searched; and what was found? Absolutely nothing; not a fact, not a name, which would indicate commercial operations; nothing which would prove military enterprises, commandments of armies, or political revolutions. . . . Afterward, but in France, there was indeed found a culprit, Father Lavellette; but he was not a Jesuit in his commercial operations; he avowed that he acted contrary to the will of his superiors, and without their knowledge."

A brief description of the work of the Jesuits in Paraguay will show the absurdity and wickedness of the charges made by Pombal against the Society. When the Jesuits began to evangelize the savages of the province of Guayra in 1586, they found the Guaranis the most degraded and corrupt of all the tribes they had met in the New World. But in a few years they converted and domesticated nearly two hundred thousand; and those little republics, which came to be known as the "Reductions" of Paraguay, were probably the happiest states on earth. Each "Reduction" had from three to seven thousand inhabitants dwelling in houses arranged around the church, which had been the original centre of the community. The soil was assigned for cultivation to each family in quantity proportionate to its numbers; but the produce of each lot was invariably brought to the common stock, which was finally divided equally among the citizens. Then there was a "domain of God," the revenues of which were devoted to the care of widows, orphans, the aged and infirm; to the expenses of divine worship; and to the annual tribute which the community paid to the sovereign in Europe. The labors of each day were preceded by the Holy Sacrifice, hymns, and common prayer. The produce of

the soil was not sold in markets ; but on appointed days it was distributed in public. On each Monday the women received the cotton or silk which they were to spin during the week, and to return on Saturday. Each commune was divided into quarters with their respective *alcaldes* or superintendents of discipline ; and each *alcaide* had under his orders a *corregidor* who presided over the school of the quarter. Faults were punished by private reprimands ; a second delinquency entailed public penance at the door of the church, a third was to be atoned for by a light whipping, but the annals of the "Reductions" tell us that during the century and a half that they subsisted, this castigation was *not once administered*. Marriage was celebrated at an early age. In the workshops the sexes were separate. When a woman had no child, and her husband was at war, she resided in a refuge designated for that and similar purposes. The lazy were condemned to cultivate the "domain of God." Foreign commerce, which consisted chiefly of the exportation of cotton stuffs and a kind of tea, brought considerable profit to the communities ; but it was either divided, or devoted to public works and embellishments. Behold an outline of a sketch of what may be called an ecclesiastical republic, as it was constituted by the Jesuits during the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century, and which was in its prime when Pombal, the type of the "liberal" of his day, relegated it to the domain of history. And of what sublime patience and courage it was the fruit ! In their work of civilization, the Jesuits had been not only missionaries of Christ, but also physicians and nurses, stewards, cooks, bakers, farmers, blacksmiths, tanners, shoemakers, tailors, in fine, everything which contributes to make a civilized community ; and during the entire course of their efforts they saw ever present the danger of a fall, on the part of their wards, into that indifference, that innate apathy, which seemed to be the heritage of the South American Indian. The annals of the "Reductions" give many illustrations of the patient watchfulness which alone enabled the planted seed to develop unto maturity ; thus, it was an ordinary occurrence for some embryo farmers, when sent to plough with a yoke of oxen, to slaughter and

eat the animals, and then stretch themselves for a good nap. But the fathers conquered; and soon there was scarcely a useful art which was not followed by the quondam savages. The Jesuits have been blamed for having tried to isolate their nascent states from the Spaniards and Portuguese. The charge is well founded. "But this endeavor," remarks a judicious modern publicist, "was a stroke of prudence and of genius, since the bad example of the Europeans would have impeded the progress of the Indians. Men decried the theocratic and communistic system that had been founded; but what mattered the system, when it was welcomed by all, and when it produced such happy results? The economists of to-day term it a still-born Utopia. This is a strange qualification for a masterpiece which had savagery for the sole element of its creation; which was perfected in spite of swamp fever, foreign invasion, and the many embarrassments excited by those who ought to have encouraged it; and which, after all, existed for nearly two centuries, and finally perished, only because the world killed it by violence" (1).

Pope Benedict XIV. deemed it wise to grant the favor which was besought in the name of his Most Faithful Majesty; and on April 1, 1758, he signed a Brief appointing the Portuguese Cardinal Saldanha as visitor, for the purpose of "inquiring as to whether the charges (against the Society) were well founded... to obtain the most exact information as to everything concerning the Jesuits... and to render a detailed account to the Supreme Pontiff." The Brief was promulgated in Portugal on May 2, the day before that on which Benedict XIV. died. The visitor made no visits whatever to any of the houses of the Society; and there is no indication that he communicated to the superiors of the Jesuits copies of the charges made against their subjects, or that he held the slightest interrogatory in the premises. Nevertheless, on May 15 this so-called visitor issued a decree wherein the Jesuits were declared to have engaged in public, scandalous, and illicit commerce in Portugal and in the Portuguese colonies. After this violation of the pontifical injunctions and of canonical prescriptions, it is not

(1) LE NOIR; *loc. cit.*, Art. *Paraguay*.

surprising that on June 7 the patriarch of Lisbon satisfied the demands of Pombal by promulgating the following decree : " For just reasons which are known to us, and which interest specially the service of God and the public weal, we deprive the fathers of the Society of Jesus of the faculties of hearing confessions and preaching in the entire extent of our patriarchate." Thus Pombal openly declared war against the Jesuits ; and he had resolved to detach Portugal from her obedience to the Holy See, if that measure should prove necessary for his victory. " In order to rid himself of the Jesuits," says Theiner, " Pombal thought of nothing less than to separate Portugal from the Holy See, and to place that kingdom on the same footing as the schismatic Church of Utrecht. With this end in view he had addressed the Jansenists of France, asking them to send him a manual of their errors, that he might introduce them into the theological curriculum (of Portugal), and thus banish sound doctrine from the Universities and seminaries " (1). Was the life of the Portuguese monarch really attempted on Sept. 3, 1758 ? Historians generally reply in the affirmative ; and of course very many assert that the Jesuits were the guilty parties (2). Three of them were imprisoned, tried, and con-

(1) *Ubi supra*, p. 30.

(2) The impartial Cantù thus speaks of this alleged attempt : " It was said that three shots were fired at the king. No one but Pombal and the surgeon saw the monarch ; but it was said that the hand of the Jesuits was in the attempt, and a commission, presided over by Pombal, was instituted. Great nobles of the Tavora and Aveiro families were arrested, and confined in dens which were used for the wild beasts destined for the arena ; their relatives were shut up in monasteries ; the houses of the Jesuits were surrounded by guards, and minutely searched. On the rack the duke d'Aveiro confessed that he had wished to kill the king, and that he had been instigated by the Jesuits ; but when the torture had ceased, he retracted. The retraction was vain ; sentence was pronounced when nothing but rumors of conspiracies had been elicited—nothing positive whatsoever. Ferreira, a royal chamberlain, was sent to the stake, and the others to the wheel. Leonora de Tavora, a beautiful and cultured woman who had been, ' by the grace of God,' vice-queen at Goa, was decapitated ; her husband was quartered ; her sons, her son-in-law, and her servants were strangled ; her property was confiscated, her palaces razed, and her name abolished. The nature of the trial was the best testimony for the accused ; and it is sufficient to say that the record was kept secret, and that the king forbade any future revelation of it. The world, anxious to chronicle the truth, could only discover that the king had held an amorous appointment with the marchioness Leonora, and was returning in the carriage of his chamberlain, Texeira ; that the lady's husband and brother-in-law, thinking to punish Texeira for outraging their honor, attacked the king ; and that when the coachman cried that they were shooting the monarch, they fled. This account is the most probable one ; the least probable one is that of a conspiracy ; perhaps a vendetta of Pombal was at the bottom of the whole affair, he having been refused the hand of a Tavora lady for his son." *Universal History*, bk. xvii., ch. 10.

denmed; but Pombal dared not put them to death. But two hundred and twenty-one of the fathers were buried in the subterranean dungeons on the banks of the Tagus; half of them died ere the fall of their persecutor, seventeen years afterward, restored them to liberty. Those Jesuits who were not imprisoned were banished; their schools were confided to laymen, and translations of German Protestant textbooks were placed in the hands of the scholars. Among those who were banished, one hundred and thirty embarked for Civita Vecchia, and as the ship proceeded down the Tagus, they sang the *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*: from Brazil and Paraguay four hundred and ninety-four were brought to Lisbon for imprisonment, but half were sent to the Papal States, to be cared for by the Pontiff; about five hundred from the East Indies received the same treatment. The harrowing particulars of this persecution are easily attainable by the student; but the fate of one of the victims, Malagrida, being seldom more than mentioned, we shall devote a few words to it, especially since he was stigmatized as a heretic.

Gabriel Malagrida was born at Menaggio, in the diocese of Como, in Italy. Educated by the priests of the Congregation of the Somaschi, he finally became a Jesuit, and was despatched to the South American mission. In Peru, Bahia, Pernambuco, and other places, his zeal and charity were exemplary; while his sufferings—often even unto the verge of death—ranked him among the most heroic of those extraordinary men, of whom the religious orders were then so prolific. After twelve years of incredible labor, Malagrida returned to Europe to beg aid from the king of Portugal for the religious establishments which he had founded for the temporal and spiritual benefit of the Indians. He was received with worse than coolness by Pombal; and on the occasion of the terrible earthquake of All Saints' Day, 1755, his courage and charity so embittered the contemptible minister, that he induced the papal nuncio to exile the intrepid priest from Lisbon to Setubal. Meanwhile, among other charges alleged against the Jesuits by the creatures of Pombal and the other foes of the Society, was now advanced

that of having established communistic republics in America. If it is communism to use missionaries instead of soldiers, convents instead of prisons, hymns instead of whips, penances instead of the gallows, then certainly this accusation was well founded. But a still more terrible charge was soon brought against the Jesuits, and especially against Malagrida. An attempt was said to have been made on the life of the king; one of the parties arrested implicated the missionary, and such an occasion to ruin the Society was not to be missed by its arch-enemy. The room of Malagrida was searched, and among his papers was found a letter, addressed to his Majesty, announcing that danger menaced his royal person. Malagrida insisted that this knowledge had been revealed to him by heaven; in the book on Antichrist, said to have been written by him afterward, we read that he had heard, one night, a voice predicting the imminent death of the monarch; and at his trial he stated that having realized the great evils that would result from robbing the Jesuits of their missions in America, he prayed God to avert the danger, and received the inspiration to advise the king of the impending attempt. Malagrida was imprisoned; but the accusation could not be sustained, and hence Pombal invented another plan to attain his end. After the unfortunate septuagenarian had been incarcerated two years, he was denounced to the Inquisition of Lisbon, at the head of which Pombal had placed his own brother, of obscenities (said to have been committed by the old man in his prison), and of imposture, blasphemy, and heresy. No proof whatever could be adduced to sustain the first—an incredible charge; but in corroboration of the others, there were presented two books which Malagrida was said to have composed in his prison. One of these works was a treatise on *The Life and Empire of Antichrist*; the other was styled a *Wonderful Life of the Glorious St. Ann*, which the author asserted, on the title page, to have been “dictated by the saint herself, with the assistance, approbation, and concurrence, of our Most Sovereign Lady and of her Divine Son.” These books were filled with fantastic visions and absurdities; thus the writer insisted that there were to be three Antichrists, a

father, his son, and a grandson ; the last was to be born in Milan, in 1920, from the union of a friar and a nun ; he was to marry Proserpina, an infernal fury. St. Ann was represented as sanctified before her birth, and was said to have emitted, while yet unborn, the three monastic vows : of poverty to the Father, of obedience to the Son, and of chastity to the Holy Ghost. He thought that St. Ann was the most innocent of creatures. She prayed even for the Cherubim, that they might become more fervent in the divine service. The Blessed Virgin, according to the visionary, was to be exalted "even unto heaven, and beyond" ; he dared even to assign to her the attributes of God. As to the Jesuits, the enthusiast declared that they would found a new Empire of Christ, discovering an infinite number of Indian nations. Malagrida seems to have acknowledged these ravings as his own ; if he was really their author, he should have been placed in a lunatic asylum, rather than put to death, as Louis XV. equivalently observed, when he was informed of the victim's sentence. Nevertheless, founding its decision on these absurdities or hallucinations, the Inquisition of Lisbon, now controlled by Pombal's brother, pronounced the unfortunate "guilty of heresy, blasphemy, false prophesying, horrible impieties, and of having abused the word of God ; he had outraged the Divine Majesty by teaching an infamous and scandalous morality." Therefore he was consigned to the secular power, said power being requested to abstain from inflicting the punishment of death. On Sept. 21, 1761, Malagrida was strangled, and his body given to the flames. We do not know what Voltaire said when he heard of this execution ; but we do know that when he had heard of the victim's arrest, he wrote to the Countess Luzelburg : "I hear that the Reverend Father Malagrida has been arrested. Thank God ! This news is consoling." It seems that the Jesuits of that day regarded their assassinated brother as a saint ; and Pope Clement XIII., most partial to the Society, pronounced him "another martyr in the Church of Christ." Throughout Europe medals were circulated, bearing an inscription to the effect that Malagrida was "most illustrious for his holiness of life, for mir-

acles performed . . . venerated and beloved by high and low ; and unacceptable only to the demon and his ministers . . . he was condemned, *religionis lege*, amid the praises and tears of the good ; but by the public judgment of all, he was declared innocent." Of the *Lives* of Malagrida, the most famous, and probably the most reliable, are those by Matthew Rodriguez, and by the latinist, Cordara.

The sublimely audacious Pombal having asked Pope Clement XIII. for authorization to punish all clerics, secular or regular, who had been guilty of an "attempt at regicide," the Pontiff issued the requisite Brief ; but on the same day, Aug. 2, 1759, he wrote to King Joseph an eloquent letter, the burden of which was that if any of the Jesuits were found guilty, they should be punished, but that "the innocent should not be made to suffer." Meanwhile legal proceedings in Paraguay and Spain had demonstrated the innocence of the Jesuits ; and both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of those countries had condemned as infamous the dif-famatory libels against the Society which Pombal had caused to be circulated. Because of these procedures a decree was promulgated by the Council of Castile on April 5, 1759, completely justifying the Jesuits of Paraguay ; and basing its action on the same reports, the Spanish Inquisition, not dominated by a Carvalho, prohibited the reading of Pombal's infamous *Relation* to which we have alluded, and ordered it to be burnt by the public executioner (1). At this same period the queen-regent of Spain, Elizabeth Farnese, wrote to the provincial of the Jesuits in New Spain, lauding the zeal and charity of his subjects ; and when, in 1760 Charles III. was called from his kingdom of Naples to the Spanish throne, he ordered a number of Jesuits to be conveyed, at public expense, to the same regions where, according to Pombal, they had plotted against his crown. But testimonies such as these only augmented the virulence of Pombal ; and he eagerly awaited an occasion for an open rupture with Clement XIII., who, although most patient with the court of Lisbon, most plainly evinced an entire sym-

(1) See the *Report Made to the Council of Castile in 1815 for the Re-establishment of the Jesuits*, by Gutierrez de la Huerta, Fiscal of Castile. Madrid, 1845.

pathy with the persecuted Society. This occasion not showing itself, Pombal spread a net for the Papal nuncio at Lisbon, Cardinal Acciajuoli. The Infante, Don Pedro, was about to be married to the princess of Brazil; and in violation of the common laws of diplomatic etiquette, to say nothing of the respect due to the representative of the Father of Christendom, the prime minister omitted to inform Acciajuoli officially of the coming event. The insulted nuncio consulted with the other members of the diplomatic body; and by their advice he abstained from illuminating his residence on the evening of the ceremony, at the same time informing the king of the reasons which had prompted his conduct. Pombal had gained his point; the nuncio was immediately conducted by a squadron of troopers to the frontier, and for many years there were no diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Portugal. Several times Clement XIII. tried to bring King Joseph to a sense of his duty as a Christian sovereign; but the influence of Pombal remained dominant, and at the dictation of the minister, the king even wrote to the Pontiff that the papal letters "came from a laboratory of obreptitious and subreptitious Briefs." Concluding our narrative of Pombal's share in the agitations which entailed the suppression of the Society of Jesus, we would ask the reader whether there can possibly be any more thorough justification of the Portuguese Jesuits than is found in the incontestable fact that out of nearly 1800 of them who were arrested, not one was convicted (excepting Malagrida), not one confessed his guilt, and not one (again excepting Malagrida) was even legally tried.

That the anti-Jesuitical campaign of Pombal would be applauded by the Jansenists and philosophists of France was a thing to be expected; and the parliament of Paris soon evinced a disposition to undertake a similar warfare. On April 18, 1760, that zealous body listened approvingly to a lengthy report which the advocate-general, Omer Joly de Fleury, presented in regard to the sodalities which the Jesuits formed and guided wherever they were established (1).

(1) Cardinal Bausset, in his *History of France*, proclaims the utility of these sodalities. "Simple and easy exercises of piety, familiar instructions befitting the condition of each person and not interfering with each one's occupation or social duties, helped to maintain

The piety of this lawyer had suggested to him that such sodalities or confraternities "were unknown in the halcyon days of the Church; that their invention was due to the negligence of the ecclesiastics, and to the unenlightened devotion of the laity, who sought in strange churches that instruction which they should have received from their own pastors." Impressed by this view of the matter, on May 9 the parliament interdicted all sodalities as "dangerous"; and when the bishops of France, then in General Assembly, memorialized Louis XV. in favor of the criminated societies, they received an equivocal reply. As yet, however, the parliament of Paris had not ventured to attack openly the Society of Jesus itself. But just at this time the Jesuits brought before the parliament a question, the solution of which furnished a favorable opportunity. This question was that of the liability of the Society for the debts of one of its members. In 1753 Father Lavellette, a superior in the Antilles, had been charged with having engaged in commerce, and had been ordered by the government to return to France. Having justified his conduct to his superiors, he had been entrusted by them with the mission of Martinique, and had utilized his position to engage in several hazardous speculations. Picot thus narrates this affair: "The Jesuit superiors protested that they had never authorized Lavellette to engage in commerce; and he swore that none of them had participated in, or connived at his speculations. For a time he was successful; but the English having captured many of the French ships, he lost immensely, and was unable to meet his liabilities, either by his own efforts or through the aid of Father de Sacy, the procurator-general of the province called 'of France,' from which province depended the missions of the Antilles. His principal creditors were the brothers Lioney of Marseilles, whom his failure placed in a critical position. Negotiations were held, and some of the obligations were satisfied. Centurioni, the general of the Society, had authorized Father de Sacy to borrow 500,000

that regularity of life, that spirit of order and subordination, which preserve the peace and harmony of families and assure the prosperity of states. It is still remembered in the chief cities of the kingdom that there was never such order and tranquillity, such honesty in business, fewer failures, and less depravity, than when those sodalities existed."

livres in order to succor the Lioncy brothers, and to obtain time from the creditors; but this measure was not adopted, having found opposition in the Society, and having been proposed when it was too late. The Lioncy brothers had already been forced to surrender all of their assets, and of these the obligations of Lavellette were the most promising. In this emergency the syndics of the creditors summoned the Jesuits before the consulate of Marseilles, and they obtained a decree to the effect that the Society itself was obliged to meet the obligations incurred in the name of the Jesuits of Martinique. . . . The Jesuits did not comprehend that it was their interest to hush up this affair, even though enormous sacrifices should be entailed; they appealed to the parliament of Paris, and by that act they placed their destiny at the command of their foes. . . . The decision of the parliament was rendered on May 8, 1761, amid shouts, stamping of feet, and other signs of frenzied joy on the part of those who had come to enjoy a triumph. The Jesuits—their general, and in his person the whole Society—were condemned to meet the obligations, and also to pay damages and interests to the amount of 50,000 livres. We care not to discuss the righteousness of this judgment. Lavellette was culpable; but we may believe that at any other time the entire Society would not have been held responsible for the imprudence or delinquency of one of its members” (1). During the debates on the matter of Lavellette the Constitutions of the Society had been severely attacked. On April 17, the Abbé Chauvelin, a furious Jansenist, denounced these Constitutions as “containing many things contrary to good order, to the discipline of the Church, and to the maxims of the kingdom.” The parliament acclaimed a discovery which the Church, during the past two centuries, had failed to make; and after an examination of the Constitutions, it was decreed, on Aug. 6, that “no subjects of the king should enter the said Society, even as probationers or novices; that the priests of the said Society should no longer continue to give either public or private lessons in

1. *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv., p. 49. Paris, 1855.

theology, philosophy, or the humanities, in any schools, colleges, or seminaries which are subject to the jurisdiction of the parliament; that all students should immediately depart from said schools, etc., and all parents withdraw their children from them; and that those who would contravene this decree should be held as guilty of upholding the said doctrine, which is impious, sacrilegious, homicidal, contrary to the authority of the king and to his personal security, and as such to be punished according to the rigor of the laws." But the parliament could not obtain the consent of Louis XV. to the immediate enforcement of its decree; his Majesty had already received, from a commission which he had appointed to examine the Constitutions of the Society, a report which disculpated the Jesuits from all the charges made by the sectarians. Again, Louis was being urged by the queen, by the sternly virtuous dauphin and his other children, by the most worthy men of his court, and by his own knowledge of the virulent animosity of the Jansenist-incredulist cabal against innocent men, to check the effrontery of the magistracy as his illustrious predecessors had so often checked it. But Louis XV. was of different calibre from those predecessors; and all that he could obtain was a delay of a year before the Jesuits would be deprived of their right to teach.

Hitherto the Jesuits of France had manifested no inclination to bend before the storm which menaced their destruction; but on Dec. 19, 1761, Etienne de la Croix, provincial of the province of Paris, in the name of his brethren formally promised to teach the celebrated Four Propositions of the Declaration of 1682, thus committing, so far as it was in his power to commit, the standard-bearer of Roman doctrine to the defence of Gallicanism. The enemies of the Society contend that this stultification of himself was a voluntary act of the Parisian provincial, emitted for the purpose of conciliating the bishops of France, then united in General Assembly; the apologists of the Society can scarcely hope to palliate the provincial's guilt when they assert that his signature was extorted by violence, adducing his report to the general, in which he said that "royal commissaries brought to him the said declaration, already formulated, to-

gether with an express order of the king that he should sign it on the spot" (1). The disgraceful document was couched in these terms: "We, the undersigned, provincial of the Jesuits of the province of Paris, superior of the house of the professed, rector of the College of Louis le Grand, superior of the novitiate and of the professed Jesuits residing in the said houses, renewing in all that is necessary the declarations given by the Jesuits of France in 1626, 1713, and 1757, do declare as follows before their lordships the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops who are now assembled in Paris by order of the king in order to give to his Majesty their views concerning several matters of our Society: I. That no one can be more submissive than we are, or more inviolably attached to the laws, maxims, and usages of this kingdom concerning the rights of the royal power, which does not depend in temporals either directly or indirectly from any other power on earth, and above which is God alone. We acknowledge the irrefragability of the ties which bind subjects to their sovereign. We condemn as pernicious, and worthy of the execration of all ages, the doctrine which is contrary to the security of the person of the king, not only in the works of certain theologians of our Society who adopted it, but also in any other author or theologian. II. *We will teach, in our public and private lessons on theology, the doctrine established by the clergy of France in the Four Propositions of the Assembly of 1682; and we will never teach anything contrary to it.* III. We admit that the bishops of France have the right to exercise over us all that authority which they have over regulars, according to the canons and discipline of the Gallican Church; and we renounce expressly all privileges to the contrary which have been accorded to our Society, or which may hereafter be accorded to it. IV. If it should ever happen—which God forbid!—that our general should order anything contrary to this present declaration, we are persuaded that we could not obey that order without sin, and we would regard it as illegitimate

(1) The original letter of Father de la Croix is preserved in the archives of the Gesù in Rome. Accompanying it is a copy of the declaration, with the title: *Declaration Submitted By The Royal Commissaries By Order Of The King.*

and null *pleno jure*, being such as we ought not to obey, under pretext of the obedience to our general which is prescribed in our Constitutions. We supplicate for permission to have this present declaration registered in the records of the *Officialité* of Paris, and to be allowed to send it into the other provinces of the kingdom, so that it may be deposited in the *Officialité* of each diocese, and thus serve as an everlasting witness of our fidelity. ETIENNE DE LA CROIX, Provincial." Ravignan does not attempt to excuse this enterprise of the Jesuits of Paris: "I do not excuse it; I explain it." The reader shall judge whether the explanation is satisfactory: "This unfortunate declaration is not an acceptance of the principles of the Four Articles of 1682; it is merely a promise to teach them" (1). We may properly relegate to the region of mysteries the fact that the cowardice of La Croix was not publicly condemned by his general. "The Pope and the father-general were greatly saddened by this conduct of the Jesuits of Paris; but they did not deem it their duty to waken, publicly and by severe admonitions, the consciences of religious who knew its voice" (2).

The sacrifice of principle and of truth, which Father de la Croix made when he signed a document which exhibited the Jesuits of Paris as despising the most cherished tradition of their Society, as well as what they regarded as true doctrine, was productive of no truce; the war soon assumed an aspect which presaged the extinction of the order in France. Shortly before the provincial's voluntary or involuntary essay at conciliation, the parliament of Paris had instituted a commission for the purpose of verifying certain *Extracts from Dangerous and Pernicious Assertions of All Kinds, Which the So-Called Jesuits Have Always and Persistently Taught in Their Books, with the Approbation of Their Superiors or Generals*. These presumed extracts had been printed and assiduously circulated; and the unwary were tempted to believe that the Jesuits were guilty of at least tolerating simony, blasphemy, sacrilege, idolatry, impurity, perjury, homicide, regicide, etc., etc. The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal were really the foundation of many of the assertions in

(1) *Loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 117.

(2) Thus innocently Father Ravignan, *ibi*.

this collection ; but Pascal had at least denounced the condemnable propositions in order to refute them ; whereas the new collection furnished the poison without the slightest antidote. But in their anxiety to convict the hated Society of having inculcated crime, the Jesuitophagi cared little for the harm which the presumed extracts would effect in the minds of the masses. The contemporary archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, in his pastoral of Oct. 28, 1763, showed how grossly the citations in the extracts had been falsified ; and other competent judges counted no less than 1,758 falsifications. Again, these extracts attributed to the Jesuits alone many opinions which had been sustained by members of all the orders and by many secular priests ; and frequently they presented as pernicious works which had merited the praise of saints—for instance, the *Controversies* of Bellarmine, the *Instruction for Confessors* by Toledo, and the treatises of Suarez, Lessius, etc. Many were the refutations of this abominable collection which the Jesuits and others published, but all such works were condemned to the flames by the parliament ; and this injustice was practiced at the time when anti-Christian literature was allowed to circulate with impunity.

In spite of the influence of his minister, Choiseul, and of his mistress, the Pompadour, Louis XV. really wished to save the Society of Jesus ; and many of the members of the Council of State had at least a velleity in that direction. These moderate spirits imagined that some modifications in the form of government of the Society would appease its enemies ; and accordingly Cardinal de Rochechouart, who was then French ambassador at the Roman court, was instructed to demand the appointment of a vicar who should rule the Jesuits of France. This idea was subversive of the fundamental principles of the organization ; and it is not strange that it was met by the reply, "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*"—a decision which has been ascribed to the general, Ricci, but which was probably emitted by Pope Clement XIII., when the project was broached to him (1). On July

(1) Voltaire (*Age of Louis XIV.*) ascribes it to the Pope ; so do the contemporary *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* (p. 135). Ravignan agrees with these authorities.

28, 1762, the Pontiff sent a Brief to the king, dissuading him from "the slightest change" in the Constitutions of the Society in his dominions; but although Louis abandoned the project of a vicar, he had framed an edict which, he fancied, would save the Jesuits and pacify their opponents. This document, which was to be presented to all the provincial parliaments on the same day, may be summarized as follows. The Jesuits were declared to be subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops. Without the royal permission they could not leave the kingdom, under any pretext. In all their teachings they should follow the "maxims" of the kingdom. The royal procurators-general would visit all the Jesuit colleges in their respective districts, from time to time, that it might be learned whether the professors were teaching the Four Propositions of 1682. No sodalities could consist of persons residing in various localities; but special ones for the members of the Jesuit institutions might be formed, under the supervision of the bishops. The general could not order the transfer of money or other property from one establishment to another; each house should enjoy an inalienable right to its revenues, etc. The general would give to the five French provincials authority to do all that was necessary, in his name; and this authority was to be renewed every three years. If many of these dispositions were unsatisfactory to the Jesuits, anything savoring of a toleration of the Society was repugnant to the parliament of Paris; and therefore that body resolved to checkmate the sovereign by forming a league of all the parliaments in the kingdom. On March 26, 1762, the would-be salutary edict was presented to the parliament of Paris for registration; but that body declared that the *Extracts from Assertions* had compelled it "to pay no attention to anything that tended to give a legal existence to the Society of Jesus." The days of Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV. were merely matter of history; the monarch did not insist on the registration of his edict. The first day of April, as we have seen, had been designated by the parliament of Paris for the closing, *provisorially*, of all the Jesuit colleges and novitiates in its jurisdiction. In accordance with that

decree, the first act of the melancholy drama in France was performed at the appointed time ; how the provincial parliaments acted we shall soon narrate. On August 6, the parliament of Paris rendered its *definitive* sentence, "enjoining on all the members of the said Society to depart, within eight days of their notification of this decree, from their houses, colleges, seminaries, houses of the professed, residences, missions, and other establishments ; enjoining on them to retire whither they please, but not to any colleges, seminaries, or other houses destined to the education of youth ; enjoining on them to live under the authority of the ordinaries, and not to unite together as a Society under any pretext whatsoever. . . . The parliament reserves to itself the fixing of a means for the maintenance of the *so-called* Jesuits. The parliament decrees that the priests or other members of the Society, who were in its houses on August 6, 1761, cannot occupy chairs in any university in this jurisdiction, fill canonicates or any benefices having annexed to them the care of souls, or exercise any public functions ; unless they first swear to hold and profess the liberties of the Gallican Church and the Four Articles contained in the Declaration of 1682, to observe the received canons and the maxims of the kingdom, to hold no direct or indirect relations by letter or through the mediation of others with the general and superiors of the said Society or with any member of it who resides in foreign lands, to combat on every occasion the pernicious morality contained in the *Extracts from Assertions*, and to conform themselves in all things to the dispositions of the present decree, especially in the matter of never living, in any guise whatsoever, under the rule of the said Constitutions and institute." On this same day, Aug. 6, 1762, the parliament decreed that one hundred and sixty-two works of Jesuit authors should be burnt in public by the executioner. It is edifying to notice that out of four thousand Jesuits who were then in France, only twenty-five saved themselves from penury by swearing allegiance to Gallicanism, and by proclaiming themselves renegades to the Society (1).

(1) By the decree of Aug. 6, 1762, the Jesuit colleges became property of the municipali-

The provincial parliaments of France, being less imbued with Jansenistic and incredulist principles than that of Paris, frequently hesitated for a long time before they resigned themselves to the wave of anti-Jesuitism; often the majority of votes obtained by the innovators was one of only two or three. At Aix twenty-nine voted for a decree similar to that of Paris; twenty-seven voted to leave the Jesuits in peace. At Toulouse a small majority voted for a decree against the Society which was expressly declared to be only temporary. With great difficulty the innovators carried the parliaments of Bordeaux, Dijon, Grenoble, Metz, and Pau. The parliaments of Douai, Besançon, Nancy, and Foix, refused to consider the philosophistic project; the last even petitioned the king to protect the Society. The Council of Alsace, like that of Artois, was loud in its praises of the Jesuits; but the decree of the latter was quashed by the parliament of Paris. The parliament of Rouen, however, manifested a more virulent Jesuitaphobia than that of Paris. It declared that "Considering the constant teaching, on the part of the Society of so-called Jesuits, of the murderous doctrine of regicide; as well as the futility of the disavowals and retractations made by the said Society. . . . Considering that if so detestable a morality has lasted until our day, it is due to the fact that the Constitutions of the said Society render its members docile perpetrators of any sort of crimes prescribed by him to whom they owe obedience. . . . Considering that it is our indispensable duty to condemn the wicked oath to observe a wicked rule," the Society was abolished in the jurisdiction of Rouen. This measure was decreed on Feb. 12, and when the king sent his fanciedly pacificatory edict of March 6 to Rouen, the magistrates refused to register it, insisting that "The good of Christendom, the appeals of the universe, the cries of religion and of humanity, all demand that no authority attempt to reintegrate, validate, and legitimatize a radical wickedness which is notorious—a rule

ties. The other real estate and the monies were declared "the property of the king." Common decency would have induced the parliament to assign adequate pensions to the ecclesiastics who had no prospect of obtaining befitting means of living; but the relief which was doled was a mere apology for a pension. Priests of thirty-three years of age received 600 francs a year; the temporal coadjutors of thirty-three years and over received 300 francs; the younger Jesuits, clerics and laymen, received 300 francs.

and a vow which outrage the majesty of God no less than they outrage all human majesties."

Louis XV. refused his sanction to the parliamentary decree for more than two years, although his refusal did not prevent the immediate dispersion of the Jesuits, and the confiscation of their property. Finally, in November, 1764, he yielded to the entreaties of Choiseul and the Pompadour, and issued an edict which suppressed "irrevocably" the Society of Jesus in France. On the following Dec. 3, the duke de Praslin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a copy of this document to the marquis d'Aubeterre, the French ambassador to the Holy See, and he took occasion to remark to the envoy that "it would be futile, and even dangerous, for the Pope to adopt any measure which would, either directly or indirectly, oppose the intentions and desires of the king; that his Holiness, out of zeal for religion, and because of his liking for the Jesuits, ought to prescribe for himself that same silence which his Majesty had ordered to be observed in his dominions." To this covert threat of the creature of Choiseul, Pope Clement XIII. replied by his Bull *Apostolicum*, dated Jan. 9, 1765. Already more than two hundred bishops, from all parts of Christendom, had written to the Holy See in favor of the proscribed Society; and the Pontiff wished to correspond to their ardent desires. Again, as his Holiness declared in the Bull, he wished to defend the liberties of the Church and the prerogatives of the Holy See, which had been usurped by civil authority; to defend the Church from the imputation of having approved a Society which was impious; and to defend an innocent institution from calumny. The Pontiff began by stating that no human consideration would prevent him from exercising the Apostolic mission which God had given to the Holy See. He showed how great, in all times, had been the care of the Roman Pontiffs for the religious orders and congregations; and he recalled the many approbations which his predecessors had given to the Society of Jesus. That organization was then the object of persecution; and if he did not defend it, he would seem to neglect a sacred duty. He was especially bound to defend the Society, because: "The Church

of God is insulted outrageously when she is represented as having declared to be pious and agreeable to God that which is really impious and irreligious ; when she is represented as having allowed herself, to the great detriment of souls, to be so foully stained for more than two hundred years." And finally, after praising the glorious labors of the Society among the heathen, and in every Christian land ; after special approbation of the sodalities founded and cherished by it ; the Pontiff concluded : " By our Apostolic authority we confirm the Bulls of our predecessors of happy memory, Clement VIII., Sixtus V., Gregory XV., and Benedict XIV., which approved the said sodalities ; and by this our present Constitution we approve with all the authority that God has given to us, and with all the force of our Apostolic confirmation, all the other Constitutions which the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, published in approbation and praise of the works of the same Society of Jesus ; and we desire that all of the said Constitutions be regarded as herein inserted, wishing and ordering, if it be necessary, that those Constitutions be again drawn up and published by ourselves." Of course this Bull was received by the foes of the Society with every demonstration of rage ; some of the French provincial parliaments "suppressed" the document, and the parliaments of Rouen and Toulouse condemned to the flames certain Briefs which the Pontiff had written concerning its subject-matter to the bishops of Alais, Angers, and Grenoble. But the hierarchy of France unanimously adhered to the terms of the Bull. Three months after its reception, the bishops met at Paris in General Assembly ; and the archbishop of Rheims was commissioned to present to the king an address, from which we cull the following passage : " With profound grief the clergy have beheld the spectacle of a society of religious, noted for purity of faith, for austerity of discipline, for enlightenment, and for innumerable services to both Church and State, dragged as criminal before the tribunals ; and subjected to atrocious accusations—accusations which are circulated and credited throughout the kingdom, despite the constant testimony of the Church of France, which has always favored it. The dispersion of

those religious leaves a frightful void in the labors of the holy ministry in which, under the eyes of the bishops, and with the approbation of the same, they were employed, either in the education of youth, to which they consecrated their vigils and their talents; or in the sublime and laborious work of the missions, which was the principal object of their institute. The clergy will never cease to pray for their re-establishment" (1).

Now for a brief narration of the philosophistico-Jansenist conspiracy in Spain. Shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, Emmanuel de Roda, was asked why his government did not pursue the same course. He replied: "The time has not come. Be patient. Wait until the old woman dies" (2). The "old woman" was the queen-mother, Elizabeth Farnese, whose influence over King Charles III. was immense, and who was not hostile to the Society. One of the glories of the Farnese family had been Pope Paul III., who first approved the rule of the Jesuits. But in 1763, when Queen Elizabeth was no more, Charles III. became a victim of the wiles of Count d'Aranda, his prime minister, and an adept of the new "philosophy." This statesman, if we may credit one of the prominent publicists of that school (3), was "the sole individual, of whom the Spanish monarchy of that day could be proud." And wherefore this eulogy? "It was Aranda who wished to place on one and the same escutcheon, and *carve on the façades of all the churches, the names of Luther and Calvin, of Mahomet, William Penn, and Jesus Christ*. It was Aranda who wished to proclaim, from the frontiers of Navarre to Cadiz that thereafter the names of Torquemada, Ferdinand, and Isabella, were to be placed in the category of blasphemies. It was Aranda who wished to sell the wardrobes of the saints and the furniture of the virgins; and to turn the crucifixes, patens, chandeliers, etc., into bridges, taverns, and high-roads." Since this is a heartfelt encomium of Aranda by one who knew him well,

(1) *Procès-verbaux of the Assemblies of the Clergy of France*, vol. viii., p. 144.

(2) *MSS. of Father Cordara*, in the Archives of the Gesù, cited by Ravignan, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 158.

(3) The Marquis de Langle, writing in 1782, in his *Journey in Spain*.

and since Aranda was the prime cause of the sufferings of the Society in Spain, the reader will scarcely hesitate to accept the account of the origin of those sufferings which we shall now present. It must be remembered that to this day no official document, no revelation unearthed from the Spanish archives, has informed the curious world of the cause which led Charles III. to issue the *Pragmatic Sanction* of April 2, 1767; the monarch declared, in that document, that his reasons would remain ever "hidden in his own royal heart." But very many historians, Protestant as well as Catholic, and some of them bitterly anti-Jesuitical, speak of the matter in what are substantially the same words as those used by the grave Jesuit authority whom we now quote. In the *Ami de la Religion* (vol. xxxii., p. 159), we read the following, from the pen of Father Casseda, a Spanish Jesuit, for whose reliability Ravignan vouches. "Shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Peninsula and its colonies, a Spanish grandee, travelling in Italy, came to Forlì. There he met the olden rector of the principal Jesuit house in Madrid. Their interview was lengthy; and among other things the nobleman asked the rector whether he knew the cause of the measures taken in Spain against the Society. 'We have never learned it,' replied the rector. 'I shall inform you,' said the grandee. 'Do you remember that one day, while you were in the refectory with your community, your mail was handed to you, and that you gave to the brother the key of your room, telling him to place the letters on your desk; that a moment afterward there arrived an officer bearing a royal order for him to examine your papers, and that you confidently gave to him also the key of your room?' The Jesuit recalled these circumstances. 'Well,' continued the traveller, 'among those letters there was one with the postmark of Rome; and it purported to have been written to you by your general, Ricci. His signature had been counterfeited. That letter was handed to the king, as yet unopened. In it you were told, in substance, that there were then current in Rome well-founded reports that the king of Spain was of illegitimate birth; that in all probability Spain would soon see a revolution for the pur-

pose of enthroning the legitimate heir, and that Rome would take an active part in the movement; that you, the rector, should take care to prepare your brethren for the event, and inform the other superiors concerning it. You must easily perceive the scope of that letter; it was an invention of your enemies for your destruction. Charles III., wounded in the most sensitive part of his nature, fell into the snare. But he was embarrassed, and for a long time he hesitated. He had private consultations with theologians, that he might learn whether a sovereign could in conscience banish a religious order, for reasons which he was obliged to hide in the recesses of his royal heart. The theologians decided in the negative; but the royal councillors—probably the fabricators of the letter—held for the affirmative. Behold the cause of your expulsion, and of the severity which accompanied it.” Christopher Murr, a contemporary Protestant erudite of great celebrity, relying on the testimony of the duke of Wurtemberg, gives us substantially a repetition of this narrative (1). Protestant historians like Sismondi (2), Coxe (3), Ranke (4), and Schoell (5), do not take an essentially different view of the matter. Thus Ranke says: “They made Charles III. believe that the Jesuits had determined to place his brother, Don Luis, on the throne.” And Schoell says: “They employed every means to make the Jesuits terrible objects to the king, and finally they succeeded by means of an atrocious calumny. They showed him a pretended letter of the general, Ricci, which the duke de Choiseul is said to have fabricated, in which Ricci informed his correspondent that he had succeeded in obtaining documents which proved incontestably that Charles III. was a fruit of adultery. This absurd fabrication produced such an impression on the king, that he granted the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits.”

We learn from the *Pragmatic Sanction* of April 2, 1767, that on the preceding Feb. 27 the king had given to Aranda

(1) *Journal for the History of Literature and Art*, year 1780, vol. ix., p. 218.

(2) *History of the French*, vol. xxix., p. 370.

(3) *Spain under the Kings of the House of Bourbon*, vol. v., p. 9.

(4) *History of the Papacy in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, vol. iv., p. 494.

(5) *Course of History of the European States*, vol. xxxix., p. 163.

extensive powers in the matter of the execution of the royal pleasure regarding the Jesuits ; but that all the royal officers were ordered “to conduct themselves with all possible decency and humanity.” The sequel showed how the royal wishes were observed. In accordance with this secret decree of Feb. 27, Aranda sent to the authorities of each place, where there was a Jesuit establishment, a sealed letter with instructions that they should not presume to open it, under pain of death, before April 2, the day fixed for the promulgation of the *Sanction*. When the time arrived, the authorities found that they were ordered to execute the following measures during the ensuing night. The colleges, residences, etc., of the Jesuits were to be surrounded, and all the members simultaneously arrested ; within twenty-four hours all were to be assembled at the nearest seaport, excepting only those who were too old or too sick to be moved so quickly, and such exempted persons could hold no communication with other Jesuits or with certain designated parties ; the novices were to be questioned privately as to whether they wished to abandon the Society or not, and those were to be freed who consented to the step ; the places of the Jesuits were to be filled by secular priests “who did not hold the doctrines of the Society.” The execution of these orders was followed by many protests on the part of both bishops and people ; but Aranda was all-powerful. Nearly six thousand Jesuits were carried to Civita Vecchia ; but acting under the orders of Cardinal Torrigiani, secretary of state to Pope Clement XIII., who did not know what to do with so many Spanish immigrants, the governor of the port ordered the captains of the vessels to find some other landing-place for their involuntary passengers. Corsica became their refuge ; but very soon that island was made French territory, and they were unceremoniously shipped to Genoa. The Genoese thrust them into the States of the Church ; and the Pontiff assigned Ferrara as their residence. In the following year, the Jesuits of the Two Sicilies, victims of Tanucci ; and those of Parma, victims of Dutillet (Marquis of Felino) ; also found a refuge in the Patrimony of St. Peter. When Ferdinand VII., grandson of Charles III., proposed to re-establish in his domin-

ions that Society which "had been expelled by a decree which had been obtained surreptitiously, through means the most artful and iniquitous, from his pious and magnanimous grandfather" (1), the royal Council declared that it could not be said, with any propriety, that the Jesuits had ever been condemned in Spain, since "their judges feared the testimony of the bishops and magistrates of the kingdom, as well as the protestations of the people. Men could only be silent and obey, under pain of exile and confiscation, and even of death." Ferdinand VII. declared: "Finally I have become convinced that the true enemies of religion were those who tried so persistently to make the Society of Jesus odious, to effect its dissolution, and to persecute its innocent members, employing against them calumny, the vilest of intrigues, and the most ridiculous charges."

We now approach the period of the suppression of the Society of Jesus by the supreme authority of the Church. M. de Saint-Priest, like many historians of less acumen, contends that Choiseul was the first to propose that the Catholic courts should bring their united influence to bear on the Holy See with this object (2). The prerogatives of perfidy would have been violated, had either Choiseul, Aranda, Tanucci, or Dutillot, taken this initiative; it was very befitting that such a distinction should be attained by the most virulent enemy that the Church had in the eighteenth century—Pombal. And to Pombal history must assign the dishonor. Sémonin, French ambassador to the Portuguese king, in a secret despatch to his government, dated July 14, 1767, said: "Instead of removing the difficulties of Portugal, as at first they flattered themselves here, the affair of the Jesuits in Spain has raised new ones. This I perceive, because of what M. d'Oeyras (Pombal) has just told me. He would like France, Spain, and Portugal to unite in demanding from the Pope the abolition of the Jesuits" (3). It appears evident that Spain acquiesced in the desire of Pombal a few months after Sémonin sent this despatch. Gutierrez de la Huerta, in

(1) *Decree of Ferdinand VII. for the Re-establishment of the Jesuits in Spain.* June 9, 1815.

(2) *History of the Fall of the Jesuits*, p. 72. Paris, 1831.

(3) THEINER; *loc. cit.*, vol. I., p. 98.

the cited report to the royal Council in 1815, says that on Oct. 18, 1767, the Catholic king decided to accede "to the request made by his Most Faithful Majesty, that both should work in concert to obtain the entire suppression of the Society of Jesus." France was the last of the three great Catholic powers to enter into this concert; the duke d'Aiguillon wrote to the French ambassador to the Holy See that it did so, "only out of consideration for his Catholic Majesty" (1). On Jan. 18, 1769, the envoy of Spain presented to Pope Clement XIII. a demand for the total extinction of the Society of Jesus; with tears in his eyes the Pontiff expressed his grief, and after a short conversation, terminated the audience, saying that he would read the memorial. Two days afterward, the French ambassador presented his demand, and was dismissed on the instant from the audience chamber; the same tacit reproof was received by Cardinal Orsini on Jan. 22, when he presented the memorial of Portugal. The concluding passage of the French memorial will give an idea of the style of all three of these precious documents. "The king, both in his individual capacity and in intimate harmony with Their Catholic and Sicilian Majesties, most urgently entreats His Holiness to extinguish absolutely, and without delay, throughout the world, the Society styled 'of Jesus,' and to secularize every one of its members. . . . This *réquisition* ought to be received favorably by Our Holy Father the Pope, since it is made by three monarchs *who are equally well-informed and zealous concerning everything which relates to the good of religion, to the interests of the Roman Church, to the personal glory of His Holiness, and to the tranquillity of all Christian states.*" Had God willed that the Pontificate of Clement XIII. should be prolonged, it is very improbable that this mixture of hypocrisy and audacity would have caused him to change his policy in the premises; we know that three days after the Portuguese memorial had been presented, the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Torregiani, wrote to the nuncios at foreign capitals: "His Holiness cannot understand how these courts can have had the melancholy courage to add a new grief to the many which already

(1) THEINER; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 118.

afflict the Church ; they could have had no other object than that of adding more torments to the conscience and desolate soul of His Holiness. Impartial posterity will judge them ; it will pronounce as to whether such actions should be regarded as new proofs of that filial love which those sovereigns profess for the Holy See." On Jan. 28 Cardinal Negroni told the French and Spanish ambassadors that the last venture of their masters "would open the tomb of the Holy Father"; and indeed on Feb. 3 Clement XIII. went to his reward.

The Conclave which assembled on Feb. 15 consumed more than three months in providing a successor to Clement XIII.; not until May 19 was John Vincent Anthony Ganganelli proclaimed Pontiff under the name of Clement XIV. He had received all the forty-seven votes, excepting his own, which he cast for Rezzonico, the nephew of the late Pope, and the head of the party which had at first opposed his election; and it was remarked as strange, as perhaps providential, that at a time when religious were so little in favor among the great ones of earth, the tiara was placed upon the brow of the humble Franciscan who was the sole religious in the Sacred College. The student who would learn the particulars of this Conclave, which was probably the stormiest of modern times, may consult either Ravignan or Theiner; although these writers regard the assembly from diametrically opposite points of view, they agree substantially in matters of essential importance. There are two points, however, to which we must pay some attention. These are the visit of the emperor, Joseph II. (1), to the Eternal City while the cardinals were still occupied with the election; and the charge of simony which Cretineau-Joly, in an explosion of his exaggerated and mistaken zeal for the Society of Jesus, dares to proffer against Clement XIV. In a despatch to Choiseul, dated March 31, 1769, Aubeterre gossips minutely about the imperial visit to the Conclave (2);

(1) Joseph was elected "King of the Romans" in 1764, and on the death of his father, the nominal emperor, Francis I., in 1769, he became titular emperor; but he did not really govern, until the death of his mother, the empress, Maria Teresa, in 1780.

(2) Much of Aubeterre's narrative is based on hearsay; but the relation by Cardinal Orsini gives only what his Eminence really saw and heard. When the emperor presented himself at the entrance to the Conclave, says Orsini, he was met by the deans of the sacred

but we would draw attention only to his account of one of his interviews with the prince. "Coming to the subject of the Jesuits, he asked for my opinion concerning them. After I had told him that I believed them to be dangerous, and I had given to him my reasons for deeming them such, he remarked that his mother, the empress, was very devout, and would not take one step toward demanding their abolition, preferring to leave all that to the Church; but that she would let things take their course without opposing them; and that, in fact, she would see the Society destroyed with pleasure. As for himself, he, of course, would be obliged to conform to the desires of the empress. He seemed to me to be convinced of the guilt of the Jesuits, as to all the crimes against the state of which they are accused, especially in Spain. He also told me that when he visited the house of the professed here, which is called the *Gesiù*, wishing to see the Chapel of St. Ignatius, he was received by the general; and that when he asked the general *when he would put off that habit*, the Jesuit seemed to be very much embarrassed by the question, but he replied that the times were indeed very bad for them, but they placed all their confidence in the mercy of God, *and in the infallibility of the Pope, which would be destroyed if the Society were abolished*—alluding to the approbation given to it by so many Pontiffs. The emperor felt all the weight and the ridiculousness of this answer. Afterward, when he had examined the statue of St.

College. Then Cardinal Albani having taken the emperor by the hand, and Cardinal Orsini having extended the same welcome to Joseph's brother, Leopold, the grand-duke of Tuscany, their Eminences introduced the princes into the Conclave; but no member of their numerous suites was allowed to enter. "At the threshold his Imperial Majesty was about to lay aside his sword, remarking that he should not bear arms in such a venerable place; but Cardinal Stoppani very neatly reminded him that he ought to retain his sword, since he was the defender of the Church. . . . He spoke always in Italian, and with considerable facility. One of his most remarkable observations was made when he had been told that the Conclave after the death of Clement XII. lasted six months. Then he replied: 'If the cardinals now obtain as happy a result as was obtained at the election of Benedict XIV., six months, or even a year, would not appear too long.' When Cardinals Albani and Bufalini asked him to protect the coming Pope, so that the present troubles might be banished, he said: 'The best thing you can do is to elect a Pontiff who will understand the saying *Ne quid nimis*; one who will not push things to excess.' . . . The two Albani and some other cardinals having again urged him to remember his mission as emperor to protect the Church, he replied: 'The Pope, who has so much authority in spiritual matters, and who is infallible, ought not to use that same authority and plenitude of power in the states of others; and especially in the case of sovereigns the Pope ought to show them every consideration, and act with all propriety.' "

Ignatius, which is of massive silver, and ornamented with the most precious stones, he expressed his astonishment at its evident value. The general replied that they had been enabled to make so magnificent a statue by the donations of the friends of the Society. The emperor retorted: '*You should rather say, by your profits from the Indies.*'" The reader will scarcely believe that the general of the Jesuits did not know the scope of papal infallibility; but we have evidence that all the "ridiculousness" of the remark—monumental indeed—was incurred, not by Father Ricci, but by the really or affectedly ignorant German emperor. Father Giulio Cordara, who was at the side of his general during the entire interview with Joseph II., tells us that Ricci having entreated the emperor to use his influence to protect the menaced Society, he received this reply: "There is no use of praying to me. If the new Pontiff favors you, your affairs will prosper. If one is elected who wishes to destroy you, what can I do? *And do not you yourselves say, and preach openly, that the Pontiff cannot err?*" (1). Joseph II. had not yet fully manifested those schismatical proclivities which men were then imbibing from Febronianism—that system which was soon to be, and with propriety, termed Josephism; but the mixture of flippancy and boorishness which he exhibited at the *Gesù* must have warned Clement XIV. that his influence would be used against the Society. And the event proved that Joseph was actuated by a personal motive to contribute to the destruction of the Jesuits; a special clause in the agreement between Vienna and the other courts shows that Austria entered into it only on condition that the government should have the absolute disposal of all the property of the Society in its jurisdiction.

Speaking of the last days of the Conclave, Cretineau-Joly,

(1) "Tum Riccius in sermonem ingressus, rogare atque obsecrare, ut tot partibus impetitem atque consultam Societatem proinsita boniguitate commendatam haberet, atque a supremo saltem exordio, quod intentabatur, præstaret incolumem. Cui ille totidem verbis: 'Cur me roges, inquit, nihil est; fac, is dignatur Pontifex, qui vobis favere velit, salva res erit; sin continget iniquior, qui vos velit perdere, quid contra ego possim? AN NON IPSI DICITIS AC PALAM PREDICATIS PONTIFICEM FALLI NON POSSE? SUMMAM ATQUE OMNE HUMANA MAJOREM EJUS POTESTATEM ESSE?' Quæ sic irridentis sive objurgantis in modum pronuncians, satis ostendit non placere sibi, quod Jesuitæ tantopere pontificiam potestatem efferrent."—*Commentary of Julius Cæsar Cordara on the Journey of Pius VI. to the Court of Vienna*; bk. I., p. 7.

whom too many regard as the foremost apologist of the Society, says: "At length we perceive the denouement of the drama, where religion and probity will be equally wounded. Bernis had given up all hope of coming to an understanding with Ganganelli; Solis had more exact notions concerning the principles of the Franciscan. In accord with Cardinal Malvezzi in the Conclave, and with the French and Spanish ambassadors outside of it, the archbishop of Seville (Solis) wished to demand from the cardinal favored by the powers (*du cardinal des couronnes* (1)) a written promise that he would suppress the Society of Jesus. This promise was the irrevocable condition prescribed by the powers. Solis negotiated mysteriously with Ganganelli, and he obtained a note addressed to the king of Spain, in which Ganganelli declared that he 'believed that the Supreme Pontiff could conscientiously abolish the Society of Jesus, observing the regulations of the canons; and that it was to be hoped that the next Pope would make every effort to satisfy the desires of the sovereigns'" (2). Simony on the part of Cardinal Ganganelli is plainly insinuated by Cretineau-Joly in this passage; but he soon makes the charge in all its naked hideousness: "*Simony, terror, and intrigue were about to create a Pope: a solemn injustice was about to issue from this mass of shame*" (3). When he wrote this passage,

(1) As in all of the modern Conclaves, so in that of 1769 there were certain cardinals, the election of one of whom was desired by one or more sovereigns; and they were styled "cardinals of the crowns," in contradistinction to the *zelanti*, who were more zealous for the prerogatives of the Holy See. In the Conclave of 1769 the *zelanti*, who were at first the most numerous and powerful, believed that the circumstances of the time demanded that Rome should specially protect the Jesuits. The crown cardinals, on the contrary, were supposed to hold that it was necessary and feasible for the Church to conciliate the civil powers of the day; and they were regarded as willing to sacrifice a Society, the members of which had been banished from several Catholic kingdoms, were feebly supported in others, and were a heavy burden to the Papal States, where they had taken refuge, to the number of eight or ten thousand. The principal crown cardinals were Bernis and de Luynes for France; Solis and Lacerda for Spain; Orsini and Sersale for Naples; and Corsini and Ganganelli, who were acceptable to all, including Portugal. Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, and Pozzobonelli, archbishop of Milan, were also to be regarded as crown cardinals: for although Maria Teresa wished to be neutral, and was supposed to be personally favorable to the Jesuits, nevertheless, her policy of marrying her relatives to Bourbons rendered her favorable to a reconciliation between the Bourbon sovereigns and Rome. And her son Joseph, already called emperor, was in Rome during the Conclave, which he visited, and made to understand that his whole influence was being used against the Jesuits.

(2) *Clement XIV. and the Jesuits*, p. 260. Paris, 1847.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 272.

Creteineau-Joly had lost the sense of justice which had impelled him, when he adduced this alleged note in his work of two years before, to admit that "Cardinal Ganganelli could say, and even write, that the Pope had the canonical power; but between that and a simoniacal promise there is a world of impossibilities" (1). Certainly it is not strange that Ravignan omitted all mention of this apologist's name in his own admirable defense of the Society. Creteineau-Joly dared to charge Pope Clement XIV. with a crime which none of the many Jesuit writers on this subject has imputed to him (2). Cordara in his *Confidential Letters*, and Novaes in his *History of the Popes*, expressly exclude any simoniacal intent from the mind of Cardinal Ganganelli. Loriquet says: "We shall not imitate the writers who, without sufficient proof, assert that the new Pope owed his election to a promise signed by him, and sent to the king of Spain, that he would abolish the Society of Jesus. There is no need of this supposition, almost as injurious to Charles III. as to Clement himself, in order to explain the action of the Pope" (3). Fontenay writes: "I am far from crediting the report that the election of Ganganelli to the Papacy was the price of his promise to effect the suppression. I believe that this is an atrocious calumny; for one cannot imagine that any man would be so infamous as to lend himself to a simony which, if made known, would erase his name from the catalogue of Sovereign Pontiffs" (4). Cahour says: "Some of the enemies of the Holy See, and certain unreflecting partisans of the destroyed Society, have not hesitated to affirm that Cardinal Ganganelli bought the tiara with a promise to sign the death warrant of the Jesuits. But this calumny is destitute of proof. The princes who were leagued against the religious already banished from their dominions, cer-

(1) *Religious, Political, and Literary History of the Society of Jesus*, vol. v., p. 333. Paris, 1845.

(2) It may be objected that an ex-Jesuit, Georgel, the defender of Cardinal de Rohan in the affair of Queen Marie Antoinette's diamond necklace, makes this charge. But we do not know that Georgel would have given the assertion to the public. His *Memoirs* were published only in 1817, four years after the writer's death, by his nephew, a lawyer of the radical school.

(3) *An Intrigue of Three Cabinets*, in the *Historical Documents Concerning the Society of Jesus*, vol. iii., no. 21.

(4) *The Re-establishment of the Jesuits and Public Instruction*. Paris, 1800.

tainly effected everything possible in order to have a Pope who would love those religious less than Clement XIII. had loved them ; and the cardinals who were devoted to the House of Bourbon believed that Ganganelli would second their views. This is the worst that can be said of that election" (1). But what proof of the alleged compact between Ganganelli and Spain does Cretineau-Joly offer? Certainly, if such an agreement had been made, some trace of it should be found in the official reports of Cardinals Solis and Lacerda, through whose mediation alone it could have been effected ; but those reports are of no service to the accuser. He can only fancy that he discerns indications of a knowledge of some kind of a compact in the letters of Cardinal de Bernis to Aubeterre, the French ambassador. That there were conferences between Ganganelli and Solis, as well as among all the members of the Conclave, is certain ; such conferences, from the very nature of things, must have been held. But two days before the final and definitive ballot was taken, Aubeterre wrote to Choiseul that Solis was negotiating with Ganganelli, but that concerning the matter of their conferences, "when one knows nothing, one can write nothing." Bernis, therefore, had communicated to Aubeterre no news as to the nature of the supposed agreement between Solis and Ganganelli. But why does Cretineau-Joly base his entire narrative of this Conclave on the despatches of Bernis, when he himself styles the cardinal a *chroniquer malintentionné*? And why does he forget that Bernis implicitly admitted that Ganganelli was not conducting any underhand negotiations, when he wrote to Aubeterre on May 17, that Ganganelli had begged his colleagues to think of some other candidate ; and then added : "*But we will nominate him, in spite of himself*"? Again, we would ask Cretineau-Joly, if Ganganelli was so ambitious of the tiara that he descended to meannesses (2), as well as to simony in order to obtain it, why was he not contradicted, when he

(1) *The Jesuits by a Jesuit*, pt. 2, p. 257. Paris, 1853.

(2) Cretineau-Joly represents Ganganelli as conciliating the foes of the Society by remarking : "The arms of the Bourbons are very long ; they reach over the Alps and the Pyrenees." And as flattering the pro-Jesuit cardinals by observing : "We should no more think of abolishing the Society of Jesus, than of pulling down the dome of St. Peter's."

protested to the cardinals who were urging him (then Pope) to abolish the Jesuits: "Remember, your Eminences, that far from seeking the pontificate, I refused it. Write that to your courts"? With what face could he have said to Bernis, who, five weeks after the election, had urged him to please the Bourbon sovereigns: "I have only just now ascended the Chair of Peter; were I now to take this step, it would be said that in the Conclave conditions were imposed upon me"? (1). Again and again, and always without contradiction, Clement XIV. reiterated the assertion that he had not wished for the tiara. Bernis tells Choiseul on May 9, 1770, that Tanucci, the Neapolitan minister, had again, and impudently, pressed the cause of suppression; and that the Pontiff had remarked to him (Bernis) that "there had been Popes before the Marquis Tanucci, and there would be Popes after Tanucci; that as for himself, he had never desired to be one." And finally, since Creteineau-Joly relies upon Cardinal de Bernis as evidence of the simoniacal nature of the election of Pope Clement XIV., we adduce a despatch which his Eminence wrote to Choiseul, six months after that election, and in which he explicitly declares his belief that Cardinal Ganganelli assumed the Popedom, unfettered by any promise to the foes of the Jesuits. "I believe, Monsieur le Duc, that it is very necessary that His Majesty and his Council should have a correct idea of the spirit, character, and sentiments of the Pope, in order that they may direct the course of negotiations, and form an accurate notion of what they may expect from this new pontificate. I studied Cardinal Ganganelli in the Conclave; and every day I am now studying Clement XIV. My first despatches showed you my suspicions, fears, and distrusts of the character of a religious whom I noticed as solitary and shy, watching every intrigue while preserving an air of taking part in none. I suspected that there was much ambition and much artifice in this commonplace man (*homme du commun*) who, by his mere reputation of being a good theologian, and without being a friend of the Jesuits, had wrested a cardinal's hat from the hands of Clement XIII.,

(1) Despatch of Bernis to Choiseul, June 26, 1769.

who depended absolutely from the Society. My suspicions were confirmed by the mysterious conduct of the Spanish cardinals and M. Azpuru toward Cardinal Ganganelli in the latter part of the Conclave, and by that of the Albani cardinals. But since Cardinal Ganganelli's name was inscribed on our list of the acceptable, and since my mistrust might be without foundation; I abandoned myself to the hope, conceived in the last days of the Conclave, that he would satisfy the sovereigns in the matter of the Jesuits. And this I did the more readily, since I had reason for believing that he had been more open with the Spanish cardinals on this subject, than he had been with me. I avow that at this time I believed that Cardinal Ganganelli had bound himself as to the Jesuit affair; my early suspicions were weakened; and I continued to harbor only that distrust which prudence dictated in reference to a simple religious who was arriving at the pontificate from so great a distance. During six weeks I thought that the matter of the Jesuits would be settled in Spain, and that here the ministers of the sovereigns would merely prepare the way by smoothing over certain difficulties. *It was, therefore, with the greatest astonishment that I perceived, and admitted, that the Pope had promised even less to Spain than he had promised to us; and that we could expect from him no more than what had been indicated by the general hopes which he excited in me during the Conclave.*" (1). Ravignan declines to discuss this question of Ganganelli's alleged promise to Spain; but he contends that if that promise was made, "it might be regarded as a sign of weakness, or even of ambition; but *in itself*, and in theological exactness, it would not constitute an act of simony, properly so called" (2). No such promise was made.

Even amid the festivities of his coronation, listening to the customary congratulations of the foreign ambassadors, Clement XIV. was made painfully aware that not only grave embarrassments, but fearful perils awaited him. Not all the protestations of filial attachment, of which Louis XV. was so prodigal, could render less afflicting the expressed hope that "the Holy See would show more condescension

(1) Despatch to Choiseul, Nov. 30, 1769. *

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 415.

to the requests of the powers, accommodating its principles of administration to their desires." It was evident that the days of temporization were past; he must soon issue a decree which would mean either life or death to the Jesuits. "But how was he to suppress them; how was he to preserve them?" asks Saint-Priest. "Was he to brave the anger of the most powerful princes of Europe? Was he to push those princes into schism, perhaps into heresy? Was he to expose the Holy See to the loss not only of Benevento and Avignon, but also of the obedience of the Very Faithful Portugal, the Most Christian France, and the Most Catholic Spain? And on the other hand, how was he to erase from the list of the living an order which had been approved by so many Popes, which was regarded as a bulwark of the Church, and as a buckler for the faith?" (1). And the Protestant Schœll says: "When Clement XIV. mounted the pontifical throne, the Church was in a state of extreme fermentation. At that period the anti-religious faction dominated. . . . It is incontestable that projects of schism were being entertained, through the institution of national patriarchs who would be independent of the court of Rome. The prudence of Clement XIV., his concessions to the spirit of the age, obviated this danger" (2). Shortly after his accession, the Pontiff published a Brief in which he renewed, as was customary every seven years, certain indulgences in favor of the Jesuit missionaries. This action was regarded by the anti-Jesuit party as indicative of the Pope's inclination to follow his predecessor's course in regard to the obnoxious religious; and there arose great commotion at the courts of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma. Choiseul, according to a despatch from the nuncio at Paris to the papal secretary of state, assumed "that ministerial tone which was familiar to his Eminence, and declared that the kings of France and Spain, and the other princes of the House of Bourbon, were not persons with whom one could play . . . that his Majesty was tired of temporization; and that he would send an order, signed by his own hand, charging Cardinal de Bernis to demand in public the total suppression of the

(1) *History of the Fall of the Jesuits*, p. 117.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. xliv., p. 77.

Society, and enjoining upon his Eminence, if the suppression was not effected in six weeks, to demand his passports, to abandon his embassy, and break off all relations. His Eminence would also be told that if the other ministers of the Bourbon courts, through default of instructions, did not act in concert with him, he should execute his own orders *to the letter*." The orders were sent to Bernis on August 7; but two months for reflection were accorded to the Pope. One can scarcely realize that it is a member of the *ancienne noblesse* of France who uses this language: "It would not surprise me at all to learn that the Pope, ever leaning toward monkery, embarrassed by present circumstances, and entertaining the cowardly fear of being poisoned, had entered upon some little underhanded negotiation with that monk who is confessor to the king of Spain, to whom indeed he may have exhibited a vision of a possible red hat. But be this as it may, our insistence will upset the plans of the contemptible friars (*fratacci*); we will oppose reasons for fear to those of the Pope... we will annihilate the little artifices of Rome, and we shall learn what we are to expect from the Pope, whom I very much distrust. It is difficult for a monk to be ever anything else than a monk; and *it is much more difficult for an Italian monk to conduct business with honesty and frankness*." The reader will have noticed the allusion made by Choiseul to a fear, on the part of the Pontiff, that he was in danger of being poisoned. On July 3, 1770, Bernis writes to Choiseul: "They tell me that the general of the Passionists (St. Paul of the Cross) has warned his Holiness to be careful about his kitchen; and that therefore Brother Francis, who is the real *maitre d'hôtel* of the Pope, has increased his vigilance. I do not know whether this warning has contributed to the indisposition, of which the Pope complains." We shall say nothing concerning the wickedness of this imputation; but the absurdity of assigning the part of accuser of the Jesuits to the saintly Passionist is evinced by his well-known love for the Society (1).

(1) In the archives of the Roman College there is a letter from St. Paul of the Cross, in which he says: "Be assured that I sympathize with the afflictions of the illustrious Society of Jesus. The very thought of so many misfortunes causes me to moan and weep. So many innocent religious persecuted in so many ways; and at the same time, the demon-

The two months accorded by Choiseul produced a promise, on the part of Clement XIV., to suppress the Society; but nevertheless, as the despatches of Bernis show, at the commencement of 1772 the original project of an absolute and arbitrary abolition seemed to have given place to a design to follow the canonical prescriptions, which required proofs of the guilt of the accused organization. Writing to the Duc d'Aiguillon, who had succeeded to Choiseul, fallen from his high estate (1), Bernis says on January 17, "I have always regarded the total abolition of the Jesuits as an almost impossible operation . . . we cannot ask the Pope to quarrel with half of the Catholic princes in order to satisfy the other half in a delicate matter, which we can regulate in justice and honor only by acting in accordance with the rules prescribed by the canons, and having received certain proof that the entire system of the Jesuits is vicious and beyond reformation. . . . It is probable that the Pope may make the Spaniards understand that it is impossible to destroy the Jesuits in the countries where they are protected." But a mere observance of the canons was not the object of the Spanish cabinet; it determined to send to Rome an envoy who would be both capable and willing in the execution of its will. This man was Joseph Monino, better known as

triumphing, the greatest glory of God diminished, and so many souls lost because they have been violently deprived of the spiritual aid which they received from those fathers in every part of the world! When I behold this spectacle, I do not cease to pour forth special prayers that, after such tempests, the God of life and death may, in His own good time, resuscitate this Society for His own greater glory. That has ever been, and ever will be, my sentiment."

(1) The fall of Choiseul reminds us of some remarks made by the last Christian statesman produced by the Sardinian monarchy. Count Solaro della Margherita, formerly prime minister of Charles Albert, speaking in the Piedmontese Senate on June 7, 1854, said: "When I was a minister, I used to read the history of men who, while occupying the same position, persecuted the Church. The end of Thomas Cromwell did not surprise me; minister of a tyrant (Henry VIII.), he obtained the reward which tyrants reserve for those who serve them—death. But, considering seriously the ministers of the last century—a pacific and enlightened one, many think—who caused the Church to mourn in France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, I saw with terror those powerful men falling humiliated and shedding bitter tears, without any consolation for their misfortune, and without any compensation for their suffering. Then I vowed to myself that I would not neglect their salutary advice; that I would never persecute the Church." In 1777 Choiseul tried to gain the favor of the new king, Louis XVI., although he had persecuted outrageously that monarch's virtuous father. This endeavor caused the young sovereign to write, in a memoir cited by Soulasie (*Reign of Louis XVI.*): "The French government had always accorded a special protection to that celebrated Society which trained the young in an obedience to law, in a knowledge of the arts, of science, and of letters. Choiseul alone delivered that Society to the persecutions of parliaments."

the Count of Florida Blanca, who had been procurator-general of the Council of Castile, and was, like too many of the Catholic statesmen of the day, imbued with Febronianism. The auditor of the papal nunciature in Madrid, writing to the cardinal-secretary of state on March 24, 1772, thus describes Florida Blanca: "I know the man *as he is*: the thoughts that are hidden in his mind; and how, with an exterior which is gentle, moderate, and even religious, he is an enemy of Rome, of the pontifical authority, and of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. . . . He is supremely cunning, and more than any other he is ardent for the destruction of the Jesuits. I do not know whether he is thus ardent through principle and because of a hatred for them, or rather because of some interests of his own. . . . In last analysis, things are now reduced to this one—the suppression of the Jesuits. Such will be the instructions of Moniño." The new Spanish envoy arrived in the Eternal City on July 4, 1772; and on Aug. 5, Bernis wrote to Aiguillon: "If I may judge by the words of Moniño, the king of Spain has no more confidence in the promises of the Pope; he insists on Clement XIV. speaking categorically and promptly. He will believe no more in vague promises; the Pope will have a very short time in which to come to a resolution. In case of a refusal, which would be regarded as a violation of a promise, there will be danger of an open rupture. 'Then,' said Moniño to me, 'Spain and the other countries which are now called *countries of obedience* will become *countries of liberty*.'" On Sept. 9, Moniño offered to the sorely-beset Pontiff a temptation which would certainly have conquered a merely temporal sovereign. He declared that immediately after the abolition of the Society, Avignon and Benevento, which had been seized by France and Naples, respectively, would be restored to the Holy See. Clement remembered that he was the vicar of Him who chased the money-changers from His Father's temple; and crying: "A Pope governs souls; he does not traffic in them," he abruptly terminated the audience, and entering his private apartments, he exclaimed: "May God forgive the Most Catholic King!" (1).

(1) SAINT-PRIEST: *loc. cit.*, p. 152—THEINER: *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 240.

The reader will the more readily comprehend the anguish of Clement XIV., if he considers the condition of Eastern Europe at this time. Just when the greedy cabinets of Vienna and Berlin were associating themselves with the "great" Catharine of Russia for the annihilation of Poland—a crime against which Clement had vainly protested in the name of justice and healthy statesmanship, great joy had been brought to the Holy See by news from Hungary and Transylvania. At the very time (1771) when the patriarch of the schismatic Armenians, with six of his suffragans and more than 50,000 of their people, had returned to the centre of unity, the Church had made great conquests in the hereditary states of Maria Teresa, among both Protestants and Greek schismatics. Nearly the entire district of Sichelva had followed its ministers into the fold of Christ; and about 7,000 schismatic families of Transylvania had done the same. But this glorious work had been principally effected by Jesuit missionaries. If these converts were deprived of the fostering care of their spiritual fathers, was there no danger of relapse into the darkness of error? And in the Orient, as the ambassadors of the European sovereigns were continually informing them, it was owing principally to the Jesuits that Catholicism was holding her own, and making daily progress (1). "And without going so far," reflects Ravignan, "even in Italy, under the eyes of the Supreme Pontiff, the evangelical laborers of the Society of Jesus were devoting themselves to the functions of the holy ministry, and to the sanctification of souls, with a zeal which God has deigned to bless, even in our day. Everywhere, in the most populous cities and in the most humble hamlets, they preached the word of salvation. All the various works of their institute—missions, spiritual exercises, congregations, education of youth, teaching of sacred and profane science, instruction

(1) The chevalier Francis Emmanuel de Saint-Priest, uncle of Alexis, the historian, who was French ambassador to the Sublime Porte at this time, writing to his government, shortly after the suppression of the Society, said: "The progress of religion among the Armenians and Syrians is due, in very great measure, to the Jesuits, as you know from the account rendered last year by the ambassador. The ex-Jesuits are the depositaries of the confidence of the subjects of the Grand Seigneur; and they ought to be retained in their functions, so that the fruits of their planting may not be lost." *MSS. of the Abbé Brotier*, cited by Ravignan.

of the ignorant and the poor—were in full vigor, as flourishing as ever in Rome and throughout the Italian peninsula. The same was proportionably true, wherever the disciples of St. Ignatius were still united in community.”

When Clement XIV. found that all other schemes for procrastination had failed, he bethought himself of one which seemed to promise well ; “ he ought to be assured,” said he to Moniño, “ that the suppression of the Society would not be opposed by the court of Vienna.” Maria Teresa had always favored the Society ; surely, thought the Pontiff, her influence would furnish a plank for at least temporary refuge. But the empress-queen had now succumbed to the influence of her philosophistic son, Joseph II., and the last earthly hope of the Pontiff vanished. On July 21, 1773, Pope Clement XIV. signed the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, suppressing the Society of Jesus ; but the act was not made known officially until August 16, when it was communicated to the general, Ricci, and to all the other Jesuit superiors in Rome. The Brief commences with a partial list of the many abolitions of religious orders, effected by the Roman Pontiffs. Thus, the Pope instances the suppression of the Templars by Clement V., “ because of their general evil reputation ” ; that of the *Humiliati* by Pius V., “ because of their disobedience to the Apostolic decrees,” and also, among other reasons, “ because of their horrible conspiracy against the life of St. Charles Borromeo ” ; that of the Reformed Conventual Franciscans by Urban VIII., “ because they did not bring forth the fruit which the Church had expected from them ” ; that of the Order of Sts. Ambrose and Bernard *Ad Nervis*, by the same Urban VIII. ; that of the Armenian Basilians by Innocent X., “ because of their intestine discords ” ; that of the Priests of the Good Jesus by the same Innocent X. ; that of the Canons-Regular of St. George, that of the Hieronymites *de Fesulis*, and that of the Jesuati, all by Clement IX. Coming to the case of the Jesuits, the Pontiff recounts the many charges made against them, and without touching the question of their guilt or innocence, he pronounces this sentence : “ Assisted, as we dare to believe, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost... we suppress

and abolish the Society of Jesus . . . we declare suppressed the authority of the general, and that of the other superiors of the Society " (1). Thus was abolished an organization which then possessed 24 houses of the professed, 669 colleges, 340 residences, 271 missions, 171 seminaries, 61 novitiates ; and whose members numbered over 22,000, of whom over 11,000 were priests. On Aug. 16, the ex-general, Ricci, was conducted to the English College, where he was kept in close retirement for a few days, and then taken to Castel San Angelo, where he died on Nov. 24, 1775. Five days before his demise, the Holy Viaticum having been brought to his chamber, he read, in the presence of his God and of all the officers of the garrison, the following protestation : " Considering that I am about to appear before the tribunal of God, the tribunal of infallible truth and justice ; after long and mature deliberation, and humble prayer to my merciful Redeemer and terrible Judge that He will not permit me to be led by passion in this one of the last acts of my life, or by any bitterness of heart or by any other affliction or vicious purpose ; for the sake of rendering testimony to truth and innocence, I hereby make the two following declarations and protestations. Firstly, I declare and protest that the abolished Society of Jesus has never furnished any reason for its suppression ; this I declare and protest, with that moral certitude which can be possessed by a superior who

(1) The ex-Jesuit, Georgel, would have us believe that Clement XIV. nullified the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. In the cited *Memoirs* he says : " Scarcely had Clement XIV. gratified the king of Spain by the ruin of the Jesuits, when his life became one of continued disquiet and remorse. Could he hide from himself that his tiara was the result of a criminal bargain which radically vitiated his election ? . . . Often when he deemed himself alone, he was heard to exclaim '*Compulsus feci ! compulsus feci !*' Violence, yes, violence, extorted that fatal Brief which now tortures me.' . . . He found some relief from the torments of his conscience, only when he resolved to repair, so far as he could, the injury he had done to Christendom. Awaiting, then, the favorable moment for this reparation, he determined to place in the hands of his confessor an attestation of his repentance, a formal and detailed retraction of the Brief which he declared to have been the fruit of violence. This tardy retraction is no longer a mystery ; it was dated June 29, the Feast of St. Peter, 1774 ; it was written in Latin, and it is recorded at length in a history of the Jesuits which was written in German by Peter Philip Wolff, and printed at Zurich in 1791." But why does the *Bullarium* furnish no indication of such a retraction ? Why was it never mentioned by Pius VI. or Pius VII., on any of the occasions when it would naturally have been adduced, had it existed ? This silence is more eloquent than the assertion of Georgel, though it were supported by that of a thousand Wolffs. The reader will note that Georgel implied that the name of Clement XIV. should be erased from the catalogue of Roman Pontiffs, when he held that *the criminal bargain radically vitiated Clement's election*.

is well informed in regard to all that happens in his order. Secondly, I declare and protest that I have never furnished even the slightest reason for my imprisonment; this I declare and protest with that sovereign certitude which each one possesses concerning his own actions. And I emit this second protestation merely because it is necessary for the reputation of the suppressed Society of Jesus, of which I was the general. By these same protestations, however, I do not imply that those who have injured the Society of Jesus or myself are culpable before God; I abstain from any such judgment. The thoughts of man are known to God alone; He alone perceives the errors of the human understanding, and discerns whether they are such as excuse from sin; He alone penetrates the motives which lead to an action, and the affections and movements of the heart which accompany that action; and since the innocence or guilt of an external act depends from all these things, I leave all judgment on such an act to Him who will question our works and sound our thoughts. And that I may fulfil my duty as a Christian, I protest that, with the aid of God, I have always pardoned and do now pardon sincerely all who have offended and tormented me, firstly, by the harm they have done to the Society of Jesus, and by their severity toward its members; secondly, by the abolition of that Society, and by the circumstances which accompanied that abolition; and finally, by my imprisonment, and the severities added to it, as well as by the injury which has been done to my reputation—things which are notorious throughout the world."

Very few historians contend that Clement XIV. was actuated by other motives than a desire for peace, when he signed the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. Picot, than whom no more judicial or veracious publicist has descanted on the events of the eighteenth century, may be regarded as representing the best thought of our day when he says: "Only after four years of pontificate, and because of the reiterated pressure of the ministers of several great powers, did Clement XIV. decree the so intensely desired abolition. . . . He insisted principally on the benefit of peace, which he believed to be

involved in the destruction of those religious. Undoubtedly he thought that since several sovereigns were leagued against the Society, the Holy See would strive in vain to uphold it, or that it could no longer be of much use to the Church; and this consideration overbalanced, in his mind, the other reasons which militated in favor of so precious an organization. . . . It would seem that Clement XIV. was not hostile to the Jesuits; but he saw the Catholic courts conspiring against them, and he thought that he could fight no longer in their behalf" (1). It is not necessary for us to dilate on this point; but the reader may reflect with profit on the considerations emitted by the ex-Jesuit, Cordara, in his correspondence with his brother, the Count of Calamandrana. In his seventh letter (2), he shows how the Pontiff could, without injustice, suppress the Society, even though he knew it to be innocent of ill-doing. A sovereign, he says, can certainly disband a faithful and valorous regiment, if reasons of state, such as public order, etc., seem to demand the sacrifice. The Holy Father was threatened not only with temporal losses, but with direful schisms; "therefore he deemed it wise to avoid greater evils by sacrificing the Society." Clement XIV. did not abolish the Jesuits because of immoralities, or even because of any relaxation of discipline; he did not touch the question of the Society's guilt of the charges brought against it; indeed, the moderation of the Brief caused Tanucci to prohibit its circulation in the kingdom of Naples. "Clement XIV.," adds Cordara, "perceiving that the sovereigns were imbued with the opinions of Febronius, and filled with prejudices against the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, thought to impede their designs by inflicting two wounds on himself, as well as on the Church. The first wound was the suppression of our Society; the second, more difficult to heal, was the quasi-suppression of that ancient and venerable Constitution, the Bull *In Cerna Domini*, which formed, by itself, the strength of the Holy See, supporting it in face of the Catholic universe. These two measures will perpetuate the memory of the pontificate of Ganganelli; but this souvenir will always be accompanied by tears and

(1) *Loc. cit.*, y. 1773.

(2) MSS. of Cordara, in the Archives of the Gesù.

moans. Would any other Pope, living, like Ganganelli, in those evil days, have acted differently? Who knows? Without doubt the Pope, as supreme pastor, possesses sovereign and legitimate power over the entire flock, even over monarchs, who are sons of the Church; but can he exercise that power, when kings declare war against him? At that unfortunate period, the power of kings greatly surpassed that of the Pope." Another Jesuit author, Cahour, who, we may remark *en passant*, does not imitate Cordara by styling Pope Clement XIV. "Ganganelli," as Cretineau-Joly and certain other Jesuit apologists are wont to do (they never speak of "Pope Rezzonico" or of "Pope Chiaramonti"), asks, concerning the Brief of suppression: "*Was it legitimate? Yes; because the Holy See had a right to suppress what it itself had established.* Was it prudent and opportune? Many say that it was not. As for me, I respect the strange situation in which the vicar of Jesus Christ found himself; and I regret that on this occasion the sacrifice of Jonah, made to the fury of the waves, served only to augment the tempest" (1). The Jesuit Boero contends that "the true and legitimate defense of Clement XIV. is furnished by himself in his words, 'I was forced to it—*compulsus feci*': and he enters into a labyrinth who abandons this line." Then Boero asks whether, if Clement XIV. had remained firm in his opposition, he would have turned the ministers from their iniquitous designs. Boero conjectures that the Pontiff would have conquered; and principally because, according to this author, France was then tired of the struggle; Portugal and Naples were then not concerned themselves much about it, for a dispatch of Vrillière shows that the other courts desired the abolition of the Jesuits merely because of their wish to please Spain" (2). Were these historical data true, the conjecture of Boero might be received as plausible; but they are void of foundation.

It is a remarkable fact that, in spite of what is advanced by many Catholic writers who are hostile to the Jesuits, very few of the apologists of Clement XIV. have shown more respect for the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* than was manifested by such of its victims as spoke or wrote on the

(1) *The Jesuits by a Jesuit*, pt. ii., p. 278. Paris, 1852.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., § 19.

subject. The Belgian publicist, Xavier de Feller, who became a journalist after his enforced secularization, and for many years edited the *Historical and Literary Journal of Luxembourg*, gives many instances of rebukes administered by ex-Jesuits to their inconsiderate defenders who declaimed against "Ganganelli." Thus he adduces the funeral oration on Clement XIV. pronounced by one of his olden brethren, the Abbé Mattzell, at Fribourg on Nov. 13, 1774, in which the following passage occurred: "Clement XIV. is blamed for having abolished the Society, without having allowed it to reply to the charges made against it, without having convicted it of grievous crimes. But, my friends, why should we take for granted the unjust thesis that grievous crimes alone can justify the abolition of an order? Cannot very many other motives justify such action? His Holiness said that he kept the chief causes of that suppression hidden in his own heart. . . . But, men say, the Society was useful to the state. Granted; but are not all sorts of merchandise, precious jewels even, useful to the merchant who is on the ocean? And nevertheless, he throws them overboard, when otherwise he cannot save his life. When, therefore, the peace of the Church of God could be restored only by our public sacrifice, even though it were the effusion of all our blood, we should not have murmured, but rather have kissed the hand that was immolating us, rather have blessed the arm that was crushing us. . . . Any one of the former Jesuits who thinks, speaks, or writes otherwise, bore only the name and the habit of the Society; he did not have its spirit."

Certain apologists of the Society exhibit much complacency as they describe the protection which Frederick II. of Prussia and Catharine II. of Russia extended to it after its suppression. The value of philosophistic sympathy like that of Frederick II. must be problematical; and certainly the friendship of a Catharine II. can redound no more to the glory of the Jesuits, than the frequently-mentioned hatred of the Pompadour—a far better woman than Catharine—can contribute to their shame. Apologists of the calibre of Cretineau-Joly appear not to suspect that the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* was, for the condemned society, a sure pass-

port to the affections of Frederick and Catharine—those supposed experts in matters of solid sanctity and real worth; that, in fine, hatred of Rome prompted those sovereigns to protect a Society which Rome discountenanced. The real animus of the Russian government was manifested when, proclaiming the alleged demerits of the Jesuits as loudly as it had formerly announced their merits, it expelled them from Russia, almost as soon as the Holy See restored the Society (1). Declining, therefore, to recognize the action of Frederick and Catharine as adding to the fame of the Society, we must nevertheless consider the relations between these sovereigns and the abolished organization; since they are frequently misunderstood, and at least in the case of the Russian Jesuits, are often made the basis of unfounded allegations. Catharine and Frederick had forbidden the publication of the suppressing Brief; and had ordered the Jesuits not to disband. The conduct of the Jesuits in Prussia is easily justified. In a work written several years before the appearance of his rather anti-Jesuit *History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV.* (2), Theiner thus explains it: “Frederick II. was so convinced of the necessity of preserving the Jesuits in his dominions, that he tried to influence Rome in the matter. . . . But the Jesuits made no use of the royal good feeling; they had fallen everywhere like heroes, and as heroes they wished to abandon the scene of their labors in Silesia, where they left imperishable monuments after themselves, monuments which are still admired by every Silesian. They represented to the king, in strong terms, that he could not nullify a decree of the Holy See, in order to maintain the Society. Therefore they earnestly begged him to consent to their suppression. Astonished by their obedience to the Holy See, he replied: ‘Since you do not wish to profit by my favor, I shall not attempt to violate your consciences, and I allow you to consider yourselves as included in the suppression of your order.’ . . . In fact, the Society retained

(1) Pope Pius VII. restored the Society on Aug. 7, 1814; and on Dec. 20, 1815, Alexander I. expelled the Jesuits from St. Petersburg. On March 13, 1820, they were banished from the empire.

(2) *History of Institutions for Ecclesiastical Education*, vol. ii., p. 50. Mayence, 1835.

possession of all its colleges, and of the University of Breslau, until the melancholy days of 1806 and 1811; but it entered into the class of secular priests, and received no more novices." Ravignan observes that the Prussian Jesuits did not refuse to preserve the *status quo*, as the Canon Law permitted, so long as the Brief was not canonically made known to them; but they did refuse to follow the suggestion of Frederick, that they should choose for themselves a vicar, and constitute themselves into a religious Society. Such, in a few words, was the conduct of the Jesuits in Prussia, after the suppression; but the course pursued by the Jesuits in Russia is not so easily understood.

By the partition of Poland in 1772, the Jesuits of most of what was termed White Russia became subjects of Catharine II. They received no intimation of the suppression of their Society from their ordinary, the bishop of Vilna, on whom was incumbent the duty of giving that intimation to them. Behold the reason of the survival of the Jesuits in White Russia—an existence which has been represented, by Gioberti, Theiner, and a host of less respectable foes of the Society, as a defiance of the commands of the Vicar of Christ. Ravignan asks leave to complain of the propensity of many publicists to regard the Jesuits "as outside the common law, as having no right to its benefits." This propensity is admirably illustrated when the Jesuits of White Russia are accused of rebellion to the chief ecclesiastical authority. The Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* was not published with those solemnities which, as canonists hold, are requisite if a papal pronouncement is to be regarded as obligatory, without any particular intimation of it. This Brief was not placarded either in the Campo dei Fiori, or *ad valvas Sancti Petri*: the bishops of Christendom were ordered to publish it, and to procure its execution. The bishop of Vilna may have been guilty when he ignored this Apostolic command; but so long as the contents of the Brief did not reach the Jesuits in the manner contemplated by the pontifical legislator, those religious were justified in regarding themselves as still subject to their olden rules. The doctrine of canonists, and the practice of saints, in the case of emergencies like

that in which the Russian Jesuits found themselves after the suppression, was thus set forth by Cardinal Calini in an eloquent address to Pope Pius VI. on April 1, 1780: "The Brief of Clement XIV. was not published in Russia, because of the circumstances surrounding the bishop who should have published it. Therefore the Jesuits in Russia remained in pacific possession of all that they had enjoyed for two hundred and forty years, of all that had been confirmed to them by so many Bulls and Briefs of nineteen Sovereign Pontiffs; that is, they continued to be real Jesuits. Where, then, is their heresy; where their disobedience? The bishop did not make the Brief known to them, because the court of St. Petersburg had threatened with exile any one who would publish it. Certainly ecclesiastical precepts are not of obligation, when their fulfilment is so onerous. . . . The annals of the Church show that several Briefs of suppression have not been executed in various kingdoms and provinces; and nevertheless, Rome has never issued a Bull of condemnation against the religious who, in those circumstances, continued in their olden condition. Such was the case of the order of the Servites, whom Pope Innocent V. declared included in the suppression ordered at the General Council of Lyons. Then there was the order of the Brothers of St. John of God, suppressed by Rome, but continuing to exist in Spain, because the Brief of Clement VIII. was not published in that land (1). We also see the order of the Pious Schools, although formally abolished at Rome, maintaining its position as an order of regulars in Poland and other northern lands. There are two letters of St. John Calasaneus, inserted in the summary of the report for his beatification in 1716, when Mgr. Lambertini (afterward Pope Benedict XIV.), a man so learned in these matters, was Promoter of the Faith. The servant of God, then general of the Pious Schools, expressly charged his subjects, in these letters, to follow their rule, so

(1) This allusion to the suppression of the Brothers of St. John of God reminds us that on May 3, 1775, at the very time when the Jesuits of Russia were being decried as rebels to the Holy See, Pope Pius VI. approved the decree which declared the heroicity of the virtues of the Ven. John Legrande, called *el peccador*—the same Legrande who upheld the order of the Brothers of St. John of God in Spain, because the suppressing decree of Clement VIII. had not been promulgated in that country, owing to the opposition of Philip II. And Pope Pius IX. solemnly beatified this Legrande in April, 1854.

long as the Brief was not intimated to them by the ordinaries ; and this he ordered, because the Brief of destruction, issued by Innocent X., had prescribed its intimation by those ordinaries. Lambertini made no observations on these letters which might render their author's sentiments suspicious, as being contrary to the obedience due to the Apostolic decisions. We even read in that history of the saint which was written by one of the religious of the Pious Schools, and printed in Rome at the Ospizio di San Michele *ad ripam*, that the holy general, then very advanced in years, sent the venerable Brother Onofrio del Santissimo Sacramento to Poland and other northern countries, where the Pious Schools were most numerous, to obtain that the destroying Brief might never be promulgated in those regions ; and his object was gained." These observations of Cardinal Calini, received most graciously by Pope Pius VI., might obviate any necessity of our pursuing the subject of the culpability of the Jesuits of Russia ; but it may be well to note that there is good reason for believing that Pope Clement XIV. himself expressly authorized the continuance of the Jesuits, as a Society, in the Russian dominions. We need lay no stress on the reports to that effect which were current in Russia at that time (1) ; we have positive evidence of this authorization in a pastoral letter of the bishop of Mohilow, dated June 29, 1779. This prelate says : " In condescension to the wishes of the august empress of Russia, Pope Clement XIV. had not obliged her to execute the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor* in her dominions." It is true that Garampi, the papal nuncio in Poland, afterward stated that no such permission of toleration had been sent through him ; but that statement does not show that the authorization was not granted. It is certain that Clement XIV., like Louis XV. and many other sovereigns of the time, frequently conducted negotiations without any intervention of his nuncios, and even without the knowledge of his secretary of state ; and this fact is admitted even by Theiner, who is most energetic in rejecting the theory of an

(1) Thus, there was printed in Germany, in 1820, a memoir entitled *Observations of a Gentleman of St. Petersburg on the Report of Prince Galitzin, Minister of Religious Affairs, to Her Imperial Majesty, on the Expulsion of the Jesuits : Sent to a Friend in Germany*. This writer speaks of the authorization as a fact admitted by all.

authorization by the Pontiff (1). We are justified, therefore, in believing that the Jesuits in Russia were not rebels to the Holy See; and that Pope Pius VII. did not stultify himself when, re-establishing officially the Jesuits in Russia, at the prayer of Paul I., he eulogized the fathers who had remained in those regions "to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord."

With this defense of the conduct of the Jesuits in Russia we would terminate our dissertation, not deeming it requisite to discuss a question which is unnecessarily agitated by most publicists who treat of the pontificate of Clement XIV.; namely, whether the Pontiff went mad after he had suppressed the Society. The arguments by which certain apologists of the Society endeavor to show that the wickedness of its suppression was evinced by a remorse, on the part of Clement XIV., which culminated in insanity, are flimsy and baseless. They would receive no attention from us, did not Ravignan, an author whose sincerity cannot be challenged, incline to the affirmative when he introduces this question. From the day of the suppression of the Society there were vague whisperings among its ultra partisans that Clement XIV. had become crazy; but not until 1847, when Cretineau-Joly published his *Clement XIV. and the Jesuits*, was there any revelation of the source of those rumors. It then appeared that the responsibility for the cruel aspersion rested on the ex-Jesuit, Vincent Bolgeni, an able polemic, but too fond of paradoxes, whom we have had frequent occasion to cite in the course of our work. However, Cretineau-Joly was not satisfied with the incoherent and scandalous narrative of Bolgeni; his mistaken zeal induced him to embellish it with details which can be ascribed to no source other than his own imagination. "The princes," says Cretineau-Joly, "had expelled the sons of Loyola from their kingdoms; *the Pontiff abandoned them to ecclesiastical persecutors*. But this

(1) Theiner cites a despatch of Garampi to the Pope and the secretary of state, in which the nuncio speaks of the opposition of Catharine to the suppression, and remarks: "In so grave and delicate an affair, I shall not dare to express my opinion to the Holy Father or to the Holy Congregation, especially since *I am in the most complete ignorance concerning the steps that may have been taken*." Theiner also cites a despatch from Cardinal de Bernis to the Duc d'Aiguillon, dated Aug. 24, 1773, in which, speaking of the circular-letter to the bishops which informed them of the Brief of suppression, the cardinal said: "I cannot ask for any explanations from the Pope, since he gives no audiences; and I can obtain none from the secretary of state, *since he was told nothing about the matter*."

tyranny of detail did not accomplish the purpose of Charles III. and of his ministers; the Spanish monarch desired a more complete triumph, and he persuaded the Pope to accord it. On July 21, 1773, there was to be begun a novena at the Gesù, in honor of St. Ignatius. The bells had commenced to toll, and *Ganganelli* inquired for the reason. When he was informed, he remarked: 'You mistake. They are not ringing at the Gesù for the saints, but for the dead.' This he knew better than any one else; for he *accepted*, that same day, the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, which abolished the Society of Jesus throughout Christendom. ... Clement XIV. had signed it *with a lead-pencil, during the night, and at a window of the Quirinal*. It is said—and we have this from the very lips of Pope Gregory XVI.—that after having ratified an act of such great import, *Ganganelli fell to the marble floor, from which he was not raised until the next day*. This next day was for him one of tears and despair; for, according to the manuscript narrative left by the celebrated theologian, Vincent Bolgeni (1), Cardinal Simone, then auditor of the Pope, narrated the frightful scene as follows: 'The Pontiff was on his bed, almost naked (2). He was weeping, and from time to time he was heard to repeat: *Oh God! I am damned; hell is my home; there is no remedy!* Brother Francis begged me to approach the Pope, and to speak to him. I did so; but the Pope would not answer me, continuing to repeat: *Hell is my home!* I tried to reassure him; but he kept silent. A quarter of an hour elapsed; then he turned his eyes toward me, and said: *I have signed the Brief; there is no remedy.* I told him that there was a remedy; that he could withdraw the decree. Then he cried: *It cannot be done. I have given it to Moniño; and by this time, the courier for Spain is probably on his way.* Even then, said I, one Brief is revoked by another one. *Oh God!*

(1) The original manuscript of Bolgeni, preserved in the Jesuit archives at Rome, was copied by Theiner, and is given in his *Epistles and Briefs of Clement XIV.* Paris, 1852.

(2) Here Cretineau-Joly furnishes one of innumerable instances of his ignorance of the Italian language; for Bolgeni represents Simone as saying that the Pope was reclining on his bed, dressed in shirt and drawers—*in camicia e mutande*. This ignorance of Italian justifies us in hesitating to accept Cretineau-Joly's version of the remarks of Pope Gregory XVI. Gregory understood French; but in his audiences he never ventured outside of Latin or Italian.

he returned, *it cannot be done. I am damned. Hell is my home ; there is no remedy.*' His despair, according to Simone, lasted for a good half-hour. *Certain imprudent friends of Clement XIV. have been unwilling to credit him with this last good quality of remorse. ... He was about to become crazy : for from July 21, 1773, he never had more than a few scintillations of reason. Among all the Roman Pontiffs, he is the first and only one to have suffered this degradation of humanity*" (1). The disgust and horror excited by this abominably impious lucubration of a Catholic pen might serve as its refutation, if it were never to fall under other eyes than those of one devoted to the Holy See. Certainly we know that it is possible for a Pope to become a madman ; that it is also possible for a Pope to be damned. But what was there in the course pursued by Pope Clement XIV. toward the Society of Jesus, which would entail upon him so terrible a punishment in this world, and separation from God in the next ? Heap anathemas as you will upon the heads of Pombal, Aranda, Tanucci, Choiseul ; upon the heads of the Jansenists, Febronians, Encyclopedists, and Freemasons of the eighteenth century ; but not on the head of him who thought that the suppression of the Society of Jesus was necessary for the peace of the Church, and who could rightly say, whether he did say it or not, "*compulsus feci.*" Now let us examine the indictment drawn up by Cretineau-Joly. In the first place, it is false that from the date of the suppression, Clement XIV. was nearly always *non compos mentis*. That he suffered intensely, and because of the suppression, is true ; but the despatches of the foreign ambassadors to their courts show that he transacted business until three weeks before his death, that is, that for fourteen months after the abolition of the Society, his mind was clear and active. Not once does any one of the ambassadors even hint at any mental trouble, other than grief, on the part of His Holiness. From Sept. 28, 1773, to Oct. 28, the Pontiff was at Castel Gandolfo, continually occupied with a regulation of the affairs of the extinct Society, especially with provisions for the continuance of the many establishments which

(1) *Clement XIV. and the Jesuits*, p. 330.

the Jesuits had ruled. On Nov. 12, we find him opening the Roman College, then under the control of secular priests; and Cardinal de Bernis writes to Aiguillon that "His Holiness is in good health, and in excellent spirits" (1). Two days before this event, Bernis had written that "the Pope was very busily engaged in the affairs of the missions"; and the ambassador hoped that in a few days he "would have something positive to write, concerning the missions of Tonquin and Cochin China." On Nov. 30, Aiguillon writes to Bernis that Louis XV. rejoices because of the good health enjoyed by the Pontiff, in spite of his great labors; and he congratulates His Holiness, because "his health, and the gaiety which accompanies it, are proofs of the tranquillity of his mind." Certainly, the French monarch could have had no misgivings as to the intellectual soundness of the Pope, when he wrote, on Nov. 23, that Bernis should "address himself *personally* to His Holiness, in reference to a point concerning which His Majesty was very anxious"; namely, the nature of the secret instructions which Ricci, while yet general of the Society, was said to have emitted for the future guidance of his subjects, in the event of their suppression. We must suppose that Bernis had obeyed the royal command to apply for information directly to Pope Clement, when, on Dec. 8, he wrote to Aiguillon that His Majesty would have to wait until the examination of Ricci and his former assistants was completed (2). Let the reader consult the *Epistles of Clement XVII.*, edited by Theiner, and that author's chapters on the last days of the Pontiff, and he will find many indications that no person in Rome suspected, for an instant, the mental capacity of him who is represented by Cretineau-Joly as enjoying, after the suppression, "only a few scintillations of reason." But what shall we say, if we wish to do justice to the imaginative powers of Bolgeni and his French

(1) Bernis adds that thereafter, in the Roman College, "Theology will be taught according to the doctrine of St. Thomas and Scotus; and that the Pope has not wished to admit any professors of the Augustinian school, *since that school is too much opposed to that of the Jesuits*. It is the intention of His Holiness to banish theological disputes as much as possible, and to keep at a distance from the schools all that is called Jansenism or Molinism. He has retained four of the olden Jesuit professors, who enjoyed a good reputation for talent."

(2) Bernis says that "It is not the intention of His Holiness to render the Jesuits odious, or to furnish material for disputes to factions."

disciple? Certainly the reader must find it difficult to picture to himself a Roman Pontiff signing a Brief with a lead-pencil, as he stands in the embrasure of one of his windows at midnight, depending for light upon the moon; and alas! the poor Pope must be pictured, if we follow the context, as affixing the momentous signature while clothed only in shirt and drawers (1). It has always been believed that a Pope signs important documents in the presence, either of his cardinal-secretary of state, or of the cardinal-prefect (or at least the secretary) of the Congregation immediately concerned in the matter. Again, it is well known by all who are familiar with the ways of the Roman court, and ought to be suspected by those who are not acquainted with them, that it would be absolutely impossible for a Pope to remain out of his bed many hours when he ought to be in it, without the knowledge of scores of his household attendants (2). We are told that the Pope informed Simone that he had already consigned the Brief to Moniño. But Bernis and Moniño say that the latter received the Brief on Aug. 19, nearly a month after the alleged fainting-spell on the floor of the Quirinal. Simone also tells us that "*immediately after the departure of Moniño,*" the Pontiff tried to throw himself out of a window, and that a servant experienced great difficulty in preventing him. But how could this have occurred, if, as Cretineau-Joly asserts, the Pope was unconscious on the floor until found in the morning? Are we to suppose that the servant, after saving his master from breaking his neck, left the poor man alone until morning with every opportunity for some similar action? Cretineau-Joly says that Pope Gregory XVI. communicated to him the story of the fainting-spell. Gregory may have done this, and he may have credited the yarn, although he seems to have given no authority for it; but it is remarkable that

(1) We cannot suppose that the Pope was fully dressed, and that he was reduced to shirt and drawers by the tardy prelate or domestic who found him stretched on the floor. The discoverer would have either left his garments all on him, or would have put a night-robe on him, if so much of the clothing had been removed. If we can suppose anything natural in this unnatural business, the Pontiff must have signed the Brief, according to Cretineau-Joly, while arrayed in the *camicia e mutande*.

(2) In regard to Clement XIV., it is certain that he was continually under the eyes of either his confessor, Buontempi, or of his faithful companion, Friar Francis.

Bolgeni says not a word about it. The memory of Cretineau-Joly must have been very defective; for we note an instance of its failure which completely demolishes the weird picture which he presents to the gaze of the credulous. Cretineau-Joly himself, in the same work which contains this picture, publishes a letter which Moniño wrote to Tanucci two days after the day on which, according to the would-be apologist, the Spaniard received the Brief from Clement IV.; and in this letter, after telling the Neapolitan minister how he has repeatedly assured His Catholic Majesty that the Brief of suppression was about to appear, he avows that new difficulties are continually arising. Then he adds: "I have been obliged to discharge my musket; and you know with what kind of shot it is loaded. The result has been a quantity of printed sheets, which may yet serve me when I make cartridges. *I fear that another discharge will be needed; for at every step I take, I find a new obstacle.*" Is it not evident that on July 23, the date of this letter, Moniño had not yet received the Brief? We have charitably supposed that the memory of Cretineau-Joly was defective; but it appears strange that his proof-reader did not inform him that although this letter of Moniño is read on his page 333, the world is told on page 332 that on July 21 the Spaniard had extorted the Brief, and that "with one blow he had killed both the Vicar of Christ, and the Society founded by St. Ignatius." We now dismiss this subject with a quotation from the same Bolgeni whose abominable recital, thanks to the ghoulish enterprise of Cretineau-Joly, has attained, in the minds of many of the unwary, to the dignity of history. This same Bolgeni, either because his memory also has failed him, or because he is half-repentant of his insult to the memory of a Roman Pontiff, tells us in another narrative which is a sequel of the one already cited (1), that he questioned Mgr. Sampieri, a canon of St. Peter's, and an intimate of Clement XIV., as to whether the Pontiff really became crazy, and that the prelate replied that "having frequently consulted with the Holy Father on important matters, after his receipt of that let-

(1) This second narrative is also preserved in the Jesuit archives at Rome.

ter (1), *he had never perceived any derangement in the Pope's mind*, although His Holiness always rested his head on his hand, the elbow leaning on the table, and he appearing to be plunged in deep melancholy " (2).

CHAPTER XX.

VOLTAIRE.

It required but little effort of logic, says Balmes, to pass from the Reformation of the sixteenth century to deism; and from deism to atheism there is but a step. Not in Germany, however, the birthplace of that conglomeration of heresies which is styled Protestantism, did incredulism find its cradle; that sad distinction belongs to England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Addison deplored the ravages of irreligion and lubricity in his country. Leibnitz, after a visit to England, said that natural religion had become extremely weak in that land; and Clarke, in his reply to the German, could not deny the fact. Thomas Leland declared that attacks on Christianity succeeded each other without interruption; and that the opponents of revelation manifested a zeal which was as strange as it was indefatiga-

(1) This letter was one purporting to have been written by Mgr. de Bourmont, archbishop of Paris, antagonizing the abolition of the Society; and which, contrary to what Bolgeni says, appeared only after the death of Clement XIV. But what is to our purpose is that since this letter was dated April 24, 1774, Sampieri speaks of a time nine months after the suppression.

(2) We need not insult the intelligence of the reader by more than a reference to the charge of having murdered Clement XIV., which has been made against the Jesuits. Who would recognize the Gioberti of the *Primacy of Italy*, the author of a sublime system of philosophy, and one of the foremost among modern appreciators of the philosophy of history, in the writer of the following passage? "Natural reason demands that a crime be attributed to him alone who had an interest in committing it, as well as a moral capability and a desire of committing it. Now who could expect any gain by the death of Clement? The Jesuits. Who hated Clement? The Jesuits. Who manifested this hatred by calumnies, libels, and every possible method? The Jesuits. Who joined to their hatred a ferocious hunger after vengeance? The Jesuits. Who threatened the holy Pope with what really happened? Who endeavored to kill him by anticipation, inducing a fear because of sacrilegious prophecies? The Jesuits. Who rejoiced when the event happened, insulting his still warm remains? The Jesuits. Who calumniate him even now? The Jesuits. ... Who is more vindictive than the Jesuits (I speak of the political ones), and more vile in his revenge? Certainly a doctrine which, in many cases, justifies treason, perjury, homicide, and even the murder of sovereigns, may easily justify the poisoning of Popes. ... They who scrupled not in throwing mud on the highest dignity on earth, were fully capable of poisoning the man who was invested with it. ... But all doubt is banished by that

ble. Some of these foes of both Catholicism and the Protestantism of that day were avowed deists; others were Socinians, as the modern Arians were termed, who rejected the fundamental dogma of the Christian religion. To this latter school belonged Clarke, Emlyn, Whiston, and Locke. Clarke defended against Collins the existence of God, and the immortality and liberty of man's soul; but Voltaire charged him with being a mere shuffler in his treatment of the question. Asgill published an attempt to prove that man can be transferred to eternal life, without passing through the gates of death. William Coward wrote a denial of the spirituality and immortality of the soul. Shaftesbury, in his *Characteristics*, allowed indifference in religious matters; he advocated a religion supervised and indoctrinated by the state; he separated virtue from belief, and regarded it as a mere instinct. Collins was probably the most "advanced" of the English freethinkers of that time. He contended that revelation and reason were antagonistic; that the Old and New Testaments are a mass of types or allegories which prove nothing. Of the same school as Collins were Toland, Tindal, Trenchard, Woolston, Chubb, Morgan, Dodwell, and Bolingbroke. While all these coryphees of infidelity were waving their dismal standards in England, irreligion was almost unknown in the Land of the Lilies; and nearly all of the English vanguard

mass of fictions, frauds, prodigies, and sacrilegious superstitions, by which the Fathers showed that they desired, awaited, prepared, foresaw, and regarded as certain the speedy death of their enemy. . . . Let us suppose that to-day, in any state of civilized Europe there should appear a sect which made a business of predicting the more or less early death of the sovereign; and that while these prophecies were being circulated, the prince died with all the signs of an unnatural death. I ask whether there is on earth a tribunal which would not decide that the said sect was an accomplice in producing the mournful event. . . . Imputing to the Jesuits the atrocious deed, I do not speak so much of the Fathers, as of their clients. . . . How the infernal plot was executed is still, and probably ever will be, a mystery; therefore it would be rash to attribute it to the express command of the Society. Nevertheless, the guilt of the deed weighs, and ever will weigh, upon the Society, for many reasons which will not bear contradiction, etc., etc., "usque ad nauseam." (*Modern Jesuit*, ch. xi. Luzerne, 1847.) Perhaps the best reply to this tirade may be given in the words with which Cantù dismisses the accusation. "It has been asserted that Clement XIV. was poisoned by the Jesuits. The truth is that the physicians found no trace of poison in his body. But may we not ask why the Jesuits, if they had the means and the will, did not commit the crime before they received the decisive blow: or why they did not strike the *powerful ones* who had compelled their suppression, rather than the *weak one* who had suffered the compulsion?" *History of a Hundred Years*, vol. i., p. 172. Florence, 1855.

of the anti-Christian phalanx were dead, ere their weapons were naturalized in France. Then there appeared the *Persian Letters* of Montesquieu (1); the ebullitions of La Mettrie, d'Argens, Toussaint, Helvetius, Holbach, Naigeon, Grimm, d'Argental, Saint-Lambert, Turgot, Roux, Diderot, d'Alembert; and more influential than all, the writings of Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The two last were easily the leaders of the impious host; and, as Barruel says, d'Alembert was their most cunning agent, the Prussian Frederick II. their protector and counsellor, and Diderot their forlorn hope.

When treating of Voltaire, all anti-Christian and nearly all Protestant writers draw their information and sentiments, either mediately or immediately, from the *Life* written by Condorcet, or from the one composed by Duvernet. No scholar will contest the talent and ability of Condorcet; but the reader shall judge whether this author's "philosophical" proclivities did not destroy the judicial equanimity which is so essential for him who would be regarded as a historian. Commenting on what is undoubtedly the damning spot in the career of Voltaire as a writer, the besmirchal of the white robe of the sweet virgin of Domremy, the ultra-pane-gyrist of the "Sage of Ferney" says: "The enemies of Voltaire affect to condemn this poem as unworthy of a philosopher, as a stain upon his works, and even upon his life. But if it be permitted to regard as useful an effort to render superstition ridiculous . . . if an affectation of austerity of morals, if an excessive value placed on purity, only makes hypocrites who are covered by the facile mask of chastity . . . if, by leading men to regard as crimes those defects from which men of honor and conscience have not been exempt, there results an oppression of even the purest souls by that dangerous caste (the priesthood) which, in order to govern

(1) When Montesquieu was seized by his last illness, he told his confessor, before receiving the Last Sacraments, that he had never been an incredulist at heart. This priest, Father Routh, a Jesuit, detailed the dispositions of his penitent to Gualterio, the papal nuncio in Paris; and in his letter occurs this passage: "He declared that he had never been an incredulist; and that if he had ever injured religion, he had been conquered by a taste for the new and the singular, by a desire to pass for a superior genius who was above prejudice and common opinions, and by the wish to merit the applause of those persons who directed public admiration."

and trouble the earth, claims to be the exclusive channel of the justice of Heaven; then this author must be regarded as the enemy of hypocrisy and of superstition." The *Life* written by Duvernet (1786), although sometimes attributed to the Marquis de Villette, was composed with the object of proving that "Voltaire consumed his life in the destruction of the great errors which corrupt morality." The judicious Picot may well style this author "a sort of madman who professed a blind enthusiasm" for his idol. Every page of the work is a tissue of outrages on decency and religion, and of impiety against God. On neither Condorcet nor Duvernet shall we depend for the knowledge requisite for this dissertation. They should not be ignored entirely; but the writings of Voltaire himself shall form the chief source from which we shall endeavor to form a correct idea of the most prominent enemy of the Church in modern times; of that strange genius who is the fetich of all modern "liberals," just as he was the fawning pet of those exponents of monarchical "divine right," Catharine II. of Russia and Frederick II. of Prussia; of that vaunted "philosopher" who dared to exclaim: "Reason was born only yesterday," implying, of course, that Reason began with him; of that Satanic railer who, in almost his last moments, feared not to boast: "With one foot in the grave, I shall beat time for a dance with the other one."

According to the baptismal register of the parish of Saint-André-des-Arcs in Paris, François-Marie Arouet was born in that parish on Nov. 21, 1694, of François Arouet and Marie-Marguerite Daumart. Arouet was an honest *bourgeois* whose ancestors had been tanners at Saint-Jouin de Marne since the beginning of the sixteenth century, until his father, having learned how to manufacture cloth, moved to Paris, and set up an establishment in the Rue Saint-Denis. At the time of the birth of François-Marie, Arouet was a notary; but in 1701 he was appointed to a receivership of one of the tribunals of the *Chambre des Comptes*—a position which the vanity of François-Marie afterward exalted as that of "treasurer" of the said *Chambre*. Mme. Arouet was more cultured than were most of the *bourgeoises* of that

day, and her morals were as easy as her manners. A friend of Ninon de l'Enclos, her house was the resort of numerous noble *roués*; and when François-Marie, the last of her five children, was born, the members of the precious circle wondered as to his paternity. If the husband's claim was to be ignored, as many insisted, the probabilities seemed to favor François de Castagner de Chateauneuf, commendatory abbot of Varennes, who acted as the boy's godfather (1). Of the five young Aronets, only three lived to maturity; the eldest, Armand; François-Marie, of whom we are about to treat; and Marie, the sole individual of his family for whom the prince of cynics cherished the slightest affection. Marie married Pierre-François Mignot, a clerk in the *Chambre des Comptes*, and became the mother of the Abbé Mignot, of a daughter who married a M. Denis, and of another daughter who married M. de Fontaine. As a babe, François-Marie experienced no mother's care; indeed, it was due to the zeal of Chateauneuf that he survived the perils of infancy. As a child, he never prayed at his mother's knee. His heart, intellect, and soul were left to the mercies of the immoral and impious abbé; when he was only three years old, if we may credit a remark of Chateauneuf to Ninon, he knew by heart the *Moisade* of Lourdet, one of the first overt attacks on religion which incredulity made in France. In his eleventh year he was placed in the Jesuit college of Louis le Grand; but the influence of Chateauneuf, who continued to associate with the boy during the days of recreation and during the vacations, more than neutralized the lessons of piety and of true wisdom which he now received. Violent and continual headaches compelled the young Aronnet to forego a course of philosophy, and to leave college in 1711, when he had completed his rhetoric. Two years of dissipation ensued; and in the hope that absence from Paris would improve his morals, his father induced Chateauneuf to procure for the lad a pageship in the suite of that worthy's brother, then French ambassador at The Hague. Scarcely, however, had the candidate for reformation arrived in the Dutch capital, than he began an intrigue with the daughter of a female French

(1) DUVERNET; *Life of Voltaire*, p. 11, Geneva, 1786.

Protestant journalist; and since the mother had resolved to marry the girl to Jean Cavalier, the ex-leader of the Camisard bandits, she complained to the ambassador, and the precocious page was instantly sent back to Paris. Arouet would now have exiled his son to America, had not many friends persuaded him to try the effects of the discipline of a lawyer's office. During the three years which François-Marie was supposed to be devoting to at least some little acquisition of legal lore, he certainly became an adept in chicanery and in all the meaner arts which are familiar to the scum of the legal profession; but nearly all his time was consumed in debauchery in the society of men like Chaulieu, La Fare, Bussy, Caumartin, Servien, Sully, and others whose names persistently confront him who peers into the history of the Regency of Philippe d'Orleans. The physical constitution of the young Arouet compelled him to comparative moderation in the matter of drink; but in every other kind of debauchery he yielded to none. His father was thinking seriously of applying for a *lettre de cachet* for his imprisonment, when the regent anticipated the request by exiling the boy to Sully-sur-Loire, because of some verses in which he had foully libelled that prince. Defamatory verses had banished Arouet from Paris; but some fulsomely laudatory poetry caused the regent to relent, and the poet's punishment lasted only seven months. However, the offence was repeated; and fourteen months in the Bastille were accorded to the sinner for reflection. Shortly after Arouet recovered his freedom, he dropped the name of his family, coolly appropriated the aristocratic *de*, and posed ever afterward as "M. de Voltaire" (1).

Voltaire advanced his first claims to the applause of the general public by the representation of his tragedy of *Œdipe*, on Nov. 18, 1718. The piece pleased the literary world, and it drove the philosophistic world into ecstasies of delight. Two of its verses, apparently directed against the priests of the false deities of paganism, but really attacking the Christian priesthood (2), were, according to the expression of Con-

(1) It is generally supposed that he had hitherto signed his name as "Arouet, Junior—Arouet le J. . ."; and that in an anagram of these letters he discovered "Voltaire."

(2) *Nos prêtres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense;*

Notre crédulité fait toute leur science. Act IV., scene I.

doreet, "the first cry in a war which even the death of Voltaire could not terminate." The regent, in spite of the fact that the malignants of Paris feigned to recognize him in the incestuous hero of the tragedy, gave a gold medal and a pension of 1,200 livres to the author. About this time Voltaire wrote his *Letter to Urania*, a collection of the chief objections of incredulism against Christianity, in which he formally declares: "I am not a Christian," and raises the banner of Natural Religion. Nevertheless, on Nov. 4, 1723, when he was attacked by small pox, Voltaire made his confession. "I confessed, and made my will, which was not a long one; and then I awaited death with great tranquillity." In the spring of 1724, Voltaire made a second sojourn in the Bastille. The chevalier de Rohan-Chabot having fancied himself insulted by the audacious poet, had caused his servants to cudgel the offender; and in order to prevent a duel, all the Rohans had combined to obtain a *lettre de cachet* for the plebeian challenger. After fifteen days of imprisonment, Voltaire asked to be allowed to visit England, and the permission was granted. With the exception of his relations with Bolingbroke (1), and with that impious nobleman's

(1) Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, born of dissenting parents in 1672, became an Anglican in his early manhood. Having taken a great part in furthering the Treaty of Utrecht, he was raised to the peerage. When the House of Hanover mounted the British throne, Bolingbroke retired to France (1715). It was at his chateau of La Source that Voltaire first made his acquaintance. Having become prime minister to James III. (styled the Pretender), then residing at Bar in Lorraine, he was convicted of high treason in England on Sept. 10, 1715; and at almost the same time James III. dismissed him for similar reasons. There seems to be no doubt that Bolingbroke betrayed James in order to obtain the favor of the Hanoverians. At any rate he was allowed to return to England in 1723. While in France he married a niece of Mme. de Maintenon, who converted him from the libertinage which had exceeded that of the *roués* of the Regency, but who did not succeed in converting him to Christianity. When he died in 1751, Bolingbroke left his writings to David Mallet with injunctions to publish them. These works, remarked Lally-Tolendal, are doubly precious, since they are strong against atheism, and weak against revelation. On Oct. 16, 1754, the Grand Jury of Westminster, imitating the Roman Index which Protestants affect to regard as an engine of obscurantism and of tyranny, denounced the works of Bolingbroke, especially the *Letters to Pope*, as subversive of religion, of morality, and of the government. Certain critics have failed to discern in Bolingbroke either a deist or an incredulist; they insist that the seductive and learned author was rather similar to one of the ancient Academicians. But it is certain that he jeers at religion, and strives to banish its first principles from the heart of his reader. His persistency of purpose is shown by the fact that he insisted on the posthumous publication of some of his most baneful writings. He rejects both revelation and the Natural Law. He denies that the Creator intended to confer happiness on man. He admits a kind of general Providence; but denies that it extends over individuals. While avowing the antiquity and the usefulness of the doctrine of a future life, he contends that it is a fiction of the ancient Egyptians. He

particular world, we know little concerning the sojourn of Voltaire in England. He seems to have made no impression on the phlegmatic islanders; the English writings of the time barely mention his name. He saw Congreve, whom the English deemed their Molière; he met Clarke, the disciple and commentator of Newton; he became intimate with Swift, the friend and secretary of Bolingbroke, and regarded as an English Rabelais; and he tried in vain to win the esteem of Pope, whose sincere deism was disgusted with his licentious tastes and impious mouthings. But the relations of Voltaire with Bolingbroke were momentous indeed, since they were the cause of his definitive attachment to that incredulism with which he had hitherto merely toyed. In accordance with his aspirations which were ever falsely aristocratic as well as wicked, Voltaire accepted Bolingbroke as his model, eagerly imbibing from that polluted source ideas which he was to incorporate afterward in so many of his writings, especially in those which were directed against the Holy Scriptures. Voltaire seems to have been dazzled by the brilliancy of a position to which his imagination had exalted Bolingbroke, but which the noble incredulist did not really occupy. Voltaire discerned in Bolingbroke the head of a grand school of thought, and a type of English intelligence; he ignored the fact that heretical though it was, English society was still religious in the depths of its heart. His prejudices did not allow him to understand the religious crisis through which England was then passing. "By contact with revolution and party politics," says Maynard, "religion in England had become deformed, if not in itself, at least in the ideas formed concerning it. Because of hatred

holds that the soul is not an immaterial substance, distinct from the body. He teaches that chastity has no foundation in nature; that it is an invention of human vanity. He regards the entire *Pentateuch* as a tissue of absurdities. He discerns more obscurities in the New Testament than in the writings of Plato; in it, he insists, there are two contradictory Gospels, one of Jesus, the other of St. Paul. He outrages the Apostle of the Gentiles in terms that do not bear repetition. He declares that Christianity has never effected any good for humanity. Like all of his school, Bolingbroke knew no such thing as modesty. In a letter to Pope he placed himself above all other great philosophers and theologians. A calm and judicial reader of the works of Bolingbroke may not agree with Pope's saying to Swift that the epicurean deist was more than mortal when he treated of mundane matters; but he will certainly hold with Pope that Bolingbroke became frivolous when he tried to play the theologian.

for the Stuarts, the Catholic religion was regarded as one of rebels ; because of hatred for the governing powers, the Established Church was termed their instrument ; because of hatred of the republicans and levellers, the non-conformists were pronounced stupid or dangerous fanatics. In the minds of the wits and roués with whom Voltaire associated, the religious question was comprised in the two words, absurdity and danger. Hence their hatred, or at least an indifference for religion, which showed itself either in brutal attacks, or in a transformation of revealed Christianity into a species of deism. After Locke, the author of this transformation, came Shaftesbury, Toland, Collins, Tindal, to whom many of the English aristocracy gave the countenance of their social credit, and of their impiety and corruption. When Voltaire saw Christianity thus treated by the higher classes and by churchmen, naturally he thought it dead in England. He thought that it would soon die in France ; so he prophesied, and took upon himself to accomplish the prediction" (1). It was during his residence in England that Voltaire published his *Henriade*, on which he had labored almost unceasingly for ten years, and which contains the germ of the entire life-work of the author. The Marquis de Villette, one of the earliest biographers of the cynic, acclaims this work as "the most important service ever rendered to philosophy." The subject of the poem, the career of Henry IV., is a frame on which to hang a number of pictures illustrative of papal and clerical iniquity, and of the essential fanaticism of true religion. Condorcet, who thought that reason and religion are necessarily antagonistic, styles the *Henriade* "The Poem of Reason." It is interesting to learn that Voltaire, having learned that there was some talk of prohibiting the circulation of this work, sent a copy of it to Father Porée, who had been one of his teachers in the College of Louis le Grand, asking for his opinion as a theologian and a literary man. The reply of the Jesuit has not come down to us ; but he must have found it an easy task to unmask the hypocrisy which had led Voltaire to say that "not only as an author, but as a *Christian*, he

(1) Voltaire ; *His Life and His Works*, bk. i., ch. 6. Paris, 1868.

yearned for the esteem of Father Porée." Even as a literary work, the *Henriade* was prized by few of its author's contemporaries. La Harpe, one of his own school, declared that in this would-be epic the writer had been wanting in invention; that he had failed in his plan, in his drama, and in his treatment of the wonderful—in fine, in all that enters into the essentials of an epic. La Beaumelle asked: "Who will read this poem, fifty years from now?" Trublet said that he "yawned when he read it." No wonder, then, that Joseph de Maistre remarked: "As to his *epic* poem, I have no right to speak of it; for in order to judge of a book, one must read it; and in order to read it, one must be awake" (1).

Voltaire returned to France in the early days of 1729, bearing with him, says his worthy panegyrist, Condorcet, a consciousness that "he was called to destroy the innumerable prejudices, of which his country was the slave." And Condorcet tells us how the tremendous task was to be accomplished. "He felt that he would succeed, if he used a happy mixture of audacity and cunning; now yielding to circumstances, and then profiting by them or causing them to arise; prudently adopting, as necessity demanded, argumentation, pleasantries, the charms of poetry, or theatrical effects. In fine, he was to render ratiocination so simple that it would become popular; so amiable that it would not frighten frivolity; so attractive that it would become the fashion. This grand project inflamed the soul of Voltaire; it excited his courage; he consecrated his life to it, and he kept his word. The tragedy of *Brutus* was the first fruit of his

(1) "We do not know," says Maynard, "whether Malézieu was right when he said that the French have not the epic mind; but most assuredly nothing was ever less epic than the eighteenth century, that century without naturalness and without faith. Nothing was ever less epic than Voltaire, who was even less natural and more incredulous than his century. Nothing could be less epic than the subject chosen by Voltaire for his poem; the subject was entirely historical, and not at all adapted to that species of poetry. Perhaps our history presented only one subject for an epic—Jean of Arc; and we know how Voltaire treated that subject. As to the *Henriade*, there is nothing epic in it but the form, the machinery, the luggage; the life and soul of an epic are absent. Regarded from every point of view, and in spite of many beautiful verses and even of some beautiful passages, it is not to be compared not only with the grand epics which honor humanity, but even with such minor epics as the *Pharsalia* of Lucan." *Ubi supra*. In his *Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, Villemain institutes an interesting comparison between the *Pharsalia* and the *Henriade*. (Vol. I., lesson 8.)

residence in England " (1). *Brutus* was represented in 1730, but it did not please a monarchical audience, and it was played only sixteen times. Its ambitious author had tried to imitate Shakspeare; and he failed, just as he afterward failed in the same attempt when he wrote his *Eriphyle*, his *Death of Cæsar*, and his *Zaire*. In this same year a more than ordinarily irreligious and unpatriotic outburst on the part of Voltaire banished him once more from Paris. The famous actress, Adrienne Lecouvreur, a woman of notorious immorality, had died without having received the Last Sacraments; when urged to make her peace with God, she had replied to the priest by pointing to a bust of the Marshal de Saxe, one of her paramours, exclaiming: "Behold my universe, my hope, and my God!" Such being the manner of her death, the body of the miserable woman could not be placed in consecrated ground; a coach bore the remains in the dead of night to the spot where now the Rue de Grenelle meets the Rue de Bourgogne, and there, in the presence of only one of Adrienne's friends, M. de Laubinière, they were interred. Voltaire immediately apotheosized the deceased in verse. He accused the men in power of persecuting, when dead, one whom they had loved while she lived; he said that his "Saint-Denis" was the street corner where they had laid poor Adrienne (2), and that there he adored her; he pitied France, "sleeping under the rule of superstition"; he congratulated England, where alone "mortals dared to think" (3); he proclaimed London "the rival of Athens," and England "the happy land which had banished shameful prejudices as well as tyrants." Voltaire knew that France was not prepared for this nauseous dose, and he gave copies of the eulogy to only a few of his friends. But the government heard of the production; and to avoid arrest, Voltaire put forth a report that he had returned to England; and then he fled to Normandy, where he prepared to publish his *History of Charles*

(1) CONDORCET; *Life of Voltaire*, Paris, 1787—Voltaire himself at this period made no secret of his irreligious designs. In his *Correspondence* he narrates how Herault, lieutenant of the police of Paris, having warned him to beware lest he destroyed the Christian Religion, he replied: "That is precisely our object."

(2) The monastery of Saint-Denis was the burial-place of the French kings.

(3) Perhaps the Catholics of England were not mortals.

XII. (of Sweden), and his *Philosophical Letters*. Eight months afterward, he felt that it was safe for him to return to the capital, and in 1732, *Charles XII.*, his first attempt at history, and his first work in prose, saw the light. Just as Voltaire never did any better work in poetry than that exhibited in his first production, *Œdipe*, so he never wrote better prose than is read in *Charles XII.* And the best critics have discerned in this history a merit which can scarcely be ascribed to any other of Voltaire's lucubrations—a considerable regard for truth. Of course, there are many attacks on the court of Rome, many slurs on priests and nuns, many allegations of priestly ambition, etc.; but we must expect such ebullitions in anything written by Voltaire.

We need to say little concerning *Eriphyle* and *Zaire*, both weak imitations of that Shakspeare whom Voltaire termed a "barbarian." The former work was hissed from the stage; the latter, however, found well-deserved favor even among the author's opponents, and probably because of the episode of the crusade, well intertwined with the action of the drama, and treated in a manner not to have been expected from one who was wont to ridicule the Holy Wars. In *Eriphyle* the cynic had tried to imitate *Hamlet*; in *Zaire* he tried to imitate *The Moor of Venice*. Comparing the originals with the imitations, Maynard says: "Voltaire was vanquished by the 'barbarian' Shakspeare. In naturalness of sentiment and of language; in the preparation, probabilities, and progress of the drama; *Othello* is to *Zaire* that which genius is to talent. The able, infernal *Iago* is a confidant very different from the pallid *Corasmin*; the tender and elegant *Orosmane*, who is not at all oriental, is not to be compared to the ardent and ferocious Moor of Venice; and *Zaire* herself, with her too French daintinesses, does not affect us like the girlish and innocent *Desdemona*." Shortly after the production of *Zaire*, death deprived Voltaire of an admirer and an accomplice in iniquity, of whom we would make no mention, were this event not an illustration of our cynic's utter heartlessness, as well as of his philosophistic incredulism. During the previous year he had dwelt in the mansion of the Baroness de Fontaine-Martel, living at the expense of this

"goddess of hospitality," although his own income was sufficient to procure for him an abundance of even the luxuries of life. Voltaire was not the man to reject the favors of the mistress "of a fine house where he was the master; where every day was one of feasting and amusement; and where an annual revenue of forty thousand livres was spent for his diversion" (1). He tells us that his baroness was "without prejudices or weakness"; and of course that praise signifies that her reputation was bad, as indeed all Paris well knew (2). He tells us that his hostess was firmly persuaded that "when one is so unfortunate as to be no longer able to adore Eros, (we eschew the Voltairian language of brothels), then one must encourage others to adore him" (3). On Jan. 27, 1733, Voltaire sent to Formont an account of the death of the woman who had taken him, as both said, for a "director." Beginning with an allusion to some confectionery which Formont had sent to the baroness, and which would now be eaten "by her Jansenist daughter," he continues: "Imagine, if you can, that it devolved upon me to tell the poor woman that she had to go. She did not wish to pay any attention to the customary ceremonies of departure; but honor compelled me to see that she died according to rule. I brought to her a priest who is half Jansenist, half trickster; and he made a pretence of hearing her confession, and returned again to do the rest. When this comedian asked her in a loud voice whether she truly believed that her God, her Creator, was in the Eucharist, she replied 'Oh, yes!' in a tone which would have made me burst with laughter at a less lugubrious moment."

During the residence of Voltaire in England, he had written twenty-four *Letters on the English*; but they were not published until 1734, when, together with three other letters on the soul, on the burning of Altona, and on the *Thoughts* of Pascal, they appeared under the title of *Philosophical Letters*. The apparent object of the *Letters on the English* was to instruct the French on the state of literature, science, and morals, among their island neighbors; but their real

(1) Thus in his Letter to Cideville, Jan. 27, 1733.

(2) MANUEL; *The Police of Paris Revealed*, vol. ii., p. 125.

(3) Letter to Mme. de Florian, June 9, 1767.

scope was the dissemination of the deistic notions which he had brought from England. The letters on English poetry and on the English drama are interesting; and it may be said that Voltaire revealed Shakspeare, Dryden, and Pope to France. But even these literary effusions are spoiled by the irreligious reflections with which the author thought to season them. Thus, the French were told that there were no hypocrites in England, because there were no devotees; that the English were all "honest men." He outraged the immense majority of his countrymen by declaring: "In England you will not see any imbeciles placing their souls in the control of others; nor will you see any petty autocrats acquiring a despotic empire over silly women who were once dissolute and are always weak, and over men who are even more weak and more despicable" (1). In the letters which treat of religion, Voltaire derides everything that is Catholic in France; but he is ecstatic in his praises of the English dissenters, and especially in his encomiums on the Quakers. The publication of this work entailed much trouble on its author; he would have made a third visit to the Bastille, had he not fled into the Low Countries. In the most cowardly fashion he denounced the printer as having acted without his consent; as to the letter on Pascal, he insisted that he had especially intended to suppress it; the printer had ruined him, etc. On June 10, 1734, in accordance with a parliamentary decree, the *Philosophical Letters* were torn and burnt by the public executioner, as "scandalous, contrary to religion, to good morals, and to the respect due to the ruling powers." Nevertheless, thanks to the intercession of his numerous aristocratic friends, Voltaire was allowed to return to Paris in March, 1735, Cardinal Fleury, the prime minister, merely insisting that "he should act like a wise man, and like one who had reached a certain age."

We shall enter into no details of the life of Voltaire at Cirey between the years 1734 and 1750; the *liaison* of the poet with Mme. du Châtelet—a relation which for three years was one of passion, and for thirteen years a matter of habit and of interest—having been but an episode in a long

(1) *Works of Voltaire*, edit. Beuchot, vol. xxvii., p. 233.

career of eroticism. In 1736 appeared the drama of *Alzire*, which Voltaire, writing to Formont, announced as "a very Christian play, which may reconcile me with some of the devout" (1). The piece is one of great intrinsic merit; and William Schlegel praises it as superior to the other dramatic works of the author: "Having contrasted the Christian and the Ottoman morals, Voltaire placed some Spaniards and some Peruvians in the same picture; and the difference between the old and the new world furnished poetry with an occasion for the use of its brightest colors. *Zamore* shows us a savage still free, and *Montèze* a savage who has been subdued; *Gusman* represents the insolent pride of the conqueror, and *Alvarez* the sweet charity of the Christian. *Alzire*, exposed to the shock of all these opposing interests, finds herself divided between her souvenirs of the past—her country, and especially the first choice of her heart, and the new duties which have become incumbent on her. The combat which ensues is exceedingly touching. The last scene, where *Gusman*, wounded unto death, is carried on the stage, produces sweet and deep emotion. The difference of spirit between the religions of the two worlds is expressed in verses of great beauty: 'Know the difference between the deities whom we serve! Thine order thee to murder and to revenge; but my God, even though thou wert to assassinate me, commands me to pity thee, and to pardon thee' (2). These admirable words, which sufficed to convert *Zamore*, are the words which the duke de Guise addressed to a Protestant who had tried to murder him; but the poet, who applied them so happily, deserves as much praise as though he had first conceived them. Of all the productions of Voltaire, *Alzire* seems to me to be the most vigorous and the most happily arranged" (3). More in accordance with the real spirit of Voltaire was *The Worldling*, which soon fol-

(1) Writing to d'Argental in 1735, Voltaire said of *Alzire*: "If the piece does not seem to be the work of a good poet, it will at least appear to come from a good Christian; and in these times it is better to court the favor of religion, rather than that of poetry."

(2) "Des dieux que nous servons connais la différence:
Les tiens t'ont commandé meurtre et la vengeance;
Et le mien, quand ton bras vient de m'assassiner,
M'ordonne de te plaindre, et de te pardonner."

(3) *Course of Dramatic Literature.*

lowed *Alzire*, disgusting even his fellow "philosophers" with its impudent praise of luxury. In 1738 Voltaire undertook to adapt *The Philosophy of Newton* "to the capacity of the public" (1); and he insisted that he "was the first Frenchman to explain these matters" (2), although it was notorious that Maupertuis had explained Newton in the Academy of Sciences in 1724, and that the same Maupertuis had revised this very book of Voltaire (3). Voltaire had fancied that the scientific theories of Newton could be made to deal a death blow to the Mosaic system, and therefore to the Gospel of Christ; hence his zeal for the propagation of the *Philosophy of Newton* (4). The year 1741 witnessed the first representation of Voltaire's drama of *Mahomet*; and the critics agreed with Fontanelle when he pronounced it "horribly beautiful." Many of its scenes are grandeur itself, and in virility of diction few of its author's other works equal it. But the *Mahomet* of Voltaire is not the Mahomet of history; he is simply a prater of false philosophy and blatant incredulism, a roué fresh from a *salon* of the eighteenth century, and not the false but enthusiastic prophet of Arabia. Mahomet would never have admitted that it was his intention "to deceive the universe" (5). Voltaire termed his hero *Tartufo-le-Grand*; but it would be difficult to discover in the annals of mankind an instance of hypocrisy so nauseating as Voltaire's dedication of his *Mahomet* to Pope Benedict XIV.: "Your Holiness will pardon the liberty taken by one of the humblest, but one of the most sincere admirers of virtue, in dedicating to the head of the true religion a work which is directed against the founder of a religion which is false and barbarous. To whom, rather than to the vicar and imitator of the God of peace and truth, could I dedicate a satire on the errors and cruelties of a false prophet? May your Holiness

(1) Letter to d'Argens, Nov. 19, 1736.

(2) Letter to Thieriot, June 23, 1738.

(3) So we learn from Voltaire himself, in his letter to Maupertuis, dated May 22, 1738.

(4) "Before Laplace, Voltaire had dreamed of a kind of *celestial mechanics*, which would render God useless. Theist and not deist, he admitted God, but denied Providence. How convenient, then, was that *attraction* which replaced providential action! Montesquieu said of the system of Descartes: 'This system relieves God greatly.' The saying could be applied more justly to the system of Newton. *To relieve God*; that is, to expel God from the world, and do without Him—that was the desire of Voltaire" (BUNGENER; *Voltaire and His Times*. Paris, 1852.)

(5) "... il me faut aider à tromper l'univers."

deign to allow me to lay at your feet both the book and the author ; I dare to beg for your protection of the one and the other. With sentiments of most profound veneration, I prostrate myself and kiss your holy feet." The object of Voltaire was to obtain from the Pontiff some little commendation of his talent which he could vaunt as a title for admission into the Academy—a hope, for the actuation of which he was then tormenting every power, whether governmental, social, religious, or "philosophical." With that exquisite courtesy which is traditional in the papal court to an extent unknown in any other, and which causes an acknowledgment of the receipt of even trivial productions, Benedict XIV. replied to the audacious poet, saying that he "had read the beautiful tragedy with great pleasure"; and his Holiness even condescended to excuse, by examples from Virgil, an error of prosody which Voltaire had committed in a distich which he had placed under a portrait of the Pontiff.

At this period of his life, Voltaire had already become historiographer of France, and gentleman-in-ordinary of the royal bed-chamber—dignities which he owed to the protection of Mme. de Pompadour, and to the abject servility which he ever manifested toward the royal ministers. He had succeeded in persuading Louis XV. that he was "a most Christian subject of the Most Christian King" (1); and that he was "favored by Rome," and covered by "the stole of the Vicar of God" (2). But his ambition was not satisfied; and furthermore, he wished "to erect for himself, in the Academy, a kind of a rampart against the persecutions which are suffered in France by a man who writes with a free pen" (3). He yearned for a consecration by the literary senate of his country; he wished to be invested with the "Academic inviolability" which was, in the eyes of literary men, more precious than the inviolability of the king. But at that time the French Academy, the daughter of Richelieu and of Louis XIV., was still devoted to religion, and it realized that it would extend its hand to incredulism when it

(1) Letters to the Marquis d'Argenson, May 3, and Aug. 10, 1745.

(2) Letter to d'Argental, Oct. 5, 1745.

(3) Letter to the Duc de Richelieu, Aug., 1750.

welcomed Voltaire to its precincts. Again, literary sovereignty was dear to the Academy; and it felt that Voltaire the Academician would exercise a literary dictatorship, and one more powerful than that which he then wielded. From 1732 to 1746 the Academy resisted all the open and secret endeavors which Voltaire persistently put forth; but finally it yielded to the influence of the king, who had been persuaded by the rival of the Pompadour, the duchess de Châteauroux, who was dominated by the duke de Richelieu, who had been devoted to the poet from his youth. But the favor, or rather the unwilling consent of Louis XV., would not have vanquished the repugnance of the Academy, had not the champion liar and hypocrite so defended his orthodoxy, as to practically disarm his principal clerical opponents, inducing them to feign a belief in his protestations, and to trust that (if he were insincere) the restraining influence of the Academy would render him less dangerous than he had been as a free lance. One of the chief defenders of the religious integrity of the Academy was Boyer, ex-bishop of Mirepoix, and preceptor of the dauphin. In March, 1743, Voltaire sought the mediation of the Abbé de Rothelin, an academician, between himself and Boyer. In this letter, the candidate represents himself as full of "real respect for the Christian religion," which, he declares, "inspires him with the determination never to write anything offensive to purity." And during the previous fifteen years he has been engaged in the composition of the pornographic *Pucelle*. In witness of his faith, he brazenly appeals to his writings, and to letters which he has received from Cardinal Fleury, "who knew his veritable sentiments concerning religion and the state" (1). Then he administers a dose of flattery to Boyer: "This is a reply to the cruel accusations which I have been obliged to bear; this is a solemn homage to the truths which I revere; this is a guarantee of my submission to the views

(1) At the time when the recently published *Philosophical Letters* were exciting the indignation of true Christians and patriotic Frenchmen against their author, Voltaire undertook to change several passages in the book, and especially in the chapter on Locke, and in the treatment of "that little *bagatelle* of the immortality of the soul" (*Letter to Cideville*, Dec. 15, 1732.) At the same time he wrote to Formont that he had read to Cardinal Fleury five letters on the Quakers, from which he had "carefully cut out everything that might terrify his devout and wise Eminence. The poor man does not know what he has lost."

of those who are preparing the dauphin to be a worthy successor of his father." On Feb. 7, 1746, he wrote as follows to the Jesuit, La Tour, rector of the College of Louis le Grand: "I declare that if anything has been printed under my name, which could give scandal even to a sacristan, I am ready to destroy it; that I wish to live and die tranquilly in the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church."

We now approach the matter of the relations between Voltaire and Frederick II. of Prussia, the death of Mme. du Châtelet in 1749 having rendered the poet free to reside outside of France, and the displeasure of Mme. de Pompadour having disposed him to accept the invitation of a monarch who appreciated him at his own estimate (1). The first relations of Voltaire with Frederick occurred in 1736, when the latter was still prince-royal. As a child, Frederick had been trained by a French governess, Mme. de Rocoules, and by a French tutor, Duhan. As a youth, he manifested a passionate devotion to the French language and literature; and he was never known to speak or to write in German. He was wont to say, when still a young man, that he would like to make Berlin the capital of French art and literature, and himself their patron, as that office had been vacant, since the death of Louis XIV. The first letter of Frederick to Voltaire was dated Aug. 8, 1736. The prince, then twenty-four years of age, begs Voltaire to send him all his works; he will prize them "above all the transient and despicable goods of fortune"; he asks the poet to give him lessons in literature; and he signifies a desire to enjoy the company of so brilliant a man, or at least to see him. Voltaire replied on August 26. He regretted that his "friendship" for Mme. du Châtelet would not allow him to make the journey to Rheinsberg (then the residence of Frederick). That journey would be preferable to one to Rome; for at its

(1) Voltaire dedicated his *Tancréd* to the Pompadour, and because, as he wrote to d'Argental (June 23 and 29, 1759), he "wished the priests to know that he stood well at court. . . . This is not an affair of the theatre; it is one of state." Unfortunately he said in the dedication: "If some censor should disapprove the homage which I pay to you, he certainly would be the possessor of an ungrateful heart." The intimates of the courtesan made her believe that this sentence implied that Voltaire thought that she was unworthy of his praise, and that he appealed to the public to excuse him on the score of his indebtedness to the royal paramour. From that moment the Pompadour was hostile to Voltaire. *Memoires of Mme. de Hausset*, p. 136. Paris, 1824.

end he would see a prince more worthy than Rome, that city having nothing to show but churches, pictures, and ruins. In the correspondence which was thus begun, there was no lack of compliments on either side. "He treated me as though I were divine," said Voltaire in later days, "and I treated him as though he were Solomon. Adjectives cost us nothing" (1). In Dec., 1736, Voltaire writes: "You think like Trajan, you write like Pliny, and you speak French like our best writers. What a difference between men! Louis XIV. was a great monarch, and I respect his memory; but he did not talk so *humainement* as you talk, my lord, and he could not express himself so well. I have seen some of his letters; he did not know the orthography of his language." It is worthy of note that the Prussian reminded the practically renegade Frenchman of the respect which was due to the memory of the grand monarch. He replied: "Louis XIV. was a great sovereign in very, very many respects. A solecism, a mistake in orthography, ought not to dim the brilliancy of a reputation which was founded on so many actions which have immortalized him. It can be said of him in every sense: 'Cæsar is superior to grammar.'" The rebuke was without effect; for we find Voltaire trying to flatter the German by writing on May 27, 1737: "I think that the French are living in Europe somewhat on their credit, like a rich man who is being ruined insensibly." No wonder that on May 30, 1739, he wrote that "he was more the subject of Frederick than of the king under whose sceptre he was born." In Nov., 1736, Frederick sent to his "master" a bust of Socrates, with whom he compared the Frenchman in all things excepting that special matter of morals in regard to which both he and the "friend" of Alcibiades had been *calumniated* (2). On Feb. 8, 1737, Frederick wrote: "If ever I go to France, the first question I put will be: Where is M. Voltaire? The king, his court, Paris, Versailles, even the fair sex, will have nothing to do with my visit;

(1) *Works of Voltaire*, vol. xl., p. 50.

(2) "Socrates the philosopher was worth more than Voltaire; the *calumniated* Socrates was the true patron of Frederick, who was indeed audacious when he chose for a present the bust which recalled the infamous accusation which had been made against him." MAYNARD; *loc. cit.*, bk. ii., ch. 4.

you alone will be the object." In July of the same year Frederick sent a kind of ambassador, Kaiserling ("Cæsarion") to Cirey. Kaiserling was able to write some bad French verses, and Frederick had therefore made him a favorite. Voltaire says concerning the reception of the envoy: "I made a beautiful illumination, in which the name of the prince-royal appeared, with the device: '*The hope of the human race*'" (1). On May 31, 1740, Frederick became king of Prussia; and on June 6, Voltaire received from him a letter announcing the fact. Voltaire replied, exclaiming: "What! You are a king, and you still love me?" and also: "This is the happiest day of my life." Frederick continued to urge his "master" to repair to Berlin, and his request would have been gratified at once, had not Mme. du Châtelet insisted on accompanying her paramour—a proceeding most repugnant to the Prussian misogynist, who preferred a pretty page to all the feminine divinities in the world. "I wish to see Voltaire," he wrote, "and not the divine Emilie, who, with all her divinity, is merely an accessory to our Newtonized Apollo." However, the *par nobile fratrum* passed four happy days in company at Meurs, near Cleves, in Sept., 1740, enjoying themselves exceedingly, writes Voltaire, "feasting, and discoursing profoundly on the immortality of the soul, liberty, and the hermaphrodites of Plato." In the following October, profiting by the absence of Mme. du Châtelet, Voltaire projected a journey to Berlin, that he might again "be with an amiable prince who would make him forget the evil treatment he had received in a country

(1) In this acclamation very little acumen is required to discern, besides the voice of Voltaire the flatterer and beggar, that of Voltaire the Freemason. Bluntschli, one of the best accredited of modern Masonic writers, claims for Frederick II. the glory of having started the hegira of the Revolution. According to the German jurist, the conception of "the modern state, independent of all theocracy," that is, independent of any admission of a divine law, should be assigned to the year 1740, the date of Frederick's accession to the Prussian throne. "The French err," says Bluntschli, when, "in their vanity," they "date this conception from the year 1789." (*General Theory of the State*. Nordlingen, 1875.)—During his entire reign Frederick II. was engaged in the organization of Masonry. Hitherto the Masonic Order of St. John had counted only four degrees; and in order to put it in more direct relation with the "Templars," then re-appearing, he organized Scotch Masonry with twenty-five degrees, superimposing it on the Masonry of St. John. The rite created by Frederick was called the Rite of the Princes of the Royal Secret, from the name of its last grade; and, with various alterations which date from the end of the eighteenth century, it is the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite now practiced in most of the Grand-Orients. (*Monde Maconnique*, 1876: Articles on the *History of the Rites*).

which ought to be a sanctuary of the arts" (1). But his Emilie heard of the design, and so bitterly cursed the Prussian who would rob her of the charm of her life, that it was with great difficulty that Voltaire was able to depart on Nov. 4, and to meet the king on Nov. 21 at Rheinsberg (2). The happiness of the two philosophists was of short duration; on Dec. 15 the royal self-fancied adept departed for the campaign which was to result in his conquest of Silesia. This war, forced by him who vaunted himself the author of the *Anti-Machiavelli* (3), caused Voltaire much embarrassment; Mme. du Châtelet expressed his feelings when she wrote to d'Argental on Jan. 3, 1741: "I do not think that there has ever been so great a contradiction as there is between the invasion of Silesia and the *Anti-Machiavelli*." Voltaire was especially chagrined because he had sworn to dissolve his friendship with Frederick, if that prince ever ceased to be a Marcus Aurelius or a Titus (4); and his interested admiration of the Prussian did not prevent his saying to a friend: "The invasion of Silesia is a different kind of heroism from that inculcated in the *Anti-Machiavelli*. The cat, metamorphosed into a woman, springs on the mouse when she sees it; and the king casts off his philosophical mantle, and grasps the sword when he sees a province at his mercy. After this, put your trust in philosophy!" (5). From this time until his departure for Berlin, Voltaire had only those relations with Frederick as were entailed by his frequent correction of the monarch's bad French verses, which were continually forwarded by the would-be littérateur; but on July 24, 1750, he "saluted the angels of the heaven of Ber-

(1) Letter to Hénault, Oct. 31, 1740.

(2) The reader must not fancy that this inclination of Mme. du Châtelet for Voltaire is any proof that the poet was a lovable man. In spite of her lubricity, the Châtelet was a woman devoted to literature and science; and when Voltaire ceased to be for her an object of passion, she still retained him as her teacher. Only habit and avarice induced Voltaire to continue the connection when he found that Emilie granted her favors to others, without any scrupulous regard for his susceptibilities. During the last years of her life, Voltaire cheerfully consented to her relations with Saint-Lambert, consoling himself by consigning the episode to verse in the *Chantre des Saisons*, and by drawing from it the material for an act in a comedy now lost, but some verses of which he transferred to *Nanine*.

(3) In 1739 Frederick had sent to Voltaire the manuscript of a work which he had written in attempted refutation of *The Prince* of Machiavelli. He begged his friend to correct, rearrange, or even rewrite it as he saw fit. Voltaire accomplished the task, and to him must be ascribed whatever of readable there is in the essay.

(4) Letter to d'Argenson, Jan. 8, 1741.

(5) Letter to Cideville, March 13, 1741.

lin" (1). Scarcely had he arrived in the Prussian capital, when Frederick gave to him the gold key of a royal chamberlain, decorated him with the Order of Merit, and conferred on him a pension of 20,000 livres. When in Berlin, he lodged in the royal palace; at Potsdam, he had the apartment of the marshal de Saxe. Frederick did everything possible to prevent his regretting France. In the morning, Frederick was king; in the afternoon, he was the pupil of his guest; in the evening, he was a jolly comrade (2). Voltaire soon fancied that Berlin and Potsdam were each Paris on the Spree; French was spoken always at the court, "German being left to the soldiers and the horses" (3). Frederick never tired, during the first year or two of Voltaire's companionship, of assuring him that their friendship would be lasting. "He was addicted to demonstrations of pronounced tenderness toward favorites younger than myself; and once, forgetting that my hand was not very pretty, he took it in order to kiss it. Then I kissed his, and that action made him my slave" (4). The subject-matter of the conversations held by this precious pair, when not lubricity itself, may be gathered from this remark of the "Sage": "In no part of the world have men ever spoken so freely of all the superstitions of men; and never have they been treated with more pleasantry or contempt" (5). It was during his residence in Prussia that Voltaire composed his poem on *Natural Religion*. It did not please Frederick, who wanted no religion, either natural or revealed; he thought that its author "had sacrificed to the prejudice of remorse"; and Voltaire excused himself for "having wielded the dagger

(1) When Voltaire presented himself to bid farewell to Louis XV., the king turned his back on him, and said to his courtiers: "There will be one fool less in France." Speaking of this departure for Berlin, Maynard says: "It was a great fault in Louis XV. not to have conquered his aversion for Voltaire. We know the courtesanlike talents of the man, his cringing habits, the inexhaustible abundance of his flatteries, his yearning for honors and for an official position. It would have been easy to fasten his arms with ribbons, to close his mouth with compliments, to check some of his baneful activity with a political mission. Of course, these things would not have made him a good Christian or a good citizen; but they would have prevented him from doing harm. By allowing him to depart for Prussia, they sent him to his last school of corruption; by forbidding his return to Paris, they forced him to build that fortress of Ferney, whence, for twenty years, he directed so many attacks against all our religious and civil institutions." *Loc. cit.*, bk. II., ch. 6.

(2) Letters to d'Argental, July 24, 1750; to Thibouville, Aug. 1; to d'Argental, Aug. 7.

(3) Letter to his niece, Mme. Denis, Aug. 22, 1750.

(4) *Memoires*, in the *Works*, vol., xl. 86.

(5) *Ibi.*

with respect, although he had treated human absurdities as they deserve." He added: "The real object of this work is toleration, and the presentation of your example to others; Natural Religion is merely a pretext." And he promised to revise the poem, so as to make it "conform to the views" of his Majesty (1). However, the naturalism of the work should have satisfied the most unmitigated incredulist. The author pretends to inculcate a universal morality which shall be independent of any idea of God: "Be just; all the rest is indifferent." But he does not tell us what he means by "just"; he gives no idea of the origin, nature, or sanction of his law. Did he propose that men should follow the Natural Law as it was exemplified at Potsdam, where the order of the day was against nature? He says that his object is the preaching of toleration; but his idea of toleration is the concentration of all religious interests in the hands of the state: "He who leads soldiers can govern priests." At this period Voltaire began his *Philosophical Dictionary*, which has been styled the Encyclopedia of Voltaire, just as the Babel of Diderot was the Encyclopedia of that century. Then also Voltaire wrote, as an apology for the famous Abbé de Prades (2), the *Tomb of the Sorbonne*; and soon afterward he published his *Age of Louis XIV.*, on which he had been engaged for twenty years. This work is in many respects the best ever written by Voltaire; he said of it that it was his "favorite sultana, all the others having been mere *pas-sades*" (3). Maynard, who is never prone to praise a Voltairian production, regards it as "a beautiful and grand book," and he thinks that as yet no work has appeared to give us better means of "forming a general idea, a kind of

(1) Letter to Frederick, Sept. 5, 1752.

(2) Jean-Martin de Prades, a priest of the diocese of Montauban, was a friend of Diderot, and one of his collaborators in the *Encyclopedia*. In 1751 he defended in the Sorbonne a thesis in which there were several materialistic propositions, and notably a comparison between the miracles of Our Lord and the marvellous cures of Esculapius. A few doctors, who either had not read it, or had read it carelessly, gave to it their written approbation; but at length the thesis was condemned by the Sorbonne, by the parliament, and finally by Pope Benedict XIV. The author was banished from Paris, and proceeded to Berlin, where Voltaire welcomed him, and Frederick made him his reader-in-ordinary, in succession to another Frenchman, La Métrie, who had just died. However, De Prades was unworthy of the favors of Voltaire and Frederick; he was so unphilosophical, that he sent a full retraction to the Pontiff in 1754, and he was restored to his rights in the Sorbonne. PICOT: *loc. cit.*, vol. III., p. 185.

(3) Letter to Cideville, June 26, 1735.

panorama, of the times of Louis XIV." Nevertheless, the same judicious author says that while Voltaire saw all the exterior part of the drama, the actors and the decorations, his lack of moral sense and of religious perceptions caused the soul of the piece to escape him. "Hence came the weaknesses of the author of *The Wordling* in favor of that luxury which, in the long run, is fatal to the strongest of civilizations, but in which he would have all civilization consist. Hence came the weaknesses of the courtier in favor of royal mistresses, so that he might flatter Mme. de Pompadour. Hence the inability of the impious man to raise himself to the level of religious personages such as Bossuet, to whom he assigns a wife (1); of Fenélon, whom he places in the ranks of materialism (2); and of many others whose grandeur he diminishes. Hence his misintelligence of all that was grand in the religious disputes of the time, which he can regard only on their ridiculous side. Hence his misunderstanding of religion itself, which for him is merely an embarrassing and hateful accessory, but which was really the soul and life of the seventeenth century. Hence it is that his book, whatever may be its remaining beauty, *desinit in piscem*" (3). For many years this specious work has been one of obligatory study in all the *lycées* and colleges in France which depend from the University, and it forms an important feature in the examinations for the baccalaureate. That the reader may understand the almost certain effect of this interference of the French government in propagating the poison distilled by Voltaire, we subjoin the following passages: "The spiritual authority of the Pope, always somewhat mixed with the temporal, *is now destroyed and abhorred in one-half of Christendom*; and if in the other half he is regarded as a father, he has children *who sometimes properly and successfully resist him*. The maxim of France is to regard him as a sacred but enterprising personage, whose feet must be kissed, but *whose hands must sometimes be tied*. The Pope grants Bulls (of investiture) for all bishoprics; and he expresses himself in these Bulls *as though* he conferred these

(1) For a refutation of this foolish and absurd calumny, see Bausset's *Life of Bossuet*, in the Appendix.

(2) See ch. xlii. of this volume.

(3) *Loc. cit.*, bk. lii., ch. 1.

dignities by his own authority. . . . The religious whose chief superiors reside in Rome are *so many immediate subjects of the Pope residing in every country*. . . . To swear fidelity to any other than one's own sovereign is high-treason in a layman; in the cloister it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing just how far one is obliged to obey *this foreign sovereign*, the ease with which one may be deceived, the satisfaction of rejecting a natural obligation in favor of another which one has assumed for one's self, the spirit of revolt, the evils of the day, *have often led entire orders of religious to obey Rome, in defiance of their own country*. . . . Art and subtlety have enabled Rome to preserve all that she has acquired, and which no other power would have been able to preserve" (1). These lies and insults to Rome are but samples of those which *The Age of Louis XIV.* presents on nearly every page. Voltaire anticipated grand results from this work; although his love of country was *nil*, he hoped for the "philosophical" future of France. Writing to Servan, the advocate-general, in April, 1766, he said: "France arrives slowly, but she arrives. Ordinarily we are neither sufficiently profound, nor sufficiently daring. Our magistracy has indeed ventured to combat a few of the papal pretensions; but it has never had the courage to attack them in their source. It opposes a few irregularities; but it allows a man who wishes to marry his niece to pay an Italian priest 80,000 francs for the privilege. It tolerates the *an-nates*; it utters no protest when bishops say that they are such 'by the grace of the Holy See'; it has accepted a Bull which is a monument of insolence and absurdity. It was courageous and fortunate enough to avail itself of an occasion to expel the Jesuits; but it dares not to prevent monks from receiving novices who are less than thirty years old. It allows the Capuchins and Recollects to depopulate our rural districts by enlisting our young husbandmen. But it must be admitted that we are improving; philosophy has shed the light of a new day upon us."

Voltaire remained a member of the "Council of Berlin," as Frederick termed the assembly of his irreligious inti-

(1) Chap. 2 and 14.

mates (1), during three years. The poet certainly longed for the air of France; and he was assuredly tired of "washing the dirty linen" of his royal host, as he termed his task of correcting the blunders in the king's literary effusions. But it is probable that he would have persevered in an employment which was pecuniarily profitable, had not Frederick hearkened to the accusations of the other French refugees, and allowed him to see that his further sojourn in Prussia might entail imprisonment on him. He departed from Potsdam, rather as a fugitive than as a guest who was regretted, on March 26, 1753; and when he arrived at Frankfort, he was arrested by order of Frederick, in order that his baggage might be searched, and that he might be deprived of "all letters written by the august hand of his Majesty, and of a book" (2), as well as of his key as chamberlain, and of his cross of the Order of Merit. This arrest in a free city, where the Prussian king had not a shadow of jurisdiction, was never forgotten by Voltaire; but his own account of the trouble, especially of the practical imprisonment of his niece and himself

(1) The principal members of this coterie were, besides Voltaire, that La Métrie who had preceded the Abbé de Prades as reader to the king, the baron d'Argens, and Algarotti. La Métrie was a French physician whose *Machiavelli in Medicine* had excited the ire of the Parisian Faculty, and caused him to flee to Berlin. Frederick had no confidence in his medical ability; but he was amused by an audacious immorality which rivalled his own. When La Métrie, who was a veritable hog in matters of the table, had died because of an unusual gorging, Frederick inquired whether there had been any formalities at his demise; and when he learned that the wretch died "like a philosopher," he immediately composed a funeral oration, and caused it to be read in his name before the Academy of Berlin. The monarch also testified his appreciation of the dead Epicurean by assigning a pension of 600 livres to an abandoned woman whom La Métrie had brought from Paris; and he knew that, at that very time, the wife and children of the deceased were dying of starvation. Perhaps, however, this latter fact ought not to surprise us; for Frederick allowed his own wife to want the necessities of life (*Memoires* of Voltaire, in the *Works*—Letter to Richelieu, Jan. 27, 1752—Correspondence, *passim*). At the same time that La Métrie died, a Count Rothenburg also departed; and when it was rumored that a priest had attended him, Frederick was not content until he learned that the count had been "calumniated" (Letter to Mme. Denis, Jan. 18, 1752). The marquis d'Argens, called by Voltaire his "Dear Isaac," because of his infamous *Jewish Letters*, made his living by submitting to all the humiliations which Frederick could heap upon him. Count Algarotti, a Venetian, was a learned man, and a fine critic in matters of art; but of loose morals and of no faith. He frequently resided at Cirey with Voltaire and Mme. du Chatelet. When he died in 1764, Voltaire eulogized him in the *Gazette Littéraire*, June 27.

(2) So wrote Fredersdorff, the factotum of Frederick, to the Prussian resident agent in Frankfort, the baron Freytag. The "book," as Fredersdorff soon afterward explained to Freytag, was a collection of some of Frederick's essays at poetry. Voltaire afterward derived much amusement from the remembrance of Baron Freytag's search after what he pronounced and spelled as "the *poëshie*" of the king, his master (*Memoires*, in the *Works*, vol. xl., p. 93).

during thirty-six days, shows that he manifested an utter lack of ordinary dignity in the whole affair (1). Having escaped from Prussia, he wandered for nearly two years in Alsace and Lorraine, and then purchased a pretty establishment on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, which he named *Les Delices*, and there he prepared to publish the most abominable of all his works, the diabolically infamous *Pucelle*. According to Longchamp (2) and Voltaire himself (3), this poem had its origin quite appropriately in a midnight orgy in the house of the duke de Richelieu, at as early a date as 1730. The bacchanals had been ridiculing the poem of Chapelain, in which that author had followed history so closely as to represent the Maid of Orleans as possessed of heroic sanctity; and their beclouded brains and fetid hearts naturally denounced the idea as unworthy of acceptance by a "philosopher." They appealed to Voltaire, whom they regarded as a past-master in lubricity, to assume the task of showing the "real" Joan of Arc to the world. A few days afterward, the sacrilegious wretch read to the same company a rough draft of four cantos of the *Pucelle*; and the applause encouraged him to continue the work. From that time, at frequent intervals during thirty years, his polluted faculties were engaged in besmirching the sweet child of Domremy, the saviour and glory of that France which he did not love, the personification of Catholic patriotism (4). In 1735, we find him alarmed, because several cantos of the poem had begun to circulate in Paris; he had meant to restrict the knowledge of his production to his boon companions. In this emergency, Mme. du Châtelet seized on the manuscript, and locked it up in her own desk. Notwithstanding this precaution, Frederick II. wrote to Voltaire in Sept., 1743, that he possessed six of the ten cantos that had been so far composed; and it is interesting to note that at the battle of Sohr in 1745, these six cantos were found in the king's military chest, and afterward sold in Holland.

(1) *Works*, vol. xlviii., p. 356—*Ibid.*, vol. lvi., p. 328, 337—*Voltaire at Frankfurt*, by Varnhagen d'Ense. Leipzig, 1859.

(2) *Memoires of Longchamp*, p. 184.

(3) Letter to the Marquis Alberati-Capacelli, Dec. 23, 1760.

(4) See our vol. lii., ch. 4.

During the next seventeen years many editions of a portion or of the whole of the *Pucelle* appeared; but Voltaire was careful to disavow them. Finally, in 1762, he published an authorized edition, and with illustrations fully as obscene as the text. It was from this sewer into which he had been pouring, for many years, all the impieties and obscenities which had infected his imagination, that Voltaire had drawn the material for the recreation of the Prussian queen-mother, during many evenings of his sojourn in Berlin, while the princess Amelia eagerly imbibed the poison (1). This was the fetid mass which very many of the presumed polite society of the eighteenth century acclaimed, in the words of the duke de Richelieu, as "a real Breviary" (2). As some author has well said, Paris and Berlin welcomed it; Sodom would have rejected it.

Toward the end of 1757 Voltaire purchased the estate of Ferney, about a league from Les Delices; and here he resided for twenty years, emitting a number of writings which caused the philosophists of the day to style him the "Sage of Ferney," and keeping up a correspondence which continually grew more bitter and irreligious. It was in 1760 that he first introduced into his writings that epithet, *l'infâme*, as an expression of his hatred for the Catholic Church. He generally wrote it in a truncated form, *l'inf...*; and using the initial letters of his war-cry, *écrasez l'infâme*, "crush the infamous thing," he composed a kind of cabalistic expression, *Ecr!inf*, which he opposed to the monogram of Our Lord, and to the inscription on His sacred cross. The spirit which Voltaire now manifested more virulently than in his earlier years, and with which he inoculated such of his correspondents and readers as had not already possessed it, may be learned by a perusal of a few extracts from the letters which he wrote and received during his residence at Ferney. "The Christian religion is an infamous religion, an abominable hydra, a monster which a hundred invisible hands must pierce. . . . Philosophers must scour the streets in order to destroy it, just as missionaries travel over land

(1) Letter of Voltaire to the duchess of Saxe-Gotha, Oct. 9, 1755.

(2) Letter to the duke de Richelieu, in the *Collection* of 1856, vol. 1., p. 252.

and sea in order to propagate it. They must dare every-thing, risk everything, even unto being burnt, in order to destroy it. Crush, crush the infamous thing!—All Christians, no matter what their professions, are baneful creatures, fanatics, knaves, impostors, enemies of the human race, who lie with their Gospels—The Christian religion can be approved only by those to whom it gives power and riches—The atheist is more virtuous than one who believes in God. The intelligence presiding over nature does not trouble itself with our crimes; nor ought it punish them in another life—The soul is not distinct from the body. After death, comes nothing. That system which recognizes no soul, a system which is the most audacious and astonishing of all, is really the most simple of all—Every animal has ideas which he combines up to a certain point; and man, in this respect, differs from other animals only as a greater from a lesser—We are little wheels in the great machine; little animals with two hands and two feet, like the monkeys, but less agile than they are, although just as comical—We must render *the infamous thing* and its upholders ridiculous. The monster must be attacked from all sides, and be expelled from good society. It is fit only for my tailor and my lackey. It must be banished from among respectable people, and be left to the lower orders, for whom it was made" (1). The admirers of Voltaire are, of all men, the most noisy in their prattle about the dignity of man, about liberty and equality, and above all, about toleration; and nevertheless, these extracts are an epitome of their master's teaching on those matters. Some of the communications between Voltaire and Frederick II. (made in spite of the affair of Frankfort) are worthy of note. "It is too bad, Sire, that nothing can be gained by punishing Friar Ganganelli (Pope Clement XIV.). Would that he had some fine domain in your neighborhood, and that you were not so far from (the sanctuary of) Our Lady of Loreto. But while the empress of Russia

(1) Voltaire to Damilaville, Dec. 14, 1764—V. to d'Alembert, Aug. 10, 1767; and June 26, 1766—V. to Frederick, Jan. 5, 1766—V. to Thieriot, Jan. 26, 1762—V. to d'Alembert, Aug. 29, 1757—V. to Diderot, Dec. 6, 1757—V. to M. d'Epinay, Sept. 20, 1760—D'Alembert to Frederick, Feb. 1, 1771; and Dec. 18, 1770—Frederick to Voltaire, Oct. 3, 1770; and Dec. 28, 1774—D'Alembert to Voltaire, in the *Works of d'Alembert*, vol. xv., p. 325—V. to d'Alembert, Oct. 18, 1760.

is leathering the hide of the vicar of Mahomet, why do you not attend to the vicar of Simon Bar Jona? You two could purge the earth of two indecencies" (1). Frederick II. seems to have believed, at this period of his life, that the last hour of the Papacy had already been sounded. The king *Kadosch* writes to his brother-Mason: "What an unhappy day for the Court of Rome! It is openly attacked in Poland; its body-guards are chased out of France and Portugal, and the same thing will probably happen in Spain. The philosophers are openly undermining the foundations of the Apostolic throne; the conjuring-book of the magician is understood; its author is splashed with mud; toleration is preached. The Church has been stricken with a terrible apoplexy; and *you will have the consolation of burying her, and of writing her epitaph*, as you did for the Sorbonne. The Englishman Woolston, according to his calculation, gave to *the infamous thing* two hundred more years of life; but he could not calculate on what has recently happened (2). We must destroy the prejudices which form the foundation of this edifice. This is what Bayle began to do; many Englishmen have continued the work; and *it has been reserved to you to accomplish it*" (3). And shortly after this encouragement, the crowned re-organizer of Masonry wrote: "It will not be given to force to destroy *the infamous thing*. It will perish by the arm of truth, and by the seduction of interest." Then he suggests that all the sectarians concentrate their efforts for the destruction of all religious orders. "Every government which resolves to effect this destruction will be a friend to our philosophers. Here, then, is a little project which I submit to the consideration of the patriarch of Ferney. It will be for him, *as the father of the faithful*, to execute it" (4). Voltaire replied: "Your Majesty says rightly that *the infamous one* will never be destroyed by force of arms. Arms may dethrone a Pope, dispossess an ecclesiastical elector, but they will not destroy imposture. I cannot understand why you did not obtain, by the last treaty, some fat bishopric that would defray the expenses of the war;

(1) Voltaire to Frederick, June 8, 1770.
(3) Feb. 10, 1767.

(2) Woolston died in 1733.
(4) March 24, 1767.

nevertheless, I realize that only the weapons of reason will destroy the Christ-worshipping superstition. Your idea of attacking it through the monks is the idea of a great general. If the monks are once abolished, error will be exposed to universal contempt. Much has been written in France on this matter; everybody talks about it; but the grand affair is not yet sufficiently developed. In France people are not yet sufficiently daring; devotees are still esteemed" (1). Writing to the marquis de Villevielle, one of the adepts, the "father of the faithful" says: "I rejoice with my brave knight on the expulsion of the Jesuits. . . . Would that we could expel all the other monks, who are just as bad as the rascals of Loyola! If rein is given to the Sorbonne, it will be worse than the Jesuits. We are surrounded by monsters. We embrace our worthy knight, and warn him to keep his work hidden from our enemies" (2).

In 1764 Voltaire published his *Portable Philosophical Dictionary*, which he had begun during his sojourn at the court of Frederick II. When d'Alembert and Diderot began the celebrated *Encyclopedia*, Voltaire declared that he "would feel greatly honored by being allowed to contribute, however unworthily, to the grandest and most beautiful monument of the nation and of literature" (3). And in fact he became the very soul of the enterprise; aiding it by his criticisms, and furnishing some of its best articles—best inasmuch as they are frankly wicked, and therefore less dangerous than most of the contributions of his collaborators. But when, thanks to the patronage of Choiseul, Malesherbes, and the Pompadour, the "monumental" work was nearly completed, its founders and its best architects were disappointed. Voltaire wrote: "It will never be other than a confused medley. . . . It is an edifice, built partly of marble, and partly of mud. . . . Too much dirt is mixed with the pure gold" (4). And d'Alembert replied: "It is like Harlequin's coat—a few bits of fine cloth, and the rest rags" (5). Diderot was no more contented: "It is a whirlpool into which rag-

(1) April 5, 1767.

(2) April 27, 1767.

(3) Letter to d'Alembert, Dec. 9, 1755.

(4) Letter to Bertrand, March 22, 1759; to d'Alembert, Oct. 28, 1769.

(5) Letter to Voltaire, Feb. 22, 1770.

pickers have thrown, pell-mell, an infinity of things good, bad, and abominable ; true, false, and uncertain ; all incoherent and incongruous." The shortcomings of the *Encyclopædia* impelled Voltaire to give the *Philosophical Dictionary* to the world. The character of the book may be perceived in the fact that when a part of it was read to nine or ten of the author's philosophistic guests at Ferney, the frenzied applause was interrupted by this blasphemous exclamation : "Gentlemen, I think that Christ will feel pretty badly after this is read" (1). In 1769 the *Essay on The Morals and Spirit of Nations* appeared, with an introduction on the *Philosophy of History*, which our cynic had written in 1765. He termed it "a picture of human miseries, follies, and atrocities, from the time of that illustrious brigand, Charlemagne, to our own days." The author takes his reader "through all the lunatic asylums of the world," and shows "to what an extent the human race is silly, wicked, and mad" (2). From this work the French are to learn that they "have been imbeciles and barbarians for twelve hundred years" ; that they are "blackguards in every sense," or merely a "race of monkeys" (3). As for the introduction to this essay, the pretended *Philosophy of History*, its entire spirit is indicated by the writer when he remarks : "I think that the best way of attacking *the infamous thing* is to present no appearance of wishing to assail it ; to unravel a little the chaos of antiquity, and to show how we have been deceived in everything—how everything is modern which we have regarded as ancient, and how ridiculous is everything which we have deemed venerable" (4). Then he feigns to describe the ancient Indians and Chinese, ever displaying an ignorance of those peoples which makes him the laughing-stock of a true orientalist. To the glorification of these pagans he serenely sacrifices the antiquity and unique celebrity of the Jews ; he affects to find among them the cradle of the human race, the first whisperings of the name of God,

(1) Letter to d'Alembert, Sept. 7, 1764.

(2) Letters to d'Argental, Jan. 20 ; to Dupont, March 10 ; to Burigny, May 10 ; to Thieriot, June 2, 1757.

(3) Letters to d'Argental, June 21 ; to Mairan, Aug. 16, 1767 ; to Mme. de Deffand, Oct. 13, 1769.

(4) Letter to Damilaville, July 13, 1764.

and the source of Christianity, despite the fact that they have no authentic history of their origin and no reliable traditions concerning their ancient condition. When he comes to the Christian era, our philosophaster still more coolly ignores the propriety of adducing proof in support of surprising assertions. It was to be expected that he would deny the Petrine succession in the Roman Pontificate, and that he would find no traces of any ecclesiastical hierarchy whatever among the early Christians ; but it required much audacity to assert that Nero was no persecutor of the new religion, and that the other Roman emperors afflicted its professors but slightly. When he approaches the Middle Age, which he describes as a chaos, he blames the priests, in the same fashion as Gibbon blames them, for the destruction of the ancient society, all the good in which those priests had saved and preserved for our benefit. Every great Pope is represented as either a fool, a madman, or a monster of iniquity. And how he rejoices when Islam threatens to destroy the hated Christian civilization ! Truly, this work was appropriately dedicated to the author's fellow-philosopher, the German Messalina who was then the head of Russian "Orthodoxy," Voltaire's "St. Catharine."

For some time previous to the publication of his *Philosophy of History* and its companion *Essay*, the "Sage of Fernelay" had meditated on a transfer of his base of operations to some place in Germany ; and he had even devised a species of philosophistic convent, the members of which should devote all their energies to the campaign against *l'infâme*. He was confident that he could rely on the entrance of Diderot, d'Alembert, Damilaville, and Holbach, into his institution ; and we find him writing to Damilaville, on July 25, 1766 : "I have no doubt that if you were to fix your residence at Cleves, together with Plato (Diderot) and a few other friends, very advantageous terms would be offered to you. We would establish a printing-office which would produce considerable ; and we would undertake a more important manufacture—that of *truth*. The secret must be made known only to those who intend to found the colony ; and you must be sure that these quit all things in order to join you. Rest assured that

a great revolution will be effected in the minds of men, and that two or three years will suffice to make an eternal epoch." And on Aug. 6, he writes: "Six or seven hundred thousand Huguenots left their country for the sake of the absurdities of John Calvin (1), and shall we not find a dozen sages who will make the least sacrifice for universal reason?" Frederick II. cheerfully promised his protection and other aid for the projected colony, as Voltaire termed it; but after some agitation of the subject, the sworn enemies of *l'infâme* declined to accept the plan of campaign which their leader had devised. They insisted that they were persecuted in Paris, but they could not abandon the pleasures of the brilliant capital. In vain did the hoary patriarch of incredulism cry: "All is ready for the opening of our manufactory; more than one sovereign claims the honor of protecting you; from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Oby you will be favored; you have no excuse for living under the axe, for cringing before fanaticism in a corner of Paris, when you can kill the monster. Give me only two zealous disciples, and three or four years of life and health, and I swear that I shall conquer" (2). In his chagrin, Voltaire acted as he had ever acted in regard to any of his productions which had been badly received, or had threatened to injure him; he denied that he had ever dreamt of the colony of "philosophers" (3). Then he begged his quondam pupil and boon companion, Frederick II., to supply the need of the abortive academy by encouraging some publisher of Berlin to reprint and spread throughout Europe the writings of the sons of reason; and he concluded his appeal with this outburst of impotent rage: "When I reflect that an imbecile like Ignatius found a dozen proselytes to follow him, and that I cannot find three philosophers to follow me, I am tempted to believe that human reason is good for nothing" (4). The fact is that the "Sage of Ferney" had lost his influence over many of his most brilliant disciples. A school of atheists

(1) Of course Voltaire credits the most exaggerated of the Protestant estimates of the emigrating Huguenot numbers. For the real number of the exiles, see p. 279.

(2) Letters to Damilaville, Aug. 18, 25, 31; and Oct. 28. To d'Alembert, Aug. 25, 1766.

(3) Letters to d'Argental, Aug. 15; to the duke de Richelieu, Aug. 19; to Mme. du Defauud, Sept. 24; to Collini, Oct. 22, 1766.

(4) Letters to Frederick, April 5, 1767, and Nov., 1769.

and so-called Republicans had been formed at the very feet of the deistic and anti-democratic master; and the leader of this school was Diderot. Holbach was a species of lieutenant of Diderot; and in his *System of Nature* he advanced theories which Voltaire detested. According to Grimm, the repugnance of Voltaire in regard to this *System* was due to the fact that the patriarch "feared that the work would destroy his ritual, and that he would go to the devil with it" (1).

For twenty years Ferney might have been styled, in one sense, the metropolis of Europe; for no continental tourist could then return to Paris, Madrid, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and especially to London, without being asked, "Have you seen Voltaire?" No king in Europe had so many eager admirers waiting in his anti-chambers, as constantly thronged in the corridors or gardens of the Encyclopedic Mecca. A Benedictine folio would no more than suffice to contain the names of the English lords, peers of France, grandees of Spain, and nobles from every country in Europe, who considered as the happiest day of their lives that on which they received a word or even a nod from Voltaire. Especially gratifying to the impious and polluted cynic was the adoration which he received from women, some of whom had not yet denied God, and were still pure. Mme. de Genlis tells us that many of the female visitors took it for granted that in the presence of the idol they should become abnormally tender, and rush into hysterics of mixed admiration and amorousness. "They threw themselves into his arms, stammered, wept, and felt or feigned the pangs of the most passionate love. A respectful calm or an exquisite politeness would have been regard-

(1) *Unedited Correspondence of Grimm and Diderot*, Paris, 1810—Philosophist though he was, Grimm was wont to criticize the works of the "master" very severely. Speaking of the *History of the Czar Peter*, he says: "M. de Voltaire has no vocation for the writing of history; for that task a grave and profound genius is requisite. Buoynancy, facility, grace—things that make Voltaire so seductive a philosopher, and the first wit of his time, are not compatible with the dignity of history. The very rapidity of his style soon displeases. The march of history is grave and deliberate; that of the *Czar* is always a run. If M. de Voltaire had possessed real talent for history, we would have observed it in his *Essay on General History*; but no one can say that this is the work of a historian." It is refreshing to hear this "philosopher" commenting on Voltaire's *Philosophy of History* in these terms: "We must admit that this work is frequently dry, dismal, and shallow. The Abbé Bazin (the *nom de plume* used by Voltaire in this production) is not enough of a philosopher, and he is not in thorough good faith. He denies many verified facts. He judges of everything by our customs." Grimm even had the audacity to term his master "a sublime Pantaloon."

ed as an impertinence or an absurdity. Etiquette required the women to kiss the wrinkled old monkey" (1). There was one woman, however, and the one whom he petted the most, whom he styled "his beautiful philosopher," and whose immorality rendered her worthy of the title, who fell into none of these ecstasies. The famous marchioness d'Epinay, the protectress of Rousseau, writes as follows: "I would not wish to live with Voltaire for any length of time. He has no fixed principles. He counts too much on his memory, and he often abuses it; I find that it injures his conversation. He repeats more than he says, and allows no one else to say anything; he does not know how to converse, and he crushes one's self-esteem. He always appears to be mocking at everything, even at himself. He has no philosophy in his brain; he is filled with childish prejudices. Of course he is amusing; but I do not love those who merely amuse me" (2). Few persons, however, took this view of the Sage of Ferney; and during his entire residence in his Swiss chateau he never had less than fifteen guests at dinner, while his callers numbered from eighty to a hundred a day. But he yearned for Paris; and when he became convinced that his exile would terminate only with the life of Louis XV., he wrote to d'Argental that "Adam was excluded from the terrestrial paradise." However, he derived great satisfaction from the erection of a statue of himself in the capital, through the influence of Diderot, Chastellux, Grimm, Schomberg, Marmontel, d'Alembert, Necker, Saint-Lambert, Helvetius, and others of his school. Catharine of Russia and the Prussian Frederick were among the first subscribers to this statuefication of the patriarch of incredulism. When d'Alembert reminded Frederick that he owed Voltaire some reparation for the affair of Frankfort, and that a philosophical king ought to aid a philosophical good work, the monarch replied, on July 28, 1770: "The most beautiful monument for Voltaire is the one which he has erected already—his works. They will subsist longer than the Basilica of St. Peter, the Louvre, and all the other edifices which vanity has conse-

(1) *Memoires of Mme. de Genlis*, vol. ii., p. 317. Paris, 1830.

(2) *Memoires and Correspondence of Mme. d'Epinay*, vol. iii., p. 243. Paris, 1818.

crated to eternity." And in order to give Voltaire a foretaste of the joy which the projected statue would soon give him, the Prussian caused a statuette of the cynic to be made, having on its pedestal the inscription "To The Immortal"; and he sent it to Ferney.

Louis XV. died on May 10, 1774; and Voltaire, relying on false assurances of his Parisian friends that the new monarch would rejoice if he were to return to the capital, prepared to leave his "Patmos." Prudence, however, bade him remain in exile for four more years; not until Feb. 10, 1778, did he arrive in Paris. Had Elias or Elijah, or one of the Apostles of our Lord appeared in the gay city, there would have been less excitement than that produced by the news that the great Voltaire was ready to receive the homage of the Parisian litterateurs, and above all, that of the worshippers of true reason. It is true that Louis XVI. in his surprise asked his ministers whether they had revoked the order which forbade the patriarch of infidelity to return to Paris; but the influence of the Count d'Artois (afterward Charles X.), who admired the writer, although he afterward rejected the writer's principles, induced the monarch to close his eyes to an event which he regretted. Even Marie Antoinette yielded to the contagion; and although she had declared that the insulter of religion and morality should never talk with a member of the royal family, she not only accorded an audience to him, but caused a box for him to be prepared adjoining the royal one in the *Comédie-Française*, so that the public might see her chatting with its idol (1). The *Journal de Paris* of the time recorded the names of over three hundred visitors per day at the residence of the great man. Among these was the then disgraced Mme. du Barry, who had prayed to be allowed to salute "the new king" (2). And there was Benjamin Franklin, who had come to Paris to induce Louis XVI. to aid the revolted English colonies in America. Franklin presented his grandson, fifteen years old, and begged the patriarch of wickedness to bless the boy. The "blessing" was given in the names of "God and Liberty"; and the Ameri-

(1) *Memoires of Mme. Campan*, vol. i., p. 187—*Memoires of Ségur*, vol. i., p. 168—*Memoires of Bachaumont*, vol. xi., p. 109.

(2) *Memoires of Bachaumont*, at Feb. 22, 1788.

can patriarch took leave of the French one with "God bless you!" (1). On March 30, Voltaire went to the Academy. Only two ecclesiastics, the Abbés Boismont and Millot, were present. The members went to the door to receive the "literary king"—an honor which the Academy had never yet accorded even to any of the foreign princes who had entered its precincts. He was led to the fauteuil of the director, over which his portrait was hung, and there he was, as it were, enthroned by the accredited representatives of literary France. Then d'Alembert delivered what was ostensibly a eulogy of Despréaux, but which was nothing else than one of Voltaire; and having made a visit to the perpetual secretary of the Academy, the great man proceeded to enjoy a perhaps more valued triumph at the *Comédie-Française*. The *Memoires*, correspondence, and journals of the day give descriptions of the scenes attendant upon the crowning of Voltaire's bust by Mme. Vestris on the stage of the theatre, which justify us in supposing that neither pagan Rome nor pagan Athens ever exhibited such delirious adoration of any human seat of corruption as a large, and certainly the most fashionable part of Paris then extended not merely to the brilliant litterateur as such, but to the author of the most infamous poem of either modern or ancient times. Throughout the theatre, then taken up in the surrounding streets, and spreading through the entire extent of the nearly demented capital, there resounded the nauseating acclamation: "*Vive l'auteur de La Pucelle!*"—an eloquent sign that the work of the legitimate children of the Reformation was done; that France was ready for her *Grande Revolution*, the first victims of which would be found among the misguided and (save for God's pardon) too lately repentant nobility who were the chief agents in the mental bacchanalia of that night (2).

On April 7 Voltaire was received into the Masonic Lodge

(1) Letter of Mme. d'Epinay to the Abbé Galiani, May 3, 1778, in her *Memoires*, vol. iii., p. 436.

(2) For details of this disgraceful event the reader may consult the contemporary writers of Voltaire's own school, notably: Grimm, in his *Literary Correspondence*, vol. x., p. 176, et seqq.—Marmontel, in his *Memoires*, vol. iii., p. 208—La Harpe, in his *Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 225—Bachaumont, in his *Secret Memoires for the History of Literature in France*, vol. xi., p. 175, et seqq.

of the *Neuf-Sœurs*: but the reader must not suppose that this reception was the first entrance of the patriarch of incredulism among the Brethren of the Three Points. Such a supposition would be as unreasonable as an assertion that water does not seek its own level; and as a matter of fact, we know that all the "philosophers" of the eighteenth century were Masons from the very beginning of their "philosophic" careers, if not before they had made shipwreck of their faith. As for Voltaire, we are assured by Condorcet (1) that he was initiated in 1726, during his sojourn in England; and we find him writing in 1766 to d'Alembert: "Grimm informs me that you have initiated the emperor (Joseph II.) into *our* sacred mysteries." But, as we have already remarked, the Templar Rite, according to which Voltaire had been affiliated, had been "reformed"; and it was in order to give a formal recognition of the new system that he joined the Lodge of the *Neuf-Sœurs*. After this Masonic function, he appeared only twice in public. On Easter Monday, April 26, he attended a session of the Academy of Sciences, and there he and Benjamin Franklin edified the learned associates by rushing into each other's arms in an ecstasy of mutual admiration (2). On the following day he attended a special session of the French Academy, and induced that body to undertake a revision of its *Dictionary* on the plan of that of the Italian Academy of *La Crusca*, hoping that his works would furnish most of the examples of good language, and that passages from his adversaries, especially Rousseau and Cr  billon, would be adduced as solecisms (3). On his arrival at home Voltaire began work on the portion of the new *Dictionary* which he had reserved to himself (the letter A); but he found that the agitation of the last two months had added to his burden of eighty-four years. He drank enormous quantities of coffee, and therefore he could not sleep; an opiate was given to him, but instead of the prescribed few drops, he swallowed the entire contents of the bottle. For many years he had been afflicted with a strangury, and that was now aggravated. Tronchin, his physician, told

(1) *Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind: Epoch ix.*

(2) LA HARPE; *loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 230—BACHAUMONT; *loc. cit.*, vol. XI., p. 210.

(3) GRIMM; *loc. cit.*, vol. VI., p. 235.

him that the hand of death was over him ; and the unfortunate could only cry : " Oh ! save me from that ! " " Impossible," replied Tronchin, " you are about to die." But in order to understand the nature of this death, about which the friends and foes of Voltaire have written so differently, we must turn our attention to some events which occurred soon after he had arrived from Ferney, and was enjoying the hospitality of the marquis de Villette. The reader will more readily comprehend the meaning of the terrible mockery which we are about to narrate, if he bears in mind that although Voltaire had always spoken of death in a fashion such as a hog would adopt, if that animal had the gift of speech, nevertheless, he frequently manifested a horror of his body being interred in unconsecrated ground. He was wont to say : " I must not be buried under the high-road, as poor Lecouvreur was buried " (1). If his remains could repose in a respectable place, thought he, all would be well ; his soul, whose existence he doubted, did not trouble him. To attain this end, strange though it is that a " philosopher " should have sought it, was probably his object when he ostensibly gave the lie to his teachings of sixty years. On Feb. 20 he received a letter from the Abbé Gaultier, an ex-Jesuit, who was then chaplain of the Hospital of the Incurables. The abbé begged the more than octogenarian to think of that death which could not be distant ; and he asked for an interview. Voltaire replied, inviting him to call ; and when, on the following day, Gaultier entered the *salon* where the patriarch was entertaining a numerous assemblage of adorers, he was surprised on seeing the host turn his back on the crowd, and on being led by the hand to another apartment. Voltaire begged the priest to be seated ; and after a short conversation, he expressed his satisfaction because Gaultier had come to him of his own accord, and not as an envoy of his Grace of Paris or of the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice (2). Religious matters were then broached ; but suddenly one of Voltaire's " philosophical " friends, proba-

(1) Letter of d'Alembert to Frederick II., July 1, 1778.

(2) Voltaire cordially detested the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice. As far back as Sept. 10, 1764, he had written to Clairon in regard to that worthy ecclesiastic : " One thing is certain ; I shall not be buried by that knave."

bly fearing that the patriarch was deserting to the standard of *l'infâme*, burst into the room, exclaiming: "M. l'Abbé, stop this! Do you not see that M. de Voltaire vomits blood, and that he is in no condition for conversation?" Then Voltaire said to the interrupter: "I beg you to leave me with M. Gaultier, my friend." But Mme. Denis, a niece who was fully worthy of her reprobate uncle, now entered, and urged the abbé "to postpone his business"; whereupon Gaultier departed, after having asked and received permission to return. When the door had closed, Wagnière, the sage's secretary, asked his master whether he liked the abbé; and the reply was: "He is an honest fool." During the ensuing week, Voltaire had many violent hemorrhages, and he realized that speedy action was necessary, if he wished "not to be buried under a high-road." The chaplain of the Incurables was summoned; but before he arrived, Voltaire, in order to neutralize the effect of the retraction which would certainly be demanded of him, wrote, signed, and entrusted to Wagnière, this declaration: "I die adoring God, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, and *detesting superstition*." On March 2, Gaultier again presented himself before the sick man; and when he was requested to administer the Sacrament of Penance, he replied that Voltaire should first make a retraction of his condemned works and opinions. Voltaire immediately wrote the following document: "I, the undersigned, declare that having been attacked by hemorrhages during the last four days, and being eighty-four years old, and unable to betake myself to church, the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice has added to his other good works that of sending to me the Abbé Gaultier; that I have confessed to said priest; and that when God calls me, I shall die in the Catholic Religion in which I was born, hoping that the divine mercy will deign to pardon all my sins, and asking God for forgiveness if I have ever scandalized the Church." Then he rang for his nephew, the Abbé Mignot, and for the marquis de Villevielle, who were waiting in the next room; read the paper to them, and signed it; and then caused them to sign it as witnesses. Finally, he subjoined the following protestation: "The Abbé Gaultier

having informed me that in certain quarters it is said that I have protested against all that I might do at the hour of death, I declare that I have never had such an intention, and that the idea is an old pleasantry falsely attributed, long ago, to several literati who were more enlightened than VOLTAIRE." With the sole exception of Maynard, all historians regard this document as a proof that Voltaire made some sort of a confession to Gaultier; and Maynard gives no reasons for the contrary supposition. But that the confession was fictitious and sacrilegious, a diabolic comedy to be placed in the same category with the arch-hypocrite's several notoriously sacrilegious Communion (1), will be believed by whoever considers his previous cynical avowals and his conduct during the weeks which intervened between the simulated retractation and his death. Until within a few hours of the final catastrophe, he was constantly in his accustomed company of infidels, roués, and fashionable prostitutes; he spent Holy Saturday at the house of Sophie Arnould, the most celebrated courtesan of Paris (2). We have seen him receiving, as author of the lecherous *Pucelle*, the homage of all that was impure and impious in Paris, on March 30; we have seen him renewing his Masonic oaths, and thus recommitting himself to unintermittent war against *l'infâme*, on April 7. On May 30 he was dead.

The archbishop of Paris refused to recognize as sufficient the retractation which the Abbé Gaultier had procured from his pretended penitent. Another was prepared, and the

(1) After his quarrel with Frederick of Prussia, Voltaire resided for some time at Colmar, in Alsace. Hoping to produce a favorable impression at the court of France, and thus obtain permission to return to Paris, he made his Easter duty in 1754. He repeated the sacrilege at Ferney in 1768 and 1769, being, as he said, lord of the soil, and bound to give good example to his dependants. At one of these functions at Ferney, he gave a kind of sermon, beginning with the words, "The Natural Law is the most ancient of all." When his philosophistic friends upbraided him for appearing to recognize the authority of *l'infâme*, he replied that it was well to be friendly with one's *curé*, whether that individual was an imbecile or a knave; that he was the sole enlightened man in his parish, and that it would be foolish to make two hundred and fifty enemies, when a bit of ceremony would make so many friends; that he would willingly communicate every fortnight, just as, if he were in India, he would assuredly die with a cow's tail in his hand; that if he entered a company of persons, every one of whom was naked, he would certainly lower his breeches, instead of bowing; that some people hate to touch spiders, while others eat them (Letters to Argental, April 22; to d'Alembert, April 27, and May 1; to Villevieille, May 1, 1768).

(2) BACHAUMONT; *loc. cit.*, vol. XI., p. 205.

abbé, as well as the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, tried to gain access to the sick room, again and again; but their efforts were futile. Not until the evening of May 30 did the Abbé Mignot signify to them that they might see his uncle; and when they approached the dying man, he could not recognize them. Gaultier began to hope, when, after a few moments, he felt his hand pressed by that of Voltaire, and he heard the words: "Abbé Gaultier, I beg you to present my compliments to the Abbé Gaultier." But this semi-consciousness soon changed to a full delirium, which ended only with death. This is all that Gaultier, from whom we have drawn all that we have said concerning the last illness of Voltaire, tells about the philosophist's demise (1). The picture is amplified, however, by the friends of the patriarch of incredulism, in their natural anxiety to show their followers that the "grand" Voltaire died the death of a "philosopher." According to Condorcet and Duvernet, when the arrival of the two priests was announced, the sick man said, with true "philosophic" serenity: "Assure them of my regard." When the *curé* entered, says Condorcet, the sage explained as he kissed the priest's hand, "Honor to my pastor!"; and when the name of Gaultier, his presumed confessor, was announced, the "venerable" man expressed "his compliments and his thanks" for all that Gaultier had wished to do for him. And we are asked to believe that when the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice asked the self-proclaimed penitent of March 2 whether he believed in the divinity of Jesus Christ, the reply was: "In the name of God, do not speak about that man to me!" (2). In fine, the "philosophers" of the era of the Revolution, and their modern successors, tell us that their grand *coryphée* died in the utmost sweetness and calm; that his resignation was "philosophically" sublime. But other and more authentic narratives inform us that his death was one of rage and despair; that he heaped curses upon his fellow-incredulists; and that the marshal-duke de Richelieu,

(1) *Memoire of the Abbé Gaultier to the Archbishop of Paris, Concerning All That Happened at the Death of Voltaire*, in Chaudon's *Memoires Concerning Voltaire*, pt. II., p. 19.

(2) DUVERNET: *Life of Voltaire*, p. 367—WAGNIERE: *Memoires*, p. 161—Letter of d'Alembert to Frederick II., July 1, 1778—LA HARPE; *loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 243.

a companion of the unfortunate in his debaucheries, but not utterly depraved, rushed from the room, exclaiming: "This is too much; I cannot bear it" (1). Comparing these latter recitals with those of the interested and unscrupulous philosophers, we accept their testimony; especially since it is confirmed by the evidence of Tronchin, an honorable Protestant physician of eminence who had been personally and professionally intimate with Voltaire during the last twenty-five years of his life. Three weeks after the death of his patient, Tronchin wrote to Charles Bonnet: "If my principles had needed to be more firmly fastened together, then the man whom I saw breaking up, agonizing, and dying before my eyes, would have made a Gordian knot of them. When I compare the death of a good man, which is only *the evening of a beautiful day*, with that of Voltaire, I perceive easily the difference between a fine day and a tempestuous one. I cannot think of his death without horror. From the moment when he realized that the contrary effect was produced by all his endeavors to increase his strength, death was ever before his eyes; and from that moment, rage devoured his soul. You remember the madness of Ulysses; like that was the death of Voltaire—*Furiis agitatus obit*" (2).

Scarcely had the miserable patriarch of modern incredulism appeared before his God, when his relatives and intimate friends, mindful of the poor wretch's fear of being "buried under a high-road," but more desirous of playing a trick on the Church, notified the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, as pastor of the defunct, that the corpse would be brought to his

(1) HAREL; *Curious Particulars of the Life and Death of Voltaire*—BARRUEL; *Memoires on Jacobinism*, vol. I., p. 266—*Memoires of d'Allonville*. D'Allonville derived his information from the Count de Fusée, who said to him: "Ask Villevielle and Villette; they will not deny it in my presence."—*The Historical and Literary Journal of Liège*.

(2) The *Historical and Literary Journal of Liège* for 1788 contains the following letter, and guarantees its authenticity. "I have learned the circumstances of this death of yesterday from the lips of the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice himself. I shall narrate only what is certain, so that the so-called philosophers may have no advantage over you. Shortly before the death of M. de Voltaire, the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, having heard of his condition, went to see him. Finding him in a lethargy, he roused him, and addressed to him a few words appropriate to the circumstances. In a wandering fashion the sick man asked: 'Who is talking to me?' The priest replied: 'It is the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, who, commiserating your condition, offers to you the aid of religion and of his ministry.' Then Voltaire, stretching forth his emaciated hands, cried: 'Ah! Monsieur!' The *curé* availed himself of the opportunity, and spoke of the mercy of God, who accepts, even at the hour of death, a contrition which would repair, as far as possible, the crimes and scandals of the

church for the customary *requiem*. The *curé* refused to permit the ceremony. In this emergency, the Abbé Mignot, who was commendatory abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Scellières, in the diocese of Troyes, gave some instructions to Mine. Denis and the other members of the anxious household, and during the night of May 31 he journeyed, post-haste, to Scellières. The death of Voltaire was not yet known at the abbey; and when Mignot told the prior that his uncle had died while on the road for a prolonged visit to the fathers, no objection was made to his funeral and burial in the sacred precincts, especially as the nephew exhibited a certified copy of the declaration which the deceased had given to the Abbé Gaultier. On the following day, the body of Voltaire arrived at the abbey; on June 2 the *requiem* was celebrated, and the burial was effected in a grave which had been dug in the cellar of the church. Twenty-four hours after the ceremony, a letter arrived from Barral, bishop of Troyes, forbidding its performance; but the body of Voltaire was already laid in its tomb, and it remained therein until 1791, when the Revolution transferred it to the then new church of St. Genevieve—the modern Pantheon, which was then dedicated “to the great men of France” (1). Condorcet could now say with truth: “Voltaire did not see all that he effected; but he effected all that we see.” Meanwhile, the church of the abbey of Scellières was pronounced

past. He added that since Jesus Christ died for all men, no person should despair of salvation. At this word ‘Jesus Christ’ the unfortunate became thoughtful; and the *curé*, having paused for an instant, tranquilly resumed his efforts, saying all that a pastor could say in such an emergency. At length the miserable man made a sign with his hand, and said: ‘Leave me, Monsieur!’ He paid no more attention to the *curé*. In vain did the Abbé Gaultier, who was also present, essay to speak to him; he simply motioned with his hand that he wished to be left to himself. In a little while, Voltaire began to rage; and the remaining moments of his life were a continuity of horrible blasphemies, mixed with cries of: ‘God has abandoned me, just as men have done! Mercy!’ There he was, a hideous skeleton, writhing, tearing himself, eating his own excrements (an appropriate action for the author of the *Pucelle*), vomiting against heaven a thousand imprecations which blanched the cheeks of the three or four persons who had remained in the room.”

(1) According to a tradition which has been current since the burial of Voltaire’s body at Scellières, and which is rendered probable by Mignot’s well-attested fear that the body would be stolen, that prudent individual forestalled such a deed by filling his uncle’s grave with quicklime. If this be true, then the body transferred to the Pantheon in 1791, and now visited by so many of the contemners of the relics of the saints, was probably that of some poor monk; for only monks, as a rule, were interred under monastic churches (See *The True Authors of the French Revolution*, Neufchatel, 1797—*History of Voltaire*, by Paillet-de-Warcy, vol. ii., p. 427).

desecrated, and was interdicted by the bishop of the diocese ; and Voltaire, after all his ruses, was buried, to all intents and purposes, “under the high-road.”

Among the many popular misconceptions in regard to Voltaire, one of the most egregious is the idea that he was an advocate of the “rights of man” ; that he was an impassioned friend of *the people*. The panegyrists of the cynic grow eloquent as they amplify his accusations against the Fathers of the Church, against the Apostles, and against Our Lord Himself, to the effect that all their attention was given to the slavery of sin, but that “they never said a word to further the change of beasts of burden into citizens.” We are never asked, however, to contemplate the picture of Voltaire, the trafficker in human flesh—of Voltaire, the slave-dealer. But such this fancied philanthropist was, and to his intense satisfaction. Writing to Michaud of Nantes, his associate in this business, he says : “I congratulate myself, as well as you, on the happy success of the ship Congo, which arrived so opportunely on the African coast, and saved so many unfortunate negroes from death. I rejoice because we have made a good stroke of business, and performed a good action at the same time.” And he coolly defends the slave-trade, because the black man is of an inferior race : “We are blamed for our dealing in slaves. They who sell their children are more condemnable than the buyers. *This traffic demonstrates our superiority.* He who gives himself a master was made to have one” (1). But perhaps Voltaire had feelings of affection, bowels of mercy, for the more unfortunate members of the white race—the “lower orders,” the *canaille*, as he always termed all save his adored rich and powerful. Well, when we listen to his sentiments in regard to *the people*, we are perforce reminded of Luther’s own : “Give the ass thistles, a pack-saddle, and the whip ; give the peasants oat-straw. If they are not content, give them the cudgel and the carbine. These are their due.” Writing to Damilaville on Nov. 19, 1765, Voltaire says : “I assure you that in a short time only *la canaille* will be under the standards of our enemies ; and we want *la canaille* neither for par-

(1) *Essay on Morals*, ch. 197.

tisans nor adversaries. We are a body of brave knights, defenders of the truth, and we admit into our ranks only those *who have been well brought up*." In 1769 he tells Tabareau that "the people will always be *sot and barbarous*." Voltaire had no patience for those who wished to educate the working classes. On Aug. 13, 1762, he wrote to Helvetius: "We do not want our working people to be instructed." On Feb. 28, 1763, he says to La Chalotais: "I thank you for having prohibited study among the laborers. I, who cultivate the land, wish to have workmen, and not tonsured clerics." On Sept. 15, 1763, he tells Helvetius that he "abandons *the people* to the priests." On April 27, 1765, he writes to d'Argental: "The greatest service we can render the human race is to separate forever the *sot people* from decent men. One cannot endure the absurd insolence of those who say that we should think as our tailors and washerwomen think." On March 19, 1766, he says to Damilaville: "The *people* must be led, not instructed; they are not worthy of instruction." On April 1, 1766, he explains to Damilaville the sense in which he uses the word *people*. "By *people* I understand the *populace*, which has only its arms with which to obtain a living. I doubt whether this order of citizens has either the time or the capacity for receiving instruction. They would die of hunger before they would become philosophers. It seems to me to be essential that there should always be some ignorant tatterdemalions. The good *bourgeois* should be instructed, not the workingman." Speaking of the *Social Contract* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a work which he contemned as much as he hated its brilliant author, he rejects his rival's theory of the "sovereignty of the people"; and on July 30, 1762, he remarks to Damilaville: "We find here no *Unsocial Contract* of Jean-Jacques. How we would have cherished that *fool*, if he had not been a *false brother*." When Voltaire purchased the estate of Ferney, with its chateau, seigniorial rights (especially that of receiving tithes), stocks and pillory for delinquents, etc., he usurped the title of "count"; and no member of the real nobility could have been more jealous of his prerogatives. On May 28, 1760, he writes to Thibouville: "They blame me for be-

ing Count de Ferney. If those Jean f. . . enter my domain of Ferney, I shall put them in the pillory. But do not care about addressing me as 'Monsieur le Comte,' as *Luc* does (1); but rather write: 'Voltaire, Gentleman-in-Ordinary to the King'; for that is a title which I value, since the king gave it to me with its functions. *Pardieu!* They do not know that the king feels much kindness for me; and that I am in the graces of Mme. de Pompadour and of the duke de Choiseul." On Dec. 27, 1758, writing to M. de Brenles, he complains of a certain Grassot, and threatens to hang him if the poor man can be induced to come to Ferney. "Fortunately I have the right of high justice in my domain." On Feb. 1, 1764, he tells d'Argental that he will cling to his titles "in spite of the Council of the Lateran"; and he manifests his satisfaction on having a domain "which pays nothing to either king or Church, but which possesses the right of mortmain over many pieces of property." So much for Voltaire's ideas of Equality and Fraternity; let us now investigate his right to be considered a friend of Liberty.

When, in 1768, the Poles formed their Confederation of Bar in order to defend their faith and their national independence against the aggressions of Catharine II., the patriarch of Ferney, who had already declared that "his saint" had sent 40,000 Russians into Poland "to preach toleration at the point of the bayonet" (2), impudently advised the patriots to submit "to the tolerant empress, the protectress of the human race" (3). When the Confederates had been crushed, the hypocrite called on Europe "to give thanks to God for the grandest event of the century," for what he pronounced "a victory over fanaticism, a victory of the pacifying over the persecuting spirit," and for "the establishment of freedom of conscience" (4). When Frederick II., anticipating the moment when he would pounce on his share of the dis-

(1) *Luc* was the name by which Voltaire, at this time, was accustomed to designate His Majesty of Prussia, when talking or writing to his intimate friends. He chose it because an anagram of it spells a French word which reminded him of the Sodomitic habits of the Potsdamites. Voltaire omits to state that it was through sheer irony that Frederick addressed him as "Count." The king always ridiculed the aristocratic pretensions of the cynic.

(2) Letter to d'Alembert, May 3, 1767.

(3) *Discourse to the Confederates*, in the *Works of Voltaire*, vol. xliv., p. 143.

(4) *Sermon of Josias Rosette*, in the *Works*, vol., xliv., p. 15.

membered nation, published, in 1771, his ignoble *Pologniade*, the vaunted apostle of liberty congratulated the Prussian on having so well depicted "the devil and the priests, especially that bishop who was the author of all the evil" (1), that is to say, the noble bishop of Cracow who had preferred Siberia to gilded slavery and apostasy. When, in 1772, the monumental political and religious crime of modern times had been consummated, and Poland had disappeared from among nations, Frederick sent to Voltaire one of the commemorative medals which he had caused to be made; and in his letter of thanks the sycophant said: "Men whisper, Sire, that it was you who devised the partition of Poland. I credit the report; for the partition was the work of genius" (2). D'Alembert thought that "philosophy ought not to be too proud of such pupils" as the German murderer who had usurped the Russian throne, Voltaire's "Semiramis of the North"; but then, he observed: "What can we do? We must love our friends, with all their faults" (3). Voltaire never showed even this little scruple in his adulations of Catharine. Only one thing troubled him; she bore the name of a saint, and "the heroines of ancient times were not named after saints." The correspondence between Catharine and Voltaire, begun by the former in 1765, was redolent of idolatry on the part of the "philosopher," from the very beginning; but from the day when Catharine placed one of her discharged paramours, Poniatowski, on the nominal throne of Poland, as a preparation for the final destruction of Polish nationality, she was the object of nauseating adulation from the man whose love of liberty we are asked to admire. Representing himself as "of the religion of the Sabæans, he adored a star," the "Star of the North"; and he cried: "To-day our enlightenment comes from the North" (4). And then he signed himself: "Your aged idolater," or "The priest of your temple" (5). He congratulated his Semiramis on having "forced the Poles to be

(1) Letters to Frederick, Dec. 6, 1771; Feb. 1, March 24, July 31, 1772.

(2) Letter to Frederick, Nov. 18, 1772.

(3) Letter of d'Alembert to Voltaire, Oct. 4, 1764.

(4) Letters to Catharine, Dec. 22, 1766; Feb. 22, 1767; Aug. 10, 1773.

(5) Letters to Catharine, Dec. 22, 1766; Feb. 22, 1767; Aug. 10, 1773.

tolerant and happy," and "in spite of the papal nuncio". He proclaimed that when he died, it would be his dearest wish to have for an inscription on his tomb: "Here lies the admirer of the August Catharine, who had the honor of dying while presenting to her his profound homage". He begged her to listen to his protest: "I am *Catharin*, and I shall die *Catharin*". He tells her that when he hears of her victories, "he jumps from his bed, and chants: '*Te Catharinam laudamus; te Dominam confitemur*'" (1). When Pope Clement XIII. besought the kings of France and Spain to save the life of poor Poland, the presumed apostle of freedom shouted that such an enterprise would be "a battle of fanaticism against toleration; a war of ingrates against his *generous* Catharine; an extravagance, a piece of cowardice, a shame, a horrible turpitude, a Barthelemy, an Italian farce" (2). He advised Catharine not to send the Polish "rebels" to Siberia; he thought that "since they like to travel, it might be better to take them to St. Petersburg," whither he would go, were he not so old; "as a pilgrimage, he preferred to visit Our Lady of St. Petersburg, rather than Our Lady of Czenstokowa" (3).

It is evident that Voltaire was no partisan of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; but when we consider the frenzied homage which was paid to his memory by the men of 1789-1793, the apotheosis attending the erection of his statue in Paris in 1870 (with the express approbation of the government of Napoleon III.), and the solemn celebration of his centennial in 1878 by the adherents of the Third French Republic, must we not suppose that he was a patriot? By no means; for Voltaire despised France, and monumental though his assurance was, he never pretended to love his country. The most glorious traditions of France were Catholic; *hinc illae irae*. Scarcely once in his correspondence does Voltaire speak of his native land in other terms than those of at least implied contempt; frequently his venom is undisguised. When his Russian "saint" gave magnificent

(1) Letters to Catharine, Nov. 15, 1768; Feb. 26, May 27, Sept. 2, Oct. 17, Nov. 28, 1769; Jan. 2, Feb. 2, March 10, April 10, May 18, July 4, Aug. 11, Sept. 5 and 21, 1770.

(2) Letters to Catharine, Feb. 26, May 27, Sept. 2, 1769.

(3) Letter to Catharine, May 29, 1772.

feasts in honor of Prince Henry of Prussia, he chanted : "The universe admires your feasts ; we Frenchmen are confounded." And he rejoiced because of the unhappy events coincident with the marriage of the Dauphin, since they seemed to exhibit the happiness of the czarina to better advantage (1). But listen to the sickly jocularity with which the practically renegade Frenchman subjects to the ridicule of the crowned courtesan, that court which was disgraced by courtesans whom he had so servilely flattered. "I must parade before you the exploits of my country. . . . We also have some glory. Paris now has some very pretty carriages in the new style ; and there have been invented some epergues for dessert which are quite tasteful. We have even had a new *motet*, which made considerable noise, at least in the hall where it was sung. Finally, we have a dancer, of whom wonders are told ; they say that she has very beautiful arms. The last Comic Opera was received badly ; but they are preparing one which will be the admiration of the universe, for it will be performed in the chief city of the universe by the best actors of the universe. . . . Here you have the first people of the universe, the chief court of the universe, *the principal monkeys of the universe*. . . . I shall not neglect, Madame, if your Majesty desires it, to inform you of the result of these grand revolutions " (2). When a certain decree of his "Northern Goddess," a decree which he termed "superior to the laws of Lycurgus and Solon," was interdicted by the French government, Voltaire poured forth his sympathy with the "insulted" legislatrix in the following fashion : "And here I am among the *Welches* ! (3) ; I breathe their atmosphere, and I must talk their language ! It is true that I am only a league away from the frontier of the *Welches* ; but I do not wish to die among them." Then he quotes some of the enactments of the interdicted decree, and

(1) Letter to Catharine, Jan. 22, 1771.

(2) Letters to Catharine, Oct. 2, 1770 ; Feb. 9, and Aug. 7, 1771.

(3) Probably in order to gratify his German friends, Frederick von Hohenzollern, and Sophia von Anhalt (the "Star of the North"), Voltaire applied the term *Welche* (Gallie, Gaelic, Celtic) to the French ; the Germans being accustomed to so designate all the Celtic, and very absurdly, all the Latin peoples. When used in a figurative sense, the term was meant to signify ignorant persons, or those without taste. Voltaire is the sole French writer who uses the word in this sense.

asks: "Is it possible that the *Welches* refuse to observe these divine maxims?" (1). When some Frenchmen joined the Confederates of Bar to fight for Catholicism and Polish independence, their "unworthy conduct" filled the heart of Voltaire with "just indignation"; and he endeavored to repair the "scandal" by writing to Catharine: "Our *Welches* have never been overwise, but at least they passed for gallant men; and I know of nothing so churlish as their warring against you. Such conduct is contrary to all the laws of chivalry. It is shameful and absurd for a few beardless boys to have the impertinence to make war on you, when 200,000 Tartars abandon Mustapha (the sultan of Turkey, who was aiding Poland) in order to serve you. It is the Tartars who are polite, while the French have become Scythians. Deign to notice, Madame, that I am not *Welche*; I am Swiss; and if I were younger, I would become a Russian" (2). When some of the French volunteers had been made prisoners by the troops of Holy Russia, Voltaire tried to make capital out of their misfortune; writing this suggestive letter to the duke de Richelieu: "The empress of Russia informs me, by her letter of April 10, that she is about to send her French prisoners to Siberia. They are supposed to be twenty-four in number. It may be that you are interested in some of them; and it may be that the ministers will not care to compromise themselves by interceding for them. Now on occasions like this, the service of some insignificant person is often acceptable. I know of one. . . . He would be ready to obey positive orders, without being responsible for success; but assuredly he would risk nothing, without an express command" (3). Voltaire failed in this instance, just as he had frequently failed on other occasions, to obtain some quasi-diplomatic credentials from the government of Louis XV.; and it soon transpired that Catharine had resolved to retain the French prisoners, "that they might teach good manners in her provinces"—a proceeding which Voltaire regarded as exceedingly comical (4).

(1) Letter to Catharine, July 10, 1771.

(2) Letter to Catharine, Oct. 18, 1771.

(3) Letter to the duke de Richelieu, May 30, 1772.

(4) Letter to Catharine, April 20, 1773.

One of Voltaire's chief ambitions was to be lauded as a historian, and he thought that his *Age of Louis XIV.* would gratify that aspiration. To what we have already said regarding this work we would add a few reflections; for some extravagantly lenient critics, men who have been dominated by their admiration for the cynic's brilliancy of style, and who have felt themselves obliged to condemn the animus of his works, have thought proper to praise this particular production, and to wish that its author had written nothing else. When Mme. du Deffand, that strange skeptic of whom Walpole said that "her weakness was Herculean," was told that Voltaire had never invented anything, she replied: "Nothing? Why, he has invented history." The lady did not utter a mere *bon mot*; she expressed a truth, namely, that Voltaire *arranged* history in the interest of his philosophistic predilections. In his correspondence he betrays his own unreliability as an exponent of truth. Writing to Hénault on Jan. 8, 1752, concerning his presumed masterpiece, he says: "*I hate petty facts.* . . . Do you realize that I have written much of the second volume from memory?" *From memory*, when he was born at the end of the century which he has been describing? On April 29, 1752, he writes to the learned Academician, La Condamine, that it is no wonder that "La Martinière, Reboulet, and the *tutti quanti*, should have fallen into mistakes, when he, *almost an eye witness*, has so frequently erred." That word *almost*, of course, may have absolved him from the guilt of absolute mendacity in the eyes of La Condamine; but he continually tells us, when presenting some delicious or salacious morsel, that "he had the anecdote from the man himself," the invoked person, of course, being already dead. In a letter to the marshal de Noailles, dated July 28, 1752, this would-be historian says that "Cicero ventures to insist that a historian ought to tell all that is true" (1); but he does not agree with the Roman: "I do not think so. Useless and odious details should be suppressed." And throughout his *Age of Louis XIV.* he regarded as odious or useless every detail which could militate for the individual whom he wished to calumniate, or which

(1) *The Orator*, II., 15.

would contradict the theories of his school. On almost every page of this work we meet assertions which even a tyro in the study of history can refute. A few instances may not be unacceptable to the reader. In the first chapter we are told that for nine hundred years before Louis XIV., the government of France was truly *Gothic*, "without laws or established usages; the nobles living in idleness, the ecclesiastics in licentiousness and ignorance, and the people in misery." The charge against the ecclesiastics was to be expected from Voltaire; but it is incomprehensible that he could have imagined that his readers would be utterly ignorant of the *Capitulars* of Charlemagne, of the "*Establishments*" of St. Louis, of the wise ordinances of Charles V. and Louis XII., of the renaissance under Francis I., and of the laws promulgated by the last of the Valois. In the third chapter, Voltaire endeavors to obscure the glory of Turenne; he could never forgive that consummate commander for his conversion to Catholicism. "After the battle of Fribourg, the duke d'Enghien returned to Paris, leaving the command of the army to the marshal de Turenne. But this general, able though he was, was defeated at Mariental. The prince flew back to the army, and to the glory of again commanding Turenne, he joined that of repairing his defeat." Here Voltaire implies that the beaten army of Turenne was the same one which had been victorious under Condé; and he says that the prince's return restored to it its former laurels. Now veritable history shows that Turenne had only a part of the army which Condé had commanded, and that this portion was composed of new levies; it also shows that the prince brought with him the troops for whom Turenne had vainly asked; and finally, it shows that Turenne, in spite of his defeat, had held in check the armies of the united German commanders. Voltaire must have known these facts; but the man who lavished his praise on that ignoble Englishman, Marlborough, simply because that leader was an Englishman and a Protestant, could only decry the reputation of the Frenchman who became a Catholic, although that Frenchman's most illustrious adversary, the Italian, Montecuccoli, praised him as

"an honor to the human race" (1). In the sixth chapter, Voltaire institutes a parallel between Cardinal Mazarin and Cromwell, much to the advantage of the latter, and which is a perfect counterpart of the picture of the Protector which Bossuet drew. He says that "Cromwell strengthened his power by knowing how to limit it; he never encroached on the privileges, of which the people were so jealous." But this same Voltaire, in his *General History* (2), carefully describes the indignities which Cromwell heaped on the Long Parliament. He asserts that "Cromwell levied no taxes which caused the people to complain"; and nevertheless, in the *General History* he tells us that "Cromwell led his army to London, seized the gates, and forced the citizens to pay £40,000 to his soldiers." He says that "Cromwell died with that firmness of soul which he had exhibited during his entire life"; but in the *General History* he admits that "Cromwell died because of a fever produced by the anxiety which his tyranny had generated; for during his latter days he constantly feared assassination, and never slept in the same room two nights in succession" (3). One of the most amusing instances of Voltaire's effrontery in matters of history is his comparison of Louis XIV. with the usurping king of England, William of Orange—a comparison, well observes Nonotte (4), the institution of which

(1) In chapter xii. of his *Age of Louis XIV.* Voltaire says: "No Protestant and no philosopher can believe that conviction alone produced this change of religion in a soldier and a *politique* who was fifty years of age (Turenne was then 57 years old). We know that when Louis XIV. made Turenne marshal-general of his armies, he used these very words: 'I wish that you would oblige me to do something more for you.' These words *might* have, in time, worked a conversion. The office of constable would have tempted an ambitious heart. It is also possible that this conversion was sincere; for the human heart often unites in itself policy, ambition, the weaknesses of love, and sentiments of religion. But it is very probable that Turenne abandoned the religion of his fathers merely through policy. The Catholics, who triumphed by this change, did not wish to believe that the heart of Turenne was capable of dissimulation." In 1752, writing to Hénault, the cynic said: "If you seriously believe that the viscount de Turenne, at the age of fifty, changed his age through conviction, assuredly you have a confiding soul." In a note to his satire on *The Three Emperors at the Sorbonne*, published in 1768, he says: "This great man who had military talents of the first order, and who had also a heroic soul, nevertheless possessed but little enlightenment, and was of a feeble character. It is said that during his last years he became a devotee. A strange spectacle, indeed, that of a man who had won battles passing the morning in an endeavor to discover just what one ought to believe in order to escape damnation!"

(2) In the *Essay on Morals*, etc., ch. clxxxii.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Under the title of *Errors of Voltaire*, the learned Jesuit, Claude Nonotte, issued, in 1762, a thoroughly critical refutation of the patriarch's lies and blunders in history. The

needed all the authority and plenitude of genius which Voltaire possessed. The Sage of Ferney labored painfully to decide as to "which of the two princes merited the title of *Grand*"; and finally he was obliged to leave the matter "undecided"—an excellent proof that he did not dare to champion the "grandeur" of the "Immortal William" (1). These instances will serve to illustrate the methods of that "philosopher" who disgraced the office of historiographer of France. The secret of his failure as a historian is found in his hatred of Christianity. "He attributed to the development of Christianity, as to their real cause, the greater part of the crimes and miseries which have afflicted the world since the foundation of the Western (Holy Roman) Empire. Habitually skeptical in any examination of affairs which are purely human, Voltaire ceased to be skeptical when he treated of an affair in which the priesthood was concerned; then he became too credulous, or not sufficiently credulous, according as the matter was one of evil or of good. He hesitates to believe in generous actions and in disinterested virtue, when such are attributed to priests; but he credits tales of the most enormous crimes, provided only that they be attributed to the clergy" (1). And how could he be a historian, who, at almost every step in his progress, found that the poison which he himself had distilled was

sole argument in rebuttal which Voltaire could advance was to term his opponent impudent, a calumniator, an ignoramus, a blackguard, a fanatic, a goose, etc.

(1) Nonotte institutes a parallel between the two sovereigns, so far as any comparison can be made with sobriety, and the following are a synopsis of his conclusions: The prince of Orange, who had no right to the crown of England, fomented rebellions and encouraged all sorts of treasons against his royal father-in-law, in pursuance of his own work of brigandage; Louis XIV. sacrificed himself in order to place his grandson on the Spanish throne, to which the young man was called by hereditary right, by the last will of Charles II., and by the wishes of the Spanish nation. The prince of Orange lost nearly all the battles which he directed, and no general of his day was so often beaten; Louis XIV. took every city which he attacked, he created a navy which became the terror of the "mistress of the seas," and he withstood successfully the combined attacks of the rest of Europe. The prince of Orange effected nothing to augment the power and glory of England; Louis XIV., by encouraging manufactures throughout his dominions, by fostering science and letters, by stimulating every kind of noble talent, made of France the centre of good taste, industry, and wealth. The prince of Orange pursued a sombre policy, which was based entirely on dissimulation, which ignored the most sacred rights, and which never showed him in a light which could win for him the love of his subjects; Louis XIV. followed a policy which always respected the Law of Nations, which was often admired by those whom he conquered, which was never actuated by means which a grand monarch could not avow without shame.

(2) *ANGER*; in the *Universal Biography* of Michaud, art. *Voltaire*.

urging him to calumniate all that he hated? *Habemus confitentem reum*. "LYING IS A VICE ONLY WHEN IT WORKS EVIL. IT IS A VERY GREAT VIRTUE, WHEN IT WORKS GOOD. THEREFORE BE MORE VIRTUOUS THAN EVER. WE MUST LIE LIKE THE DEVIL, NOT TIMIDLY OR FOR A TIME, BUT BRAVELY AND ALWAYS" (1).

As a writer, Voltaire explored every region in the domain of intelligence; and it was his fond hope that he would have left in each region a monument which would remind posterity of his conquests. In 1750 the gossip Saint-Simon wrote this note in his *Memoires*: "This Aronnet, now a great poet and Academician under the name of Voltaire, has become a sort of personage in the republic of letters, and even an important one in a certain set." Twenty years after Saint-Simon penned this dubious compliment, Voltaire, like Montesquieu and Rousseau, was regarded by all the self-appointed guardians of progress and civilization, in every country of Europe, as a prime educator of the human race. It is not within the scope of our work to discuss the merits of Voltaire as the luminary of literary Europe in the eighteenth century (2). Probably Maynard judged correctly, when he wrote: "When we contemplate the hundred volumes of Voltaire from a distance, they form a gigantic pyramid; but if we approach them, nearly the entire mass tumbles and vanishes in dust. In none of the grand divisions of literature did Voltaire produce a single work which is equal to those composed by the great writers who preceded or followed him; none of his works is that of a genius. If genius

(1) Letter to Thieriot, Oct. 21, 1736.

(2) "The literature of the eighteenth century is entirely one of opposition. Its essence is revolutionary, fickle, mocking, incredulous when not impious, an affectation of license in thought and word. The *Persian Letters* are the type of what is moderate in this literature; Voltaire is the master and the model of all its varieties. In order to vulgarize itself, all this literature descends one or more degrees. Tragedy becomes the *bourgeois* drama of Diderot and of Sedaine; Comedy either whines or sneers, quitting the high-road of Molière for the narrow paths of Marivaux. Not without reason did Le Sage choose for a hero *Gil Blas*, a lackey and a thief's apprentice; or Beaumarchais select *Figaro*, a debauched and knavish barber; or the Abbé Prévost do worse in *Manon-Lescaut*. To glorify the inclinations, to celebrate the passions—that was the poetry of the theatre and of the novel. There was no thought of elevating minds with moral reflections, as in the days of Corneille; the sole aim was to flatter all the instincts of the public that applauds, pays, and confers glory. All this brilliant surface dazzled and seduced the eyes; all Europe admired and imitated with frenzy; for the French language was the international language, spoken and written by every cultured person." PELLISSIER; *The Monarchy and the Revolution*, p. 111. Paris, 1893.

is essentially a creator ; if, concentrating its efforts and its patience, genius ever tends to express itself entirely and to personify itself, as it were, in a monument toward which humanity will turn in order to recognize the traces of some glorious station in the march of nations ; then—we say it confidently—Voltaire, notwithstanding all the resources of his prodigious imagination, was not a man of genius” (1). And nevertheless, many intelligent persons, in every country of Europe, acclaimed the Sage of Ferney as a grand philosopher. But in what one of Voltaire’s works, asks Maynard, are found “that power of conception, that correctness of judgment, that independence of thought, that moderation and that respect, those affirmations and beliefs, which are essential conditions for the genius of philosophy ? A mind without depth or breadth, ever carried away by violence of passion or by volatility of character, ever a slave of miserable prejudice ; he knew only how to deny and to destroy. To merely deny befits pride, and above all it befits ignorance and silliness ; to merely destroy is the work of a barbarian ; but genius, if it knows how to doubt when it ought to doubt, and how to refute when it ought to refute, tends especially to affirmation and construction. By what right, therefore, should Voltaire be introduced into the patrician society of Aristotle and Plato, Cicero and Seneca, Descartes and Leibnitz ? to say nothing of the company of St. Augustine and of Bossuet ?” (2). Voltaire has indeed transmitted to us an enormous amount of writing on philosophical subjects ; but when allowance has been made for repetitions, the volume of his philosophical indagations is exceedingly modest. But is there any philosophy in the works of Voltaire ? In his superficial babblings on the grand questions which form the very essence of philosophical thought—those on God, on man, and on the universe, the lauded Sage of Ferney may emit one affirmation after he has pronounced ten denials ; but that single affirmation is soon neutralized by fresh negations, and the reader perceives that he is asked to plunge into the sea of universal skepticism. Voltaire has been termed a theist ; but it is evident from his writings

(1) *Loc. cit.*, bk. iv., ch. 5.(2) *Ibi.*

that he would have preferred that no God should exist. When he appears to recognize a God, he presents for our admiration, not for our reverence, an abstract being who has no relations with man in this world or in any other state of existence. As to man, Voltaire does not once clearly avow the spirituality and immortality of the soul; when he does not deny these supreme consolations of our too frequently troubled mortality, he involves them in a darkness of doubt which he has not evoked without much painful effort (1).

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS VI.

More than four months were required by the Sacred College for the debates which were to result in the selection of

(1) When the Abbé Boyer published (1835) his *Defense of Social Order against Modern Carbonarism*, there was in the archives of Potsdam an autograph of Frederick II. on the *Art of Reigning*, addressed to the king's nephew and successor. Boyer inserted it in his work; and as it is an excellent illustration of the "philosophy" of both Voltaire and his German pupil, it will be of interest to the reader. "He is a fool who denies that religion is absolutely necessary to a state. That king is very imprudent who allows his subjects to misuse religion; but a king is not wise if he himself has any religion. Pay attention to this, my dear nephew. Nothing so tyrannizes over the mind and the heart as religion, since it does not accord with our passions. Nor does it accord with the grand political views which a monarch ought to have. The true religion of a sovereign should be his interest and his glory; his position dispenses him from any other. However, he may present a temporary exterior of religion for the amusement of those who surround and watch him. If, in the language of women and priests, he fears God, as did Louis XIV. in his latter days, he becomes timid and puerile, and is fit only to become a Capuchin. If there presents itself a favorable opportunity for seizing a province, an army of devils stands before him and prohibits the enterprise. When he is about to make a treaty with some other power, if he pauses to think that he is a Christian, he will inevitably be cheated. As to war, that is a business in which the smallest scruple may spoil everything; for what decent man would care to make war, if there were no pillage, burning, or slaughter? Of course, I do not say that one ought to proclaim one's atheism; but one must think of his position. All the Popes who had any common sense held principles which accorded with their aggrandizement; for it would be the height of folly for a priest to care for the little fooleries which are meant only for the people. Believe me, my dear nephew, Holy Mother Church is as capricious as a woman; she is always inconstant. Be faithful to true philosophy; she is consoling, strong, and inexhaustible as nature. Then you will soon have in your kingdom no religious disputes of any consequence; for parties are formed only because of the weakness of princes and their ministers. There is one very important reflection which I would present to you. Your ancestors acted most sensibly in this matter of religion; they joined in a Reformation which gave them the appearance of Apostles, and filled their purses. Now, however, since nothing is to be gained by such a course; and since it might be dangerous to enter upon it; we must practice toleration. Hold well this principle, my dear nephew; always say, as I do, that every person can worship God as he pleases (we dare not transcribe the obscene remark which is here introduced); if you forget this maxim, all will

a successor to Clement XIV. When the Conclave opened, on October 5, 1774, it appeared that the candidate of the *Zelanti*, those cardinals who disapproved of the recent suppression of the Jesuits, would be elected; and even when the foreign cardinals, all naturally partisans of one who would be acceptable to "the party of the crowns," had arrived, the favorite candidate seemed to be Cardinal Braschi, who was generally regarded as a *Zelante*. In vain did the representatives of the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Lisbon, endeavor to effect the "exclusion" of Braschi. Spain advocated the election of Pallavicini; but that cardinal formally announced that he would refuse the tiara, and that his own choice was Braschi. France had already declared, through the ambassador of Louis XVI., then just arrived at the throne, that she wanted, above all, a good Pope; and Austria, then intimately united with France by the marriage

be lost, and for the following reasons: In my kingdom there are many sects. In certain provinces the Lutherans fill all the offices; in others the Calvinists have the same advantage. There are some provinces where the Catholics so dominate, that the king can send thither only one or two Protestant deputies; and of all ignorant and blind fanatics, I do assure you that the Romans are the most fiery and the most atrocious. In this outlandish religion the priests are ferocious beasts, who preach only a blind submission to their orders, and who command like despots. They are assassins, robbers, ravishers, and men of inexpressible ambition. Note the insolent rapidity with which Rome arrogates to herself the right of commanding sovereigns. . . . Since our ancestors became Christians in the ninth century in order to please the emperor; since they became Lutherans in the sixteenth century in order to appropriate the property of the Church; and since they became Calvinists in the seventeenth in order to please the Hollanders in the matter of the succession of Cleves; we may well be indifferent to all religions in order to preserve tranquillity in our dominions. My father had an excellent project, which, however, did not succeed. He employed the president, Lain, to compose a little *Treatise on Religion*, designed to unite the three sects into one. The president spoke badly about the Pope, he grabbed St. Roch's dog by the ears, and he pulled the tail of St. Anthony's pig. He regarded Sts. Bernard and Dominic as two courtesans, as loose as they were knavish; he thought no better of the Eleven Thousand Virgins than of the saints and martyrs of the family of Loyola. As to mysteries, he thought it best not to try to explain them; good sense was to be shown, and the literal significance was not always to be received. As to the Lutherans, they were his main reliance; and as for the Catholics, he wished them to become a little unfaithful to the court of Rome. . . . As for the priests, he allowed them to take their housekeepers as wives. . . . I have not abandoned this project, and I flatter myself that I have rendered it of easy execution by you. . . . The system has been already formed; Voltaire has composed the introduction. He insists on nothing more being said concerning religion, since men do not agree upon even one point. He draws the portrait of every founder of a sect with a quaint freedom which seems like truth; he has unearthed a quantity of anecdotes about Popes, bishops, priests, and ministers, which give a peculiarly gay tone to his work. And the work is written in so concise and rapid a style, that one has no time for reflection; in fine, the art of the author is so subtle, that he seems to be in the utmost good faith, even when he advances the most extravagant principles. D'Alembert and Maupertuis furnished the canvas for this work; and they calculated with such precision, that one is tempted to believe that they tried to convince themselves before they tried to convince others."

of Marie Antoinette with Louis, desisted from her opposition. On Feb. 15, 1775, Braschi was elected unanimously to the Chair of Peter. Giovanni Angelo Braschi was born at Cesena in 1717. While still a young man he attracted the favorable attention of the pre-eminently discerning Benedict XIV., and was employed by that Pontiff in many delicate affairs. Clement XIII. made him treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber in 1766, and Clement XIV. raised him to the cardinalate in 1773. Bourgoing, whose work on the pontificate of Pius VI. is the chief source consulted by the rank and file of modern writers on that subject, and who was trammelled by no prejudices in favor of any Pope, says that the life of Braschi had always been "a laborious one," and that he had ever been "indifferent to worldly pleasures, meriting general respect by the regularity of his conduct" (1). The same hypercritical and frequently calumnious author admits that as Pontiff, Pius VI. was "humane, accessible, laborious, and temperate . . . his time was spent entirely either in attending to his religious duties, or in the quiet of his cabinet, his museum, or the Vatican Library." Bourgoing depicts Pius VI. as "in every respect one of the handsomest men of his day; to his great stature were added the charms of noble and gracious features, and of a florid complexion, the brilliancy of which age had not diminished." We may question, however, the truth of the assertion that he was "careful to manage his pontifical robes in a way that would show him to the best advantage." Bourgoing continually feigns to discern vanity in all the actions of Pius VI., from the day when, almost a sexagenarian, he first donned the tiara, to the day when he laid down his burden of nearly eighty-three years. Such was not the judgment of those who were intimately associated with him during the twenty-four years

(1) *Historical and Philosophical Memoires on Pius VI. and His Pontificate*. Paris, 1798. Bourgoing is careful to inform his reader that these *Memoires* are "philosophical"; but in the very beginning of the work he shows that he is a philosophist, rather than a philosopher. He affects to pity and to despise the Popedom, "that scaffolding of temporal and spiritual power, that sanctuary of superstition, that long series of errors, that long abuse of human credulity." Religion and its ministers are, in his mind, objects fit only for ridicule. Writing just after the One and Indivisible French Republic, whose agent he was, had proclaimed the Papacy a dead thing, he declares that its demise "is regretted by no one."

of his eventful pontificate (1). These authorities represent him as truly pious, and even as austere ; in fine, as a worthy successor of St. Peter. There was little food for vanity in the pontifical career of Pius VI. ; at the very moment of his elevation he seemed to foresee the miseries which awaited him. "Venerable brothers," he said to those who had elected him, "your work is completed ; but its result is unfortunate for me." The spirit with which Pius VI. entered upon his pontificate is clearly evinced by his letter, written immediately after his election, to the municipal authorities of Cesena, his native city : "Our elevation to the Supreme Pontificate, which took place this morning, causes us to send to you this letter which we moisten with bitter tears, because of the burden, so disproportionate to our strength, with which we have been charged. Instead of any manifestations of joy, we wish that you exhibit signs of grief, and that you pray for us. With that intent we have written, with our own hand, the accompanying directions for your guidance." He orders that, "under pain of incurring his supreme indignation, the authorities allow no public demonstrations of joy, no illuminations or fireworks, no academic eulogies of himself, no deputations to him, no horse races or games" ; but there are to be celebrated five solemn pontifical Masses for his intention, and seventy daughters of poor parents are to receive dowries of forty golden scudi apiece. A Pontiff with such ideas cannot deserve the reproaches of the apologist of the Convention and the Directory, who feigns to regard as an exhibition of vanity every monument which Pius VI. erected ; every encouragement of art which he accorded ; every display of magnificence, on his part, such as befitted a Pope-King ; and even every instance of majestic deportment in the grand functions where, as the high-priest of Christendom, he was the central figure.

From his earliest years Braschi had been an impassioned student in every branch of ecclesiastical lore ; and when he entered upon the duties of the Supreme Pontificate, he was so well versed in all the mazes of ecclesiastical history, that he never needed to recur to authorities when it became

(1) BALDASSARI ; *History of the Seizure and Captivity of Pope Pius VI.*, Rome, 1805.

necessary for him to adduce any particular fact, decision, or enactment. As a temporal ruler he was just, firm, and beneficent. In order to further the cause of education among the poor, he procured a number of Brothers of the Christian Schools from France. Agriculture and commerce, and all works of public utility, received continually his personal and careful attention. He enlarged and made more safe the port of Ancona; he uncovered and restored the Appian Way; he reclaimed many thousand acres in the Campagna; he undertook, and was prevented only by the Revolution from completing, the drainage of the Pontine Marshes. The magnificent Sacristy of St. Peter's was his work. The splendid Museum in the Vatican is rightly called the Pio-Clementino; for while as yet Cardinal Braschi, our Pontiff had inspired Clement XIV. with the idea of forming it, and he made it what it now is, when he donned the tiara. Even the description of this Museum, by Ennio Visconti, is due to the encouragement of Pius VI. There was scarcely a monument in Rome which did not owe much to the fostering care and embellishing hand of this Pontiff (1); and those who imitate Bourgoing by ridiculing the innumerable commemorative slabs on which the tourist of to-day sees it recorded that "Pius VI. restored," would do well to consider whether or not the zeal of Pius VI. deserves remembrance.

A pontificate so long as that of Pius VI.—with the exception of those of St. Peter and Pius IX., the longest of all—must necessarily present many features which call for consideration. We have already dwelt sufficiently on the matter of the Jesuits in Russia. The martyrdom of Poland at the hands of Catharine II. of Russia will receive special attention when we come to consider, in our next volume, the soul-sickening and still persistent struggle of Russian "Orthodoxy" with Polish Catholicism. The importance of the subject-matter will demand other special dissertations on the pseudo-reformatory enterprises of the German emperor, Joseph II., and on the Jansenistico-Josephist innovations in Tuscany which produced the Pseudo-Synod of Pistoja.

(1) For details on this matter, see the *History of the Popes*, by Artaud de Montor, vol. VI. Paris, 1847-49.

and were the occasion of the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* : on the pretension of the archbishop of Salzburg, and of four other German archbishops, that no papal decree could oblige in their dioceses without their approbation ; and on the schism of the French “ Constitutional ” clergy. Here we would ask for the attention of the reader, firstly, to the dissensions between Pius VI. and the court of Naples ; secondly, to the affair of Cardinal de Rohan and the necklace ; and thirdly, to the seizure, captivity, and death of Pius VI. in exile. When this Pontiff succeeded to the Chair of Peter, the prime-minister of Naples was Bernardo Tanucci, a Tuscan lawyer whom Charles III. had raised to the ministry, and whom Ferdinand IV. had come to regard as a type of good statesmanship. Even according to Bourgoing, Tanucci was not only an ambitious man, but a mischief-maker, vindictive, and saturated with animosity against the court of Rome. At the time when all the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon had leagued themselves against Pope Clement XIII. in the matter of the suppression of the Jesuits, he had induced his royal master to seize Benevento, and it was not his fault that the duchy was afterward restored to the Holy See. In 1769 he had prohibited monasteries to acquire more property, had deprived the papal nuncio of many of his privileges, and had advised King Ferdinand to cease sending the annual and voluntary subscriptions of the Neapolitan monarchs for the support of the Basilica of the Apostles, and for the augmentation of the Vatican Library. In 1772, he had persuaded Ferdinand that as heir of the House of Farnese, he had rights to Castro and Ronciglione ; and had not Clement XIV. reconciled the Bourbon sovereigns to the Holy See, a Neapolitan army would have invaded those territories. Pius VI. soon found that Tanucci was determined to embroil the courts of Rome and Naples. The audacious minister assured the Neapolitans that in order to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee, visits to the principal churches of Rome were unnecessary ; visits to their own churches were sufficient, even though the Pontiff had not granted an indult to that effect. Tanucci also suppressed many monasteries in Sicily, united several dioceses,

conferred abbeys without the pontifical consent, and ordered the bishops to fill benefices which were reserved to the Holy See. When the Pope condemned a book written by a certain Dominican, and deprived him of his chair in the University of Naples, Tanucci ordered the author to continue his lectures. Had not the light of history shone too vividly on the matter, this minister would have denied the suzerain rights of the Holy See over both the Sicilies (1); but he was able to vent his spleen by allowing no pomp to accompany the annual presentation of tribute, whereby his royal master acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the Pontiff (2). Even when Tanucci lost the favor of Ferdinand IV. in 1776, and was replaced by Marquis de la Sambuca, his ecclesiastical policy remained for many years an acceptable tradition in the Neapolitan cabinet (3). In 1777 Sambuca forbade the bishops to receive any *Rescripts* from Rome, or to leave their dioceses without the royal permission. In 1779 an ordinance abolished the ancient custom of assigning the revenues of a vacant bishopric to the Apostolic Chamber; said revenues being declared the property of the royal treasury. In the ensuing years, according as the German influence, represented by Queen Caroline (sister of Joseph II.), made itself felt, the pretensions of the Neapolitan cabinet became unbearable. One of the creatures of this singular queen, Acton (son of an Irish physician, but born at Besançon), whom she caused to be raised to the premiership, took measures for the forcible seizure of the papal duchies of Benevento and Pontecorvo; and for the meeting of a "National Council," in which there would be chosen three bishops who would thereafter "preconize" such persons as the royal minister might choose for the mitre. But the Spanish government interfered to prevent a Catholic sovereign from giving such a scandal to the Catholic world (4); and the machinations of Caroline and her favorite were

(1) For the origin of these rights, see our vol. ii., p. 214.

(2) This tribute consisted of a richly caparisoned palfrey, and 6,000 golden ducats.

(3) In justice to the qualities of Tanucci as a civil administrator, we must record that the popular gratitude caused this inscription to be placed on his tomb: "During the forty years in which he held the keys of power in the kingdom, he imposed no taxes."

(4) BOURGOING; *loc. cit.*, vol. i.

defeated (1). Finally the Neapolitan government, like the other Catholic powers of the day, began to realize that it was foolish to war on the Papacy at a time when the Revolution, begun in Paris, was threatening to become a European convulsion. Even Marquis Caraccioli, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had said that if he ever became prime-minister of Naples, "he would render the kingdom independent of the Grand Mufti of Rome"; even he now astonished the world by a strenuous defense of the papal prerogatives. In 1790, Ferdinand IV. signed an agreement with the Holy See, whereby it was promised that every Neapolitan monarch would pay into the Apostolic Treasury 150,000 ducats, immediately after his accession; that the Pontiff should have the nomination to all benefices of the second order, and that he should fill a vacant see by the appointment of one of three persons named by the king. In return, His Holiness agreed that the Neapolitan sovereign should be no longer styled a vassal of the Pontiff; and that in the collation of Neapolitan benefices, subjects of His Majesty should always be preferred. The harmony of the two courts was confirmed in 1791 by a visit of the king and queen to the Pope; but very shortly afterward, observes Picot, "Ferdinand saw those lawyers who had inveighed so eloquently against the Holy See, those marquises who were so philosophical, those bishops who were so *courtisanesque*, pronouncing against himself, as they had declaimed against the Pontiff; abandoning his rights, as they had abandoned those of the Church; availing themselves, in order to undermine his authority, of those same principles which they had invoked

(1) Besides the question of the royal right to nominate bishops for vacant sees, there arose at this time a difficulty concerning the right, claimed by the Pope, to consecrate all Neapolitan bishops in the Eternal City, either with his own hands or by means of one of the curial bishops delegated for the purpose. It is certain that during the first nine centuries of the Christian era, the Pope was the sole metropolitan in the region to which the Eastern emperors had given the name of the "Vicariate of Rome"; and what afterward became the kingdom of Naples was a part of that Vicariate. Therefore, in those early centuries it was the right of the Pontiff alone to consecrate the Neapolitan bishops. But in the tenth century, when Italy had come to consist of many independent and mutually jealous principalities, there were naturally established various metropolitan sees for the various states; and consequently the bishops of each state were consecrated by its metropolitan, although the metropolitans continued to be consecrated at Rome. But in the early part of the fourteenth century, the Popes reclaimed their ancient right of consecrating the bishops of the Two Sicilies; and after 1340 that right was exercised until the time of Ferdinand IV. BORGIA; *The Papal Dominion in the Two Sicilies*. Rome, 1788.

against the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and thus showing the true measure of that devotion to his power which they had affected" (1).

For the benefit of those who derive their notions of French history from the attractive but deceiving pages of Dumas, and from works pretendedly more serious, which should also be classed as fictions, we now touch on an episode of this pontificate—the "affair of the necklace," which, although of a secular nature, greatly exercised the French episcopate, and profoundly grieved the Head of the Church. Louis-René, Prince de Rohan, born in 1734, was one of the last of those courtier-prelates whose elevation the historian of the olden days is so frequently obliged to stigmatize. During the previous hundred years a Rohan had always worn the mitre of Strasburg; therefore men did not wonder, when, in 1779, the dissipated and spendthrift nephew succeeded his uncle in that see. At the solicitation of Poniatowski, king of Poland, he had already been made a cardinal. So addicted to pleasure and ostentation was this prelate, that he was always in debt, although he possessed, besides his large private patrimony, enormous episcopal revenues and some of the richest commendatory abbeys in France. Therefore it was easy for Cagliostro, the prince of charlatans, who was then at the height of his celebrity, to draw the luxurious ecclesiastic into his net (2); and the resulting intimacy prepared one of the most monumental scandals of that century. Rohan had presumed to aspire to the position that had been occupied by Richelieu and Mazarin; but in order to attain to that eminence, he surmised that he should acquire the favor of the queen. Cagliostro discovered the ambition of his mitred pupil, and he resolved to profit by it. One of his accomplices, a woman who styled herself "Countess de la Motte-Valois," informed Rohan that she was aware of his desires; and that

(1) *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v., p. 355. Paris, 3d edit., 1885.

(2) In the *Memoires* of Mme. Oberkirch, cited by Picot, we read that Rohan declared that he had seen Cagliostro manufacture scores of diamonds and thousands of *louis d'or*. The cardinal also declared that he knew Cagliostro to be a true prophet and a miraculous healer, as well as a sublime genius, and one of the best men who ever lived. For details concerning Cagliostro, see p. 419 of this volume.

she could suggest a sure way whereby he could enter into the good graces of Marie Antoinette. At a certain jeweller's emporium there was a magnificent necklace of diamonds for which the queen yearned. The king could not buy it; for its price was 1,600,000 francs. Her Majesty, added the adventuress, begged her friend, the cardinal, to buy the precious bauble for her, but in his own name; in time she would repay the money. Let the ambitious prelate gratify the queen, urged La Motte; his road to power would then be clear. To prove that she was authorized to speak for Her Majesty, the temptress exhibited a document to that effect, signed, "Marie Antoinette of France." It is strange that the courtly Rohan did not perceive that this signature stamped the paper as a forgery, and a very clumsy one; only a woman of the blood-royal of France could or would style herself "of France"; the queen's signature would have been, "Marie Antoinette of Austria." However, Rohan fell into the snare. He purchased the necklace, and handed it to La Motte; that enterprising party gave it to her husband, who immediately crossed the Channel, and sold the jewels separately in London. When the time for payment arrived, the cardinal, who, to his surprise, had not been called to the ministry, was unable to satisfy his creditor, and in despair he advised that matter-of-fact man to appeal to the queen. When Marie Antoinette had heard the scandalous tale, she rushed to impart it to her royal husband. On the following day, the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, 1785, the cardinal, in his capacity of grand-almoner of France, having presented himself in full episcopal robes at the Tuilleries, in order to pontificate at the Solemn Mass, an order from the king, summoning him to his Majesty's private cabinet, was handed to him. In the cabinet he found the king and queen, and most of the ministers. Questioned as to the meaning of the entire disgraceful business, the scion of the proud and noble Rohans threw himself on the royal mercy; but he was conducted at once to the Bastille. A few days passed, and the miserable man was then informed that he could either appeal to the royal clemency, or be tried by a special commission, or appear before the

parliament of Paris (1). To the reader who has accompanied us on the many occasions when we estimated the calibre of the parliament of Paris, it will not be a matter of surprise that Rohan should have elected to be tried by that tribunal. In consequence of this choice, royal letters-patent laid the case before the parliament; Cagliostro, the charlatan and Masonic reformer, and the *soi-disant* Count and Countess La Motte-Valois being included in the indictment. Just at this time, the French clergy were holding their periodical General Assembly; and naturally the predicament of Cardinal de Rohan was discussed with some vehemence. It was declared that the immunities of the clergy were being violated by the proposed trial of a bishop by a lay tribunal; and a remonstrance was sent by the Assembly to the king, respectfully representing that "the right which they claimed was older than the monarchy itself; that it had been transmitted from age to age; that it was a deposit for which they were accountable to their successors; that it had been recognized, not for a time, or in favor of particular individuals, but for all time, and in favor of the entire first order of the kingdom; that therefore it was not to be arbitrarily revoked" (2). The cardinal soon took this view of his case, and demanded a trial by an ecclesiastical tribunal. The Pope also, to whom the General Assembly of the clergy had referred the matter, and whom the scandal had so affected that for several days his life was in danger (3), wrote to Louis XVI. to the same effect; and declared that no matter what would be the result of the parliamentary trial, Rohan would be judged by the Sacred College of which he was a member. Despite the protests of Pontiff and bishops, and the demand of the culprit, the king resolved to leave the issue of the affair with the parliament; and the public curiosity, to say nothing of the malignity of the mob, eagerly awaited a decision in which but too many fondly fancied that they foresaw a besmirchment of the character of "the Austrian" (4). After a

(1) DROZ; *History of Louis XVI.*, vol. 1., p. 444. Paris, 1805.

(2) *Procès-verbaux of the Assembly of 1787*, p. 557.

(3) ARTAUD; *History of the Popes*, art. Pius VI.

(4) "The public cherished only those suspicions which could not possibly be verified. Men waited in eager expectation of hearing some revelation which would compromise the

session of sixteen hours, the parliament acquitted Rohan and Cagliostro, and condemned Mad. La Motte to the Salpêtrière for life. The court of Rome had not waited for the parliamentary judgment. A special commission having decided that the cardinal's acceptance of a trial by an incompetent tribunal was a violation of his cardinalitial oath, the Pontiff, on Feb. 17, 1786, had deprived him of all the honors of his rank until he would have defended himself, before the Holy See, from the charges brought against him. However, the Pope soon afterward restored him to his pristine condition, appearing to be satisfied with the justificatory memorial which he had forwarded. Louis XVI. was not so easily placated. Rohan was deprived of his almonry, and ordered to retire to his abbey of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne; then, after some months of presumed meditation on the irregularities of his previous life, he was enjoined to betake himself to his diocese of Strasburg. It is edifying to learn, from indisputable records of the time, that the cardinal's later years were passed in a manner becoming to his sacerdotal character. When the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was submitted to him for his signature, he spurned the schismatic ordinance, and retired into the German part of his diocese. During the days of the Terror, he devoted his time and money to the alleviation of the sufferings of the *émigrés* who succeeded in reaching his jurisdiction. When Pope Pius VII., in 1801, demanded his resignation, just as His Holiness required that of all the French bishops, in order to re-organize the Church of the sorely-tried land, he complied with all simplicity and even cheerfulness; and two years afterward he made a happy death at Ettenheim (1).

When the news of the tragic death of Louis XVI. reached our Pontiff, he assembled in Consistory all the cardinals then in Rome, and in an eloquent Allocution he praised the virtues of the murdered monarch, and demonstrated the iniquity of the sentence which had been executed. "How vivid was

queen. . . Animosity toward the queen caused a sympathy with the cardinal; and he shared that sympathy with whom? With Cagliostro." LACRETELLE; *History of France During the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vi. Paris, 1820.

(1) For interesting details concerning Cardinal de Rohan, see the *Memoires* of the Abbé Georgel, who had been his grand-vicar; and also the *Memoires* of Bezenval and of Mme. Campan.

his attachment to the Catholic faith! How profound was his submission to the will of God! How deeply he repented for having, though against his own will, signed his name to certain decrees which were contrary to the faith and discipline of the Church!" (1). The Pontiff recalled how the fury of the factions had been excited against Louis, because he had refused to sanction the deportation of the priests who would not swear to uphold the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The cardinals were reminded how this refusal was adduced at the pretended trial of the king; and how His Majesty had written to the bishop of Clermont, declaring that he would re-establish the Catholic Church in France, if he were liberated, and restored to the throne (2). Commenting on the last moments of Louis, the Pope exclaimed: "Oh! Day of triumph for Louis, to whom Heaven gave patience under persecution, and victory in the arms of death! We are confident that he changed his perishable crown, and the lilies which had faded so soon, for an immortal crown of lilies formed by angelic hands" (3). And in conclusion, the Pontiff thus apostrophized France: "France! France! Thou whom our predecessors termed the model of Catholic unity, the unshakable support of the faith! Thou who, in Christian fervor and in devotion to the Apostolic See, didst never follow other nations, but didst ever precede them!" (4). Two years of suspense had passed, when our Pontiff found that one of the chief results of the Revolution was to be a renewal of the perennial attempt to obliterate the temporal dominion of the Holy See—a dominion which, a thousand

(1) "*Quantus fuit in Catholicam religionem ardor animi, quæ veræ in Deum pietatis indicia! Qui dolor, quæ penitentia, quod, vel invitus, nomen suum actis disciplinæ, fideique orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ contrariis adscripsit!*"

(2) Malesherbes, who tried to believe that the Convention would be content with a deportation of the king, asked Louis, one day when he visited the prison, whether he would consent to wear the crown again, if the French people, returned to their senses, were to ask him to do so. Louis replied that one of his conditions would be that the Catholic religion should continue to be the religion of the state, other religions, of course, being tolerated.

(3) "*Oh! Dies Ludovico triumphalis, cui Deus dedit et in persecutione tolerantiam, et in passione victoriam; caducam coronam regiam, ac brevi evanescentia lilia, cum perenni alia corona ex immortalibus angelorum liliis contexta, feliciter illum commutasse confidimus.*"

(4) "*Gallia! Gallia! A prædecessoribus nostris appellata totius Christi unitat's speculum, et immotum fidei firmamentum, utpote quæ in fervore fidei Christianæ, ac devotione Apostolicæ Sedis, non sequeris alias, sed antecedis!*"

years previously, French valor and devotion had consolidated. In 1796, after the lightning-like campaign with which he had all but annihilated an Austro-Sardinian and an imperial German army, and had prostrated Northern Italy at the feet of the French Republic, the young General Bonaparte announced to his exultant troops that they were about to march on the Eternal City: "Soldiers, you have done much; but is there nothing else to be done? . . . The result of your victories will be the re-establishment of the Capitol; the erection of statues in honor of the heroes who made that Capitol celebrated; an awakening of the Roman people, now lethargized by so many centuries of slavery. You will be glorified for having changed the face of the most beautiful region in Europe." Secular historians will inform the reader how Pius VI. was forced to ratify the Armistice of Bologna, whereby he agreed to pay indemnities for the injuries suffered by French citizens, albeit through their own fault, in the Papal States; to give immediate freedom to all political prisoners; to close the papal ports to all powers with which France was at war; to deliver the citadel of Ancona to the conqueror; to consent to a French occupancy of the Legations of Bologna and of Ferrara; to pay to the French government twenty-one millions of francs; and to deliver to appositely appointed French commissioners a hundred works of art, and five hundred manuscripts, which those commissioners would select from among the inestimable treasures of the Vatican. In order to meet his enforced indebtedness to the despoiler, our Pontiff, with the advice and consent of the Sacred College, made use of the sum which Sixtus V. had providently reserved for emergencies, and which was still guarded in Castel Sant'Angelo. When it was found that this provision would satisfy only one-fourth of the French claim, the Pope appealed to the generosity of his subjects; and in order to set the example to all the religious establishments, upon which he called to spare only the plate which was immediately necessary for the Divine Sacrifice, he sent all his own gold and silver articles to the mint. The cardinals, prelates, churches, etc., did the same; the Roman patricians were not remiss, Prince Doria alone contributing

plate valued at half a million of scudi ; and the women sent their jewelry. By these sacrifices Pius VI. was enabled to pay the stipulated " indemnity " to the French Directory ; but when the papal envoy, Pierracchi, asked that body to enter into a definitive treaty of peace with the Holy See, he was told that he should subscribe an article setting forth that the Pope " disavowed, revoked, and annulled, all Bulls, Briefs, Monitories, Rescripts, and Decrees, which he had issued, concerning matters in France, from 1789 to that day." Since the proposed article manifestly implied a sanction of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, Pierracchi replied that his powers did not extend to religious matters ; whereupon he was informed that his diplomatic mission had terminated. The Directory now proceeded to render the position of the Pontiff more painful from a temporal point of view, hoping by such pressure to induce him to yield in spirituals. He was told that until he signed a definitive treaty of friendship with the Republic, he would be taxed 300,000 francs per month. Furthermore, he was to renounce the sovereignty of Avignon and the Venaissin ; to cede to France the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Castro, and the duchies of Benevento, Pontecorvo, and Ronciglione ; to admit French garrisons in Ancona and Civita Vecchia ; to treat all the foes of France as enemies to himself ; to recognize the territorial jurisdiction of French diplomatic and consular agents in their establishments ; and finally he was to sanction the article which had been submitted to Pierracchi. Pius VI. rejected this ultimatum, and appealed for aid to the cabinet of Vienna, which was still endeavoring to withstand the onslaughts of the French. While the Directory was threatening the Pontiff, its general in Italy fancied that His Holiness might be brought to terms without the use of force ; and he attempted to negotiate with Cardinal Alexander Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara. We subjoin the reply which Bonaparte received from His Eminence. " The Supreme Pontiff, the depositary on earth of those maxims which Jesus Christ exhibited in Himself to His disciples and to the whole world, has always sought means whereby peace and harmony could be enjoyed by all Christendom ; and he has made, for

that end, every sacrifice which he could possibly make. ... The success of your army in Italy has blinded your government. Not satisfied with having shorn the lamb to the skin, they would now devour it. They call on the Pope to sacrifice his soul, and the souls committed to his care, by an entire destruction of the principles which form the foundation of the Christian religion, the Gospel, and the discipline of the Church. ... After begging the Directory to arrange matters in a reasonable manner, the court of Rome has been forced to prepare for war. Let Europe judge as to the instigator of that war. ... Your army is formidable ; but you yourself know that it is not invincible. We shall oppose to it our means, our constancy, the confidence of a good cause, and above all, the help of God which we hope to have. We know that incredulists and modern philosophers mock at spiritual weapons ; but if it should please God to permit a case when those arms would be adopted, undoubtedly your phalanxes would have a fatal experience of their efficacy." The campaign of 1797 was a series of prodigious exploits on the part of Bonaparte. On Jan. 14 he annihilated the better part of the Austrian forces at Rivoli ; a few days afterward, he compelled another Austrian army to surrender before Mantua ; and then he dictated to Wurmser the terms on which that general was allowed to capitulate. Then entering the States of the Church, he defeated the small pontifical army at Faenza, and on Feb. 10 he was in Ancona. The Pontiff perceived that he must yield in all matters that were not positively forbidden by his conscience. The Treaty of Tolentino followed ; and since Bonaparte drafted and signed it without any consultation with the Directory, the document contained no allusion to that clause on which the men of Paris would have insisted, and which no Pope would have ratified, in any possible contingency—the revocation of all the papal pronouncements on French affairs since 1789. But the treaty was a severe blow to the Holy See. The Pope ceded Avignon and the Venaissin, as well as the Legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna ; and he promised to pay ten additional millions of francs to the Republic (1). The Direc-

(1) On Feb. 13, four days after the signing of the Treaty of Tolentino, Bonaparte issued

tory ratified the treaty, and sent Joseph Bonaparte, brother of its general, as ambassador to the Vatican. Joseph immediately began to plot for the utter abolition of the Pope's secular dominion; his palace became a rendezvous for all the conspirators whom the armistice of June 23, 1796, had freed from prison, and for the agents whom the Directory, without any affectation of secrecy, had sent to Rome to excite revolution. One of these agents, General Duphot, who was affianced to the sister-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte (1), precipitated his own death and the catastrophe of the reign of Pius VI. by his foolhardiness. On Dec. 28, 1797, while various demagogues were perorating to hastily collected crowds in different parts of the city on the glories of ancient Rome and of modern republican France, a band of revolutionists, headed by Duphot with sword in hand, issued from the Palazzo Corsini, where Joseph Bonaparte was residing, and began to shout seditious cries. A pontifical platoon soon advanced toward them, and its officer ordered them to surrender their weapons. They paid no attention to the command; but with cries of "*Vive la République!*" marched

a proclamation in reference to the French priests then resident in the Papal States, which is interesting as an indication that he did not sympathize with the murderous measures of those whom he was serving for his own purposes, and as a proof that the Directory was already dominated by the victorious soldier who was soon to destroy it. He sent from his headquarters at Macerata a proclamation, addressed to all the French authorities in the Papal States, declaring that while the deported French priests could not, according to the law, return to France, nothing prohibited their remaining in the territories conquered by the French armies. As for himself, he was "well satisfied with the conduct of the French priests" who were then in Italy; he authorized them to remain; he forbade, under very severe penalties, any molestation of them; and he ordered that fifteen francs per month should be given to each of them. This proclamation alarmed a government which had decreed, by its law of Oct. 26, 1796, the penalty of death against any French deported priest who, in the countries conquered by the French, should take any part in a meeting of *émigrés*. Bonaparte justified his course to the Directory in these words: "It is better for these priests to be in Italy; here they will be of use to us, for they are less fanatical than the Italian priests, and they will enlighten the populations who are being incited against us. They weep when they meet us; how can we avoid pitying them in their misfortunes?" GABOIRD; *History of the Revolution*, vol. v., p. 234. Paris, 1850.

(1) When the Bonaparte family arrived in Marseilles, they formed the acquaintance of a rich merchant named Clary, who had two beautiful daughters. In time Joseph Bonaparte married the elder; Napoleon would have espoused the other, but the father said that one Bonaparte in his family sufficed. Eugénie Clary accompanied her sister and brother-in-law to Rome; and she was to have been married to Duphot on Dec. 28, the day following what the conspirators fondly hoped would be the triumph of the Roman revolution. In 1798, Eugénie married Bernadotte. When Napoleon made this soldier king of Sweden, he became a Lutheran; but Eugénie insisted on having her Catholic chapel in the palace, and her own chaplain. At the baptism of the prince-imperial, the son of Napoleon III., Eugénie was the godmother, Pius IX. being the godfather.

toward the Tiber. The papal soldiers fired; Duphot fell dead; his companions dispersed. Joseph Bonaparte affected to believe that his life was not safe in the papal capital, and departed for Florence. The news of this event was received by the Directory with every manifestation of righteous indignation. The papal ambassador, Marquis Massimo, was arrested and cast into prison; and General Berthier, who commanded the French forces in Italy in the absence of Bonaparte, was ordered to march on Rome. Berthier announced by proclamation that he was about to enter the Eternal City, "with the sole object of punishing the assassins of Duphot"; and having marched out of Ancona on Jan. 30, 1798, he camped on Monte Mario, opposite St. Peter's, on Feb. 10. Pius VI. made no resistance; and on the next day the French army entered Rome with all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." The republican general lodged himself in the palace of the Quirinal; and immediately despatched General Cervoni, whom he had made *commandant de place*, to the Vatican with assurances that "the person and authority of the Pope would be respected." But on the 15th, Cervoni erected a tree of liberty on the Capitol, and called on all good Romans to salute it with cries for the Roman Republic. Then Berthier, escorted by four hundred dragoons, ascended the Capitol, and declared that "according to the intentions of the French Directory, he recognized the independence of the Roman Republic." Cervoni then repaired again to the Vatican, informed Pius VI. that he was no longer a temporal monarch, but that his spiritual authority would remain. "No human power can abolish that authority," replied the Pontiff. The tricolor was then raised over the Vatican, and above the statue of the archangel on Castel Sant'Angelo; to the accompaniment of fife and drum French troops entered, and mounted guard at every exit and at the ends of every corridor of the Pope's palace; and in the Square of St. Peter's the rabble cried: "Death to tyrants!" Then began the sacking of the Vatican (1). On Feb. 17,

(1) The superintendent of this work was Haller, a Swiss Protestant, commissary-general of the French army. When this brute entered the Pope's private apartment, he noticed that His Holiness wore two rings; and he immediately demanded them. The Pope handed over the more valuable one without remark, for it was his personal property; but he

the Pope was informed that the French Directory and the new Roman Government had determined that his presence in Rome or in any part of the Roman States could not be tolerated; that if he would not depart voluntarily, they would expel him violently. From that moment no person was permitted to enter the papal apartments without the express sanction of the French officer in charge. On the morning of the 20th, an hour before sunrise, Pius VI., accompanied by his faithful *maestro di camera*, Caracciolo; by Rossi, his physician; by a secretary, Marotti; and by sixteen others who were willing to follow him into exile; was "escorted" by two French commissaries, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, on his forced journey to Tuscany. He arrived at the Tuscan frontier on the 23d, and there he learned that the grand-duke, fearing to offend the French Directory, had ordered that no honor should be paid to him, but that he should be allowed to reside in Siena, in the convent of the Augustinians. In this modest establishment, therefore, the Supreme Pontiff and his companions remained for three months; he who ought to have been their grateful and gracious host proving himself to be a worthy nephew of

begged to be allowed to retain the other, the "ring of the fisherman." Haller threatened to take it by force, and the Pontiff handed it to him. When it was found, however, that this mark of the pontifical dignity was of little pecuniary value, it was returned to the owner. Haller robbed the venerable Pius even of his snuff. Espying a curiously fashioned urn, he demanded to know its meaning; and when he learned that it contained the Pope's annual supply of snuff, which the king of Spain always sent to His Holiness, the contemptible rascal sampled it, pronounced it excellent, and took the whole of it (BALDASSARI; *ubi supra*, pt. i., ch. 4—MICHAUD; *Universal Biography*, art. *Berthier*. Paris, 1801-1857). During this "perquisition," only money, jewels, and other easily carried valuables, were stolen from the Vatican; but when the Pontiff had been dragged into exile, the vultures seized on everything portable. First choice was accorded to certain favored speculators; the rest was sold to the Jews. The pillage extended to every church and public establishment in Rome; and nothing, sacred or profane, was spared. Certain officers of the French army, meeting in the devastated church of the Pantheon, sent a formal protest against this sacrilege and vandalism to Berthier; declaring that such excesses cried to heaven for vengeance; that all men of honor implored him to put an end to the scandals, and to cause restitution to be made; that it was a matter of astonishment that while the French soldiers were in want of clothes, and had not been paid for months, civil functionaries should be allowed to enrich themselves with the spoils of Rome; that, finally, they would no longer be instruments of brigandage. But Berthier found it impossible to check the robbers who had accompanied the French army, who wore the tricolor cockade, and who, although from every country in Europe, were loud in their claims to French citizenship; still less was he able to dominate, without risk of injuring French prospects in Italy, the men whom he had raised to supremacy in the Roman Republic. He resigned in favor of Massena; that officer also resigned, after two days of struggle against the upstarts in the Capitol; and under his successor, Dallemagne, things were allowed to run their course,

Joseph II. by not paying one visit to his exalted guest, and by affording no means for his subsistence. Fortunately for His Holiness, there was at hand a prelate who was both able and willing to fulfil the duty which the scion of the Hapsburgs neglected. Mgr. Despuig y Daneto, archbishop of Seville, who had been exiled from Spain by Godoy, the "Prince of the Peace," and had followed His Holiness from Rome, learned from the papal *maggiordomo* the amount of the expenses of the household, and at the end of each month he gave the money to the official, stipulating only that the Pontiff should never know of the matter (1). During the month of May the French agents in Rome made many complaints to the grand-duke that the Pope was entirely too near to his olden dominions; and an earthquake having damaged the Augustinian convent in Siena on the 26th, His Holiness was removed to Florence on June 1. The Carthusian monastery was assigned as a residence to the little pontifical court; and then Ferdinand III. made his first and sole visit to the Vicar of Christ, whose presence honored and blessed his dominions. His Imperial and Royal Highness was so obsequious to the French Republic, that he gave orders that no persons, the nuncio, Odeschalchi, alone excepted, should hold any intercourse with his illustrious guest; and he received his reward on March 25, 1799, when a French army entered Florence, and having informed him that he had ceased to reign, sent him to his German home. The Pontiff was then informed that the Directory had ordered his removal to France. The best physicians, sent by the Directory to report on the physical condition of His Holiness, had declared that considering his age and weakness from other causes, a journey across the Alps at that season of the year would probably prove fatal; nevertheless, on March 28, at three in the morning, in order to escape the indignation of the Florentines, a squadron of dragoons conducted the Father of Christendom toward the land of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. We refer the reader to the pages of Baldassari, who was one of the few compan-

(1) This fact is recorded by Baldassari, who joined the Pontiff after he had been removed to Florence.

ions of His Holiness, and who remained with him to the last, for a description of this journey; we merely note that Pius VI. bore with edifying resignation his physical sufferings and the shameful indignities which his enemies heaped upon him, and that the reverent commiseration of the populations showed him that the Papacy was simply passing through a transient storm (1). Not until April 30 did this "Apostolic Pilgrim," as St. Malachy is said to have designated him, find himself on French soil. At Briançon the weakness of the Pontiff compelled a pause of fifty days; but on June 27 orders arrived from Paris to conduct him to Valence, the place of his definitive imprisonment, "dead or alive." His Holiness arrived at Valence on July 14; and in order to obviate all inconveniences arising from the assemblage of thousands of the faithful who were already commencing to pour into the city for the purpose of saluting the Vicar of Christ, a proclamation of the Directory, announcing that Pope Pius VI. was "a prisoner of state," was placarded throughout the city. From that moment, no person could speak to the august captive, unless in the presence of a representative of the Directory. On the 22d an order from Paris enjoined on the commander of the citadel, in which the Pope and his few companions were interned, to transfer his charges to Dijon; and it was carefully noted that this journey was to be made "at the Pope's own expense," and that the party should make no pause at Lyons. The order could not be executed. Preparations for the journey were being made, when it was discovered that the lower part of the Pontiff's body was paralyzed, and that he would soon be beyond the reach of either human or diabolical malice. On Aug. 27,

(1) At the town of Romans an immense multitude gathered around the hostelry where the Pope and his guards were resting, and with loud cries begged His Holiness to show himself, and to impart his blessing. The commissary in charge declared that he would not allow the Pontiff "to officiate in his presence," since His Holiness had not taken the Oath of Hatred to Royalty, which the Republic demanded of every citizen, and especially of every ecclesiastical functionary. He tried to disperse the crowd; but when he saw that his soldiers would be overpowered, he permitted the ceremony. Then he deposited in the registry of the municipality a sworn declaration that he had yielded to compulsion, not to any anti-republican sentiment. As the next day was Sunday, and he feared that the people would insist on the Pope's being allowed to celebrate Mass for them, he hastily resumed the journey. This incident is but one of many which are recorded by Baldassari in illustration of the fact that the hearts of the people were by no means all in sympathy with the aspirations of those who had obtained the mastery over them.

Mgr. Spina, archbishop of Corinth, administered the Holy Viaticum; the august penitent having caused himself to be vested in his full pontifical robes, and to be placed in a sitting posture, since to kneel was an impossibility. When the Blessed Sacrament was raised before him, he pronounced this prayer in a voice which was heard throughout the room: "My Lord Jesus Christ! Behold here in Thy presence Thy own Vicar, the Pastor of the Catholic Fold, an exile, a captive, and dying most willingly for his flock. In this extremity, I ask of Thee two favors, and I ask for them from Thee as from my Father and my Master. The first is that Thou wouldst accord to all my enemies, and to each one of them in particular, Thy full forgiveness. The second is that Thou wouldst restore to Rome the Chair of Peter and the pontifical throne; that Thou wouldst restore peace to Europe; and that, above all, Thou wouldst restore to France, which is so dear to me, and which has so well deserved of the Church, Thy holy religion in all its plenitude" (1). On the 28, the Pontiff demanded Extreme Unction; and during the entire function he recited or responded to all the prayers, continually kissing a little crucifix which he had brought from Rome, and which he grasped until he drew his last breath. His last words were: "Lord, forgive them!" and his last act was to raise his right arm, and impart the triple benediction.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOSEPHISM. SCIPIO RICCI AND THE PSEUDO-SYNOD OF PISTOJA.
THE QUASI-SCHISMATIC CONGRESS OF EMS.

Before we enter on the subject of the contest between Pius VI. and the German emperor, Joseph II., we must observe that it was during the reign of that prince's mother, Maria Teresa, that a beginning was given to those ecclesiastical "reforms," on the actuation of which he relied for the praise of posterity. Maria Teresa was a religious woman; nevertheless, she yielded considerably to the baneful influence of two

(1) NOPARI; *Life of Pius VI.* Padua, 1840.

Dutch Jansenists, Van Swieten and Haen, whom she had imported and installed at court as physicians-in-ordinary to the imperial family. By their advice, a commission was appointed for the purpose of effecting a "reformation" of studies, especially of philosophy and theology, in the hereditary states of the House of Hapsburg. The head of this commission was Stoch, dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Vienna; and he was soon made titular bishop of Rosone, first member of the Council of Studies, and also first member of the Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs. In 1769 Stoch published, with the authorization of the empress, a summary of doctrine which was more heterodox than that of the French "appellants," and which every aspirant to the theological doctorate would be obliged to defend. Stoch, Van Swieten, Haen, and a few other innovators whom they had drawn into their meshes, were not satisfied with the comparative orthodoxy of Gallicanism; they did not ascribe infallibility even to the Universal Church, unless in such matters of faith as it proclaimed *with unanimity*. They contended that sovereigns had the right to convoke National Councils, and they insisted that the first eight General Councils had been convoked *by the sole authority of the emperors*. They held that the civil ruler had the right to prohibit the promulgation of any ecclesiastical law which he might deem injurious to his power; that the victims of ecclesiastical authority might and ought to appeal to the state; that sovereigns could establish *diriment* impediments of matrimony, *ratione contractus* (1). Care was taken for the wide circulation of Jansenist books; and promotion was given only to such professors as inculcated the new doctrines. At the instigation of Stoch, Maria Teresa appointed an avowed Jansenist, the Abbé de Ternes, as catechist to her children; and the fruits of his teaching are recorded in history. Haen even induced the empress to write to the Pope in favor of the schismatics of Utrecht. When Joseph II. was relieved of all restraint by the death of his mother in 1780, he resolved to consolidate the "reforms" which had

(1) *Synopsis of the Doctrine Which Candidates for the Doctorate in Theology Must Defend*. Vienna, 1769. This programme was also extended to the schools of theology in the Netherlands.

been hitherto tentative. By an edict of April 2, 1781, religious were forbidden to obey any foreign superiors; to receive any "visitors" from said superiors; to attend any Chapters of their orders held in foreign states; to send money abroad, even for the purchase of such books as their duties rendered necessary; or to leave the hereditary states of the Hapsburgs without the imperial permission. On April 9, another edict forbade the recognition of any Bull or Rescript from Rome which had not received the imperial *placet*: and shortly afterward, a special edict against the Bulls *In Coena Domini* and *Unigenitus* was issued (1). On Sept. 4, recourse to Rome for *any* matrimonial dispensations was prohibited; and His Majesty ordered his bishops to grant all such dispensations, when there was good reason for such procedure. When the papal nuncio, Garampi, informed Joseph that the prelates could not obey this injunction, he received from the monarch an autograph letter in which the following passage is read: "If the bishops think that they cannot obey my edict, let them resign their sees; I shall replace them with more docile subjects." The reader would be wearied, were we to detail the less radical, but equally vexatious measures, which this imperial pseudo-reformer adopted—measures which justified that other, but less ridiculous crowned philosopher, Frederick II. of Prussia, to term him "my brother, the sacristan," who had the habit of "taking his first step after the second." Not satisfied with the suppression of convents and the abolition of certain holy days, he became an ecclesiastical master of ceremonies, prescribing the manner in which the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was to be given, the order for the recitation of the Divine Office, and even the number of candles which were to be lighted at the various functions. The general conduct of Joseph II. in regard to the Church is admirably illustrated by the course which he pursued when Cardinal Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, the archbishop of Olmutz in Moravia, and the bishop of Brunn,

(1) An edict of April 1, 1781, announced that no *placet* for an episcopal consecration would be granted, unless the candidate swore fidelity to the emperor in these terms: "I swear to obey *every* decree, law, and ordinance of His Majesty, without tergiversation and without exception; and I swear to cause them to be obeyed by my subordinates."

complained of the innovating tendencies of certain professors in the seminary of Brunn who had been appointed in 1778 by Maria Teresa. The chief accuser of these professors was Vetter, archdeacon of Olmutz and rector of the seminary; and when his charges had been investigated, the prelates of Olmutz and Brunn laid them before the Aulic Council. That body appointed a commission of inquiry, composed of some clergymen of the two dioceses and several laymen designated by the government; and these commissioners reported that it was evident that the inculpated professors had taught the theories of the French "appellants." The meddlesome Joseph reserved the decision to himself; and on April 25, 1781, he pronounced the following judgment: "Count von Vetter, *having been proved juridically to be a man of bad character*, is dismissed from the superintendency of the seminary of Brunn, and is deprived of his archdeaconate. The two ecclesiastical members of the commission of inquiry, *who have dared to defend the Bulls In Coena Domini and Unigenitus*, and to blame the superiors of the seminary for having opposed those Bulls, will be reprimanded severely, and the one of them who is now chancellor of the University of Olmutz will be deprived of his position. All preachers who have condemned these superiors are interdicted from preaching at any time hereafter, and in any place. The archbishop of Olmutz and the bishop of Brunn, who have been drawn into this affair by the malice of their theologians, are ordered to select for advisers men of greater wisdom, men who have made their theological and canonical studies in our Austrian Universities, and who are *therefore impregnated with good principles*: otherwise His Majesty will be compelled to appoint certain persons to see that sound doctrine is taught in the seminaries, and announced at the examinations for ordination. The Bulls *In Coena Domini* and *Unigenitus* never having been received, just as *they never will be received*, in the states subject to the House of Austria, are to be erased from all the liturgical (?) books in which they are found; and the provincial authorities will use extraordinary care in the execution of this order. The Universities will abandon

all party spirit ; and will never speak of Jansenism or of Molinism (1). In the matter of prohibition of books, the guide will be the catalogue prepared by the censors of Vienna ; and therefore the bishops will not presume to forbid books which are generally allowed. In order to vindicate the reputation of the calumniated seminary, His Majesty declares, in a special decree to the government of Moravia, that he has been gratified on finding that there is no foundation for the charges which have been made against the superiors and students ; and since these ecclesiastics have been calumniated even in Bohemia and Silesia, the decree for Moravia will be promulgated also in these two provinces, and it will be communicated to the bishops, with the recommendation that they *voluntarily* confer Orders on the candidates whom the superiors of said seminary present to them. Since Cardinal Migazzi has interfered in this affair, he shall receive a severe reprimand ; he shall be ordered to take care of his own diocese, and of his own seminary ; and since his conduct indicates that good principles are unknown in his seminary, His Eminence shall be compelled to render an exact account of that institution, of the number of its students, of the manner of their training, of their domestic discipline, of the doctrines which they hear, and of the books which they are advised or forbidden to read. The spiritual father of the seminary of Bruun is appointed superintendent of that of Vienna ; and in order to provide properly for the other seminaries in the Austrian states, we command all the bishops to render to us an account of their condition " (2). The authors of the *Art of Verifying Dates*

(1) In reference to this clause, a special decree was sent to the authorities of Moravia, on May 4, ordering the civil tribunals to be scrupulously attentive to its execution, and holding them responsible for any neglect or delay in the matter.

(2) This decree is given at length and naturally it is greatly praised, by the Jansenist journal of Paris, the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1782, p. 130. We seize this occasion to say a few words concerning this famous periodical ; since, despite its sectarian spirit, it is invaluable to the student of that period. It contains almost as many lies as sentences ; but precisely for that reason, it gives the reader an accurate idea of the sect whose mouthpiece it was for sixty years. It was founded in 1729 by a priest named Fontaine de La Roche, and it appeared every week. During the first few years of its existence, no one knew where it was printed ; some thought that the press was hidden on one of the boats which navigated the Seine. It represented Mgr. de Vintimille, the archbishop of Paris, as " the devil's advocate " ; Fénelon was " an author of no consequence, who could write anything, because no one would take the trouble to contradict him " ; it praised only the Jansenists, and such

assert that these "reformatory" decrees of Joseph II. encountered no opposition from the clergy of the hereditary states of the Hapsburgs. It is certain that Cardinal Migazzi repeatedly protested against them; and that seven Hungarian bishops, with Cardinal Bathyani, the primate, at their head, memorialized the emperor, insisting that he passed the limits of secular jurisdiction. It is also certain that when Joseph visited the Low Countries in June, 1781, Cardinal Frankenberg, archbishop of Malines, protested firmly against the imperial pretensions, especially in view of the fact that the crowned meddler allowed perfect freedom of circulation to Protestant and atheistic literature (1).

Pope Pius VI. wrote repeatedly to Joseph II., urging him to abandon a course so unworthy of a Christian sovereign; but neither arguments nor prayers availed against philosophic arrogance, sustained by the brute force of secular power. Finally, when the emperor claimed, *as an inalienable prerogative of his crown*, the right to confer all the bishoprics and abbeys in Lombardy, a pretension which was really a revival of the War of Investitures which the Hohenstaufen had so persistently waged seven centuries previously, the Pontiff resolved to perorate his cause in a personal interview with his obstinate son; and in 1782 he made that celebrated voyage to Vienna which resulted merely in an exhibition of affected politeness on the part of Joseph, and

religious as deserted their convents, "through motives of piety." Petitpied voiced the judgment of the more moderate of the Jansenists, when he styled it the work of a "calumniator, a madman, and a rebel" (*Letter of Duquet to an Oratorian*, 1735); and nevertheless, the sectarians, to a man, encouraged the paper by subscriptions and by a systematic, though clandestine, distribution of its issues. Only once, during the reign of Louis XV. did the police succeed in arresting one of the agents of this journal, a woman who had in her possession eight hundred copies. When interrogated as to whether she did not know that the king had prohibited the paper, she replied that God had ordered its circulation. Even the parliament of Paris was disgusted with the virulent mendacity of the *Nouvelles*, and condemned its first five numbers to be burnt by the hangman.

(1) Frankenberg drew the attention of the emperor to five points: firstly, to the necessity of defending the Bull *Unigenitus*, "a decision of the Holy See in a matter of faith, accepted by all the bishops of Christendom, excepting only a few recalcitrants"; secondly, to the report that Joseph was about to concede the right of public worship to Protestants in the Low Countries; thirdly, to the public subscription to a complete edition of the works of Voltaire, which had just been opened in Brussels, and to a lottery projected for the encouragement of the publication; fourthly, to the *History of the Two Indies* by Raynal; and fifthly, to the embarrassment caused to the bishops by the imperial edicts on religious, "the prelates being unable to receive jurisdiction over religious from the emperor, or to contest the papal right to exempt those persons from their jurisdiction—a right which was recognized by the Universal Church."

on the part of the chancellor, Kaunitz, of that downright boorishness which was natural to him (1). Scarcely had Pius VI. returned to his capital, when he heard that an imperial edict, confirming nearly every enactment against which he had protested in Vienna, had been published in Milan. On Dec. 23, 1783, Joseph II. arrived unexpectedly in Rome. He had travelled incognito, and he declared that he came in order to return the visit with which the Pope had honored him. If we credit Bourgoing, and there is no reason why we should not, since his assertions agree with the known characters of the personages involved in his recital, the object of this incumbent of the throne of the Holy Roman Empire was one which has troubled much wiser brains than he possessed, both before and since his time—the destruction of the papal power. Before he made himself known, says the revolutionary memoirist, Joseph wrote to Azara, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, asking for an interview on that evening. He then made a short visit to the Pontiff; and proceeding to the Spanish embassy, he closeted himself with Azara for several hours. “Since that interview,” says Bourgoing, “it has transpired that in it Joseph unfolded, with extreme vehemence, a plan which was to astonish Europe. He was about to withdraw his subjects entirely from the Roman obedience; he laughed at the thunders of the Vatican. . . . They would term him a schismatic; but that troubled him little. He developed these ideas with extreme heat and vivacity. With great difficulty Azara was able to speak at all; and then he manifested the inconveniences of so rash an enterprise. The results might be very unfortunate for the prince himself. Ought he not consider the sentiments of the greater part of his subjects? And were not his intentions too violent? . . . These arguments, emitted by a man whom the emperor esteemed, and whose principles and intentions he could not suspect, produced a deep impression; and he departed with more conciliatory disposi-

(1) There was a measure of truth in the remark of Don Pasquino, concerning this journey, that “the Pope went to Vienna to sing a Mass, without a *Gloria* for himself, and without a *Credo* for the emperor.” The reader will find the details of the journey in the Allocution which the Pontiff delivered to the Sacred College on his return; and in the narrative of Dini, the master of ceremonies who accompanied His Holiness; both given in the *Bullarium*.

tions." Before his final farewell to the Eternal City, the emperor had many conferences with Pius VI.; and they came to an agreement in regard to the dioceses and abbeys of Lombardy. The Pope conceded "to the dukes of Milan and of Mantua" the power of nominating to the bishoprics, abbeys, etc., in those duchies. But the most worthy persons were to be appointed; parishes and prebends were to be conferred by *concursus*; and the bishops-elect were to undergo an examination at Rome (1). No sooner, however, had Joseph returned to Vienna, than he entered upon a course which bade fair to eventuate in the enterprise which he had announced to Azara as the main object of his ambition. The German and Dutch jurists, to whom Joseph eagerly deferred, feigned to believe that sovereigns have an originary right to control the marriage contract; that the power exercised by the Church in regard to that contract is derived solely from the concession accorded by the civil power; and that therefore the emperor could validly and licitly reserve to himself the decision of all questions concerning the validity of a marriage contract which had been ratified in his dominions. On Sept. 18, 1784, there appeared an imperial edict, in which, although it was proclaimed that His Majesty intended to consider marriage merely in its aspect as a civil contract, nevertheless, there were certain impediments which alone he would recognize; and that he would uphold the validity of all marriages which were not affected by the said imperially recognized impediments. He would take no cognizance of the impediment of spiritual affinity, or of that of natural affinity beyond the second degree. However, he countenanced the impediments of Orders and solemn vows; and he insisted that a marriage should be solemnized before the parish priest of one of the contracting parties. Matrimonial causes were to be considered by the civil tribunals alone; no ecclesiastical judge should dare to pronounce concerning the validity of a marriage, the legitimacy of children, or any other matter connected with what was termed a "civil contract." Absolute divorce was to be granted to non-Catholics, in cases of adultery, attempt

(1) *Bullarium of Pius VI.*, no. 528.

to murder, "capital enmity," invincible aversion, and malicious abandonment. In 1786 Joseph suppressed all the diocesan seminaries in his hereditary states, compelling the bishops to send their candidates for the priesthood to certain governmental institutions established *ad hoc*, in which all the professors—most of them notoriously heterodox—were appointed by the civil authorities. When a new system of theology was introduced by the imperial presumed expert into the University of Louvain, many of the professors bowed to the crowned source of ecclesiastical science; but all the bishops of the Low Countries resisted, and one of them, the bishop of Namur, was banished for the sake of example. The universal indignation of both people and clergy induced the imperial agents in that region to close the governmental seminaries; but in 1788, despite the protests of the Estates and of many of the bishops, Joseph reopened the obnoxious institutions. Many of the professors of Louvain were exiled; and most of the students refused to listen to the lecturers who expounded the principles of Febronius and Eybel. Hainaut, Brabant, Flanders, and Namur revolted; a serious war began; and the emperor begged for the mediation of the Pontiff. It is difficult to discover the extent of the complicity of the clergy in this insurrection; the imperial ministers reproached both the secular priests and the religious with having furthered the outbreak "in the pulpit and in the confessional" (1), but it is certain that all the known leaders were laymen. Pius VI. complied with the wish of the prince; but his words produced little effect, since the religious effervescence of the insurgents had become involved with political aspirations (2). Joseph II. did not live to see his authority restored in

(1) *Declaration of Joseph II.* on Oct. 13 and 19, 1789; in the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* of 1790, p. 361.

(2) Not only had each state proclaimed its disavowal of allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, but a bond of offensive and defensive union had been formed in the last days of 1789. On Jan. 7, 1790, the first Assembly of the "United Belgian States" (*Les États-Belges-Unis*) was inaugurated with religious ceremonies, and the archbishop of Malines was elected its president. On Jan. 10, a formal Act of Confederation was adopted, the following being its principal clauses. "The United Belgian States form and concentrate in themselves a sovereign power, which is limited to their mutual defence, the right of war and peace, and the conclusion of alliances. . . . For the exercise of this sovereign power, there shall be a Congress, composed of deputies from each province, which shall be

the Belgian provinces; for he was called to his account on Feb. 20, 1790.

The family of the Medici having become extinct in 1737, the grand-duchy of Tuscany was assigned by the signatories of the Treaty of Vienna to Francis, duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Teresa, and afterward Holy Roman emperor; force having constituted right, and the powers having studiously ignored that the Tuscans had recovered their self-sovereignty by the disappearance of the family to whose rule they had voluntarily submitted themselves. The first years of the reign of Francis were comparatively peaceful; but from 1751 to 1763, Rucellai, the Secretary for the Rights of the Crown, to whom he had entrusted the administration, made many assaults on the liberty of the Church. In 1763, Leopold, the second son of Francis, mounted the Tuscan throne; and then Rucellai became omnipotent. Leopold was disposed to imitate his imperial brother, Joseph II.; and inspired by Rucellai, he introduced into Tuscany nearly all the "reforms" which had been excogitated by that sovereign. In 1780, the see of Pistoja was conferred on Scipio Ricci, a kinsman of that Lorenzo who had been general of the Jesuits at the time of their suppression. In view of the later conduct of this prelate, it is interesting to note that in his youth he thought seriously of becoming a Jesuit, chiefly because of a saying, which some attributed to St. Francis Borgia, that no member of the Society would be damned. The future personification of Jansenism in Italy had been remarkably devoted to the saints, especially to that canonized member of his own family, Catharine dei Ricci. Nor were the earlier reformatory essays of Ricci at all worthy of blame; we must praise the bishop who disciplined the inmates of certain nunneries who had reduced to practice the theories of an exaggerated Quietism. But it soon became evident that the abolition of real evils, the correction of real abuses, could not satisfy the zeal of Ricci, or rather that of his master, Leopold. He introduced into his diocese modifications of the liturgy which were redolent of the most extreme Jan-

styled the Sovereign Congress. The united provinces will always profess the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion; and they will preserve inviolably the unity of the Church." *Mercure de France*, Feb., 1790.

senism. Thus he would have only one altar in a church, so that there could not be a simultaneous celebration of several Masses, a custom which had been encouraged, he said, "by ignorance, and by the interests of the ministers of the sanctuary"; he abolished the use of "privileged altars"; he undertook a crusade against the veneration of relics and of "miraculous images"; and he tried to introduce the vernacular into the liturgy. By the advice of Ricci, the grand-duke sent to all the bishops of Tuscany a new *Catechism* which was to replace that of Bellarmine, and the tenor of which was thoroughly Jansenistic. It was by the same advice that Leopold ordered that secular priests, not regulars, should be confessors to nunneries; that the property of all religious establishments should be administered by persons who were independent of the ordinaries; that all criminal causes of clerics should be considered in the grand-ducal courts; and that no ecclesiastical censure or admonition should be pronounced without the permission of the sovereign. Ricci issued pastorals against the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and he minimized the significance of Indulgences; in these and other writings he proposed the "appellants" of France as models to his clergy and people. He termed Quesnel "a learned man, and a pious martyr to truth"; the Abbé Racine, Gourlin, and other Jansenist leaders were "luminaries of the Church." He founded at Pistoja a printing house for the reproduction of Jansenist works; and announced that his object was "*to reveal the unjust pretensions of that spiritual Babylon which has subverted and metamorphosed the entire economy of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of the communion of saints, and of the independence of princes.*" His mansion became the rendezvous for a number of crotchety ecclesiastics, who, with affected or problematically real sincerity, decried the Bull *Unigenitus*, lauded the "appellants," and even defended the position of the schismatics of Utrecht. One need not hesitate in answering the question which Picot puts to himself: "What spirit of discord prompted Ricci to introduce into Italy disputations, about which, as yet, she knew nothing whatever; to resuscitate writings which could interest malignity alone; to disturb with his innovations a

church which was tranquil in its faith?" In vain did Pius VI. write to the inflated fantastic, urging him to return to the ways of truth and of common sense; the poor weakling, whom Cantù rather generously terms "an honest mediocrity," replied with additional innovations (1). In the early days of 1786, Leopold sent to all the Tuscan bishops a circular, inviting them to hold diocesan synods for the purpose of considering a number of reforms which his grand-ducal intelligence deemed necessary for the well-being of religion. "One of the chief objects of these synods will be to provide for a reformation of the *Breviaries* and *Missals*. . . . They will inquire into the utility of using the vernacular in the administration of the Sacraments. One of their most important duties will be to restore to the bishops those original rights which the Roman court has usurped; and they will point out how Rome has encroached on the jurisdiction of bishops by reserving certain dispensations to herself" (2). The first bishop to comply with this invitation, or order, was Ricci; and since he knew that he could not rely on a majority of his priests for an endorsement of his own and the grand-ducal sentiments, he invited a number of outsiders to assist at the synod—a proceeding which was a manifest violation of the Canons. He brought from Pavia the celebrated Tamburini, the most intrepid Jansenist in Italy, and perhaps the most learned in Europe; and he even made him promoter of the assembly. In his own *Memoirs*, as interpreted by De Potter, he plainly indicates that he prevented many of his priests from attending the synod, in some cases even having had recourse to imprisonment, in order that the desired majority might be assured. In his letter of convocation, Ricci took care to flatter his clergy, assuring them that "their submission to the episcopal ordinances, about to be

(1) The curious reader is referred for interesting details concerning the reformatory course of Ricci to the *Life of Ricci, Based on Manuscript Autographs of the Prelate* (Brussels, 1840), written by the celebrated Belgian apostate, Louis Antoine de Potter, author of a famous *History of Christianity*. But the work must be read with a discriminating eye; for we are told in its first lines that "he who wishes to prove that the Christian religion is badly calculated for the origination and nourishment of civic virtues, and that Catholicism is the most dangerous enemy of the social system, need only look for his evidence in the history of the Church."

(2) The *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* thinks that this circular "is worthy of Theodosius, Charlemagne, St. Louis, and St. Stephen of Hungary."

issued, would be due only in case that there would have been practiced full liberty of discussion"; a doctrine which Pius VI. afterward condemned as "false, rash, injurious to episcopal authority, subversive of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and favorable to the heresy of Arius." The priests were also informed that they were "judges of the faith"; and that this right of judgment "was *de jure proprio*, being derived from their ordination." But if the reader gives detailed attention to the *Acts* of the synod, he will not believe that they were discussed, decided, and drawn up, during the ten days of the synod's existence; he will opine that Ricci, aided by Tamburini, Vecchi, Guarisci, Monti, Bottieri, and Palmieri (outsiders *ejusdem furfuris*), had prepared the alleged synodal enactments before the assembly was opened.

The Pseudo-Synod of Pistoja was opened on Sept. 18, 1786. Since the spirit of Jansenism presided over its deliberations, it naturally adopted the Baian and Quesnellian distinction of two states and two loves; the idea of a dominant delectation on the part of grace; the theory of the omnipotence of grace; and that of the small efficacy of fear. As to indulgences, it was taught that they absolve only from ecclesiastical penances; that the scholastics invented the idea of a treasury of the merits of Christ, and that of the application of these merits to the souls of the dead. Concerning Sacramental Confession, the synod recognized no reservation of cases. In matter of censures, it was declared that excommunication produced only external effects. When they approached the Sacrament of Matrimony, the synodals besought the grand-duke to pronounce it a civil contract; although they insisted on the necessity of the sacerdotal benediction. They recognized the power of princes to establish impediments, and declared that "originally the sovereigns alone designated diriment impediments, and that the Church derived her present power in the premises from a concession of the civil power." The custom of giving an *honorarium* for the celebration of Mass was discouraged. Referring to the hierarchy, the synod declared that the bishops are vicars of Christ, and that they receive their faculties immediately from Christ; therefore no power (*excepting that*

of the state) can interfere with their diocesan rights. Just like the bishops, it is asserted, the priests can decide as to matters of faith. Touching the liturgy, it was decreed that there should be only one altar in each church; one image should not be venerated more than another; devotion to the Sacred Heart was condemned in most bitter terms; the Mass should be celebrated in the vernacular, and every part of the service should be recited in a loud voice. Of course, religious orders could not escape the attention of the "reformers"; therefore they were to be reduced to one, and in that one perpetual vows were not to be taken. The famous Four Articles of the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682 were adopted, and included in the synodal decree *De Fide*. While this precious body was "deliberating," Leopold was watching every movement that it made. When Marchetti "and other mischief-makers" (1) valiantly sustained the rights of the Apostolic See and the cause of dogmatic truth, he caused them to be removed from the synod; and when he found that a large number of the members objected to being "reformed," he devised the project of a "National Council," that is, of all the bishops of Tuscany, whom he hoped to gain over to his views. As a preparation for this Council, he summoned all the bishops to a conference in the Palazzo Pitti; but when he found the prelates invincibly attached to the Holy See, he resigned himself to wait for a development of the seed which had been sown in Pistoja. "In the meantime," says Cantù, "there appeared on the scene, besides the bishops and the courtiers, an actor who is sometimes deified as 'the people,' and sometimes despised as 'the mob.' Just as in Flanders, the religious innovations of Joseph II. had led to a furious outbreak, in which the professors of the new seminary were outraged, and which culminated in open insurrection; so in Tuscany the people, deeply attached to the religion of their ancestors, looked askance at the reforms of Ricci. Inflated by the atmosphere of the court, Ricci abolished practices which were dear to piety; for instance,

(1) Marchetti was the author of the best among the many works which have been written in criticism of the great work of Fleury. In the *Ami de la Religion*, vol. xxii., pp. 241 and 353, the reader will find two exhaustive articles by Picot, in which Marchetti's merits and faults are judicially presented.

the midnight function on Christmas Eve. When the people heard the Mass celebrated in Italian, and at the end heard the priest chanting: 'Go! Mass is finished!' an outburst of laughter resounded in the church. The books of piety which Ricci recommended were either torn to pieces, or thrown into the sewers. On the main door of the cathedral was affixed a placard, on which was read: 'Pray for our heretical bishop!' When it was rumored that Ricci was about to remove from the cathedral of Prato (1) the altar before which the cincture of Our Lady was specially honored, the people crowded into the edifice, chanting in the fashion which Ricci had prohibited; they burned his throne and his escutcheon (2), and all the new-fangled books; they restored to their places the relics which had been buried, and buried instead the pastorals of their bishop. The grand-duke punished twenty-eight of the rioters with public whippings; twenty-one were imprisoned; and seven were sent into the army; the prince declaring that he was not more severe, because of the intercession of Ricci" (3). On Aug. 28, 1794, Pius VI. issued his Dogmatic Bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, condemning eighty-five propositions which had been emitted at Pistoja. Seven of these were pronounced heretical; namely, that the doctrine and faith of Christ had become obscure in the Church; that the supreme ecclesiastical power was given to the Church, not to the Pope; that all bishops and priests receive their jurisdiction from the Church; that the coercive judicial power of the Church is an abuse; that the bishops receive from God every right and power necessary for the government of their dioceses, and that they cannot be deprived of those rights and powers (*unless by the state*); that reforms should be actuated by the bishop and his parish-priests in synod, the latter enjoying the "deliberative voice"; that in the better days of the Church, even the decrees and definitions of General Councils

(1) The diocese of Prato had been united to that of Pistoja.

(2) When Ricci erected another episcopal throne, he caused this inscription to be engraved on it: "To the perpetual disgrace of the people of Prato, who, on the night of May 20, 1787, through an excess of fanaticism, insulted their excellent bishop, burning his escutcheon and his throne; this new throne has been erected by order of the most pious and most just prince, Leopold."

(3) *Heretics of Italy*, vol. iii., p. 478. Turin, 1866.

were obligatory only when they had been accepted by the diocesan synods. The other propositions were stigmatized as respectively erroneous, subversive of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, false, rash, capricious, injurious to the Church and her authority, inducing contempt for the Sacraments and for pious practices, and offensive to the piety of the faithful. It was declared, in the censure of each proposition, whether it was condemned because it had been reprobated already in the works of Wyckliffe, Luther, Baius, Jansenius, or Quesnel; or because it was opposed to the Tridentine decrees; or because it detracted from the authority of General Councils. When the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* appeared, Ricci was no longer bishop of Pistoja; Leopold had become Holy Roman Emperor, and his successor on the Tuscan throne, Ferdinand III., had demanded and received the resignation of the innovator on May 28, 1791. Writing to Pius VI. in April, 1794, Ferdinand had been able to say: "Great as was the displeasure with which the people and clergy of Pistoja and Prato received the decrees of the Pistojan synod, that source of a thousand scandals and tumults; just as great was the applause accorded to the pastoral of Falchi, the new bishop, which abolished entirely the novelties which Ricci had tried to introduce" (1). Ricci continued, however, to perorate the cause of "reform." We find him tendering his services in favor of Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg, of whose schismatic efforts we shall soon treat. On March 10, 1794, he congratulates the Constitutional bishop, Gregoire, because, "thanks to him, a holy Christian philosophy is succeeding that superstition and irreligion which have afflicted the Church of Jesus Christ." Shortly afterward he writes to Pancieri, parish-priest of San Vitale: "I have never doubted that Rome is that Babylon, of which we read in the *Apocalypse*, in *Jeremiah*, etc. I believe that the carnal spirit of the Roman Curia is figured in that prostitute who works evil, and glories in it. But for how many centuries this scandal has reigned! Who knows whether it will terminate?" Nevertheless, when Pius VII., returning from the coronation of Napoleon, passed through Florence

(1) *Riccian Archives*, f. xvi., cited by Cantù, *loc. cit.*, p. 513.

in 1805, Ricci prostrated himself at the feet of His Holiness, declaring that he "had never entertained sentiments other than those defined by Pius VI.; that he had never held the doctrines indicated in the *Auctorem Fidei*, according to the sense in which they were condemned; and that he had always been ready to correct any of his sayings which might give occasion to misinterpretation." The Pontiff received the apparently repentant prelate with great kindness; and shortly afterward, the latter wrote to His Holiness: "I shall ever remember with filial tenderness the happy day when my prayers were heard; and in the retreat where I am now attending to the great affair of my eternal salvation, I shall never cease to pray that the Most High may preserve to the Church, in the person of Your Holiness, an enlightened and zealous pastor." Pius VII., speaking of the submission of Ricci in his Allocution of June 26, 1806, says: "He declared that he received sincerely (*ex animo*) the Constitutions which condemn the errors of Baius, Jansenius, Quesnel, and their followers; and especially the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, which condemns eighty-five propositions extracted from the *Acts* of the Synod of Pistoja, which had been assembled by himself. He declared that he condemned all and each of these propositions in the sense expressed in the Bull; and that he wished to live and die in perfect submission to the Roman Church, and in the obedience which is due to the Roman Pontiff. After this solemn declaration, we received him; and when he had assured us of the sincerity of his sentiments, and of the attachment to the orthodox faith and to the Apostolic See which he had preserved even in the midst of his errors, we embraced him paternally, and reconciled him to us and to the Catholic Church." Many unprejudiced and acute intellects have refused to discern sincerity in the submission of Ricci. Certainly the following words, written to his friend, Targioni, immediately after his reception by Pius VII., are of suspicious tenor: "I have raised my voice without fear; I have fought in the open field, with the help of the Lord, so long as I thought He required such action from me. Now my duty is silence, retreat, prayer. The time for speaking will come; but perhaps God has reserved

it for our posterity, *when Babylon shall have filled up her measure*. Whether Rome wills it or not, the Church presents now all the appearances of weakness and old age, *because of the obscuring of so many truths, of which many are ignorant, and for which the greater number do not care*" (1). It is certain, however, that Ricci died (Jan. 27, 1810) an edifying death; and at the end of his *Memoirs*, the writing of which had occupied his last years, we read sentiments which are thoroughly Catholic: "Praise, therefore, and glory be to the Lord who has heard my prayers, snatching me from the dangers to which I was exposed, and using such unexpected and even—by me—unthought-of methods! May He deign to preserve me from future risks; and may He grant me, through the merits of Jesus Christ, and through the intercession of Mary Most Holy, of my guardian angel, of my patron saints, and of all the elect, to so spend the rest of my life, that at the moment of my death I may be called to the enjoyment of that happiness which He has merited for me by His Precious Blood!"

Our attention is now claimed by a phase of Josephism, which involved the four principal archbishops of Germany in revolt against the Holy See. When Joseph II. was freed from some semblance of restraint by the death of his mother, the electorate of Mayence was occupied by Frederick von Erthal, a luxurious prelate whose character is summarized by Picot when he says that "Erthal lived in a thoroughly secular fashion; arrogant because of his relations with the king of Prussia; and seeming to remember that he was a bishop, only when there presented itself an occasion for tormenting the Pope, and attacking the Holy See." Clement of Saxony, the elector of Treves, was a worthy ecclesiastic, but of a weak and inconstant temperament. Originally a partisan of Febronius, he had afterward abandoned that in-

(1) "The intolerance of the scrupulous can perceive in Ricci nothing but duplicity. The intolerance of venal adulators, worse than that of the Inquisition, stamps him as vile; asserting that through fear he belied his conscience. We discern in him an erring man who repented, but who could not repress every impulse of human pride. Let him who is without sin condemn him. In him, however, we also see how dangerous it is to desire novelties which accord not with the habits and ideas of the people, relying for support on governmental authority; and we perceive how foolish it is for this authority to meddle with matters which belong exclusively to the Church." CANTU; *loc. cit.*, p. 484.

novator; but in 1782, he succumbed to the influence of Joseph Beck, an ardent Febronian, and returned to the path which leads to schism. The elector of Cologne was Maximilian of Austria, a brother of Joseph II., and a prelate who did not hesitate in surrounding himself with a number of *Illuminati* (1). Probably by the advice of those sectarians, Maximilian aided to establish the University of Bonn in opposition to the University of Cologne, as a means of propagating the new doctrines; inviting to its chairs a number of unfrocked friars and of semi-Protestant speculatists (2). Jerome Colloredo, archbishop of Salzburg, was an able and charitable man, but impregnated with notions similar to those which Ricci was encouraging in Tuscany. The pretext which served these four dignitaries of the German Church as a means of demonstrating their devotion to German independence of Roman encroachments, and which only the convulsions consequent on the French Revolution prevented from leading to lamentable consequences, was the creation of a new Apostolic nunciature at Munich. The reader should know that for many years the nuncios in Germany had exercised more extensive authority than that of those who were sent to other countries; for instance, they granted dispensations which in other lands were sought from the Holy See, and they decided many cases which the general rule referred directly to Rome. This extraordinary authority, which had been granted because of the confusion caused by the Reformation (3), had never been contested

(1) So says Cardinal Pacca, who, while he was nuncio at Cologne, had every opportunity of learning the truth of the matter.

(2) Among these new luminaries who were to dissipate the darkness caused by the University of Cologne, still true to Catholic teaching, were notable Thaddeus Saint-Adam, an ex-Carmelite, professor of hermeneutics; Hedderich, a Minor Conventual, professor of Canon Law; and Schneider, a secularized Franciscan, professor of eloquence. This Schneider became a commissary for the French Revolutionary government during the Reign of Terror, distinguished himself by his monstrosities, but finally ended his career on the guillotine. In a Brief addressed to the Chapter of Cologne on March 27, 1790, Pius VI. thus speaks of the teachings of the professors of Bonn: "*Doctrinarum portenta atque monstra, quæ ab Hedderichio, Spiegelio, Wemero, Thaddæo, Schneidero, aliisque professoribus traduntur.*" When the elector opened the University in Sept., 1786, Spiegel, who was made *curator*, pronounced a discourse on the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline in the sixteenth century which the hearers all regarded as a panegyric of Protestantism.

(3) The church of Cologne, especially, had been threatened with destruction. Two successive archbishops had favored the new doctrines; one of them, Truchses, had

until the Josephist mania for "reforms" led certain spirits to discern in it an invasion of the rights of the ordinaries. When the elector of Bavaria, Charles Theodore, requested Pope Pius VI. to establish a nunciature at his capital, so that his subjects might be obliged no longer to recur to the nuncios at Cologne, at Vienna, or at Lucerne, the Pontiff cheerfully gratified a prince whose devotion to the Holy See was so eloquent a contrast to the conduct of the German emperor; and by this action His Holiness in no way infringed on the rights of the three ecclesiastical electors, or on those of the archbishop of Salzburg. Nevertheless, these prelates immediately made all Germany resound with their lamentations; and the too willing Joseph II., on Oct. 12, 1785, sent to them a consolatory letter, from which we take the following passage: "They (the four archbishops) have asked for that imperial protection which, *as SUPREME PROTECTOR of the constitution of the GERMANIC CHURCH*, I owe to them. . . . Like a good brother, friend, and associate, I must contribute all my power to their recovery of all the rights which they enjoyed of old, and which have been lost, only because of evil days and usurpations. Therefore I have resolved to notify the entire empire concerning my sentiments on this subject, and also to declare to the court of Rome that I shall never allow the bishops of the empire to be disturbed in the exercise of the diocesan rights which they have received from God and the Church, and that henceforth I shall recognize the papal envoys only as such for political affairs, or for affairs which concern the Pope immediately as head of the Church" (1). Shortly after the receipt of this letter, the elector of Cologne, through his grand-vicar, published a pastoral which began with these words: "*His Imperial Majesty having abolished every kind of jurisdiction and all the faculties of the Apostolic nuncios, and having restored to the bishops all their ancient rights . . .* the archbishop-elect of Cologne forbids all prelates, archdeacons, deans, pastors, etc., and the superiors of all regular

"married," publicly apostatized, and endeavored to propagate heresy. By rallying around the nuncio, the Catholics of Cologne weathered the storm.

(1) Paccia gives only a synopsis of this document; but it is found entire in the *Nouveaux Ecclésiastiques* for 1786, p. 87.

orders, even those who are exempted, to have recourse to the nunciature of Cologne, for any purpose whatsoever" (1). After this manifestation, fully worthy of a Cranmer or a Siemaszko, it was not surprising that the four recalcitrant bishops should cause their respective deputies to hold a Congress at Ems, and there, on Aug. 25, 1786, sign a series of twenty-three articles which were equivalent to so many invitations to the Catholics of Germany to desert the bark of Peter. The tirade begins by informing the Germans that His Majesty had resolved to restore to the bishops "all that they had lost, *through a frightful usurpation*" : and that this resolution, taken by "THE HEAD OF THE GERMANIC CHURCH," has encouraged the prelates to make the following declaration. "Jesus Christ gave to the Apostles, and to the bishops, their successors, the *unlimited* power of binding and loosing. . . . Each bishop, exercising this power of binding or loosing, can accord dispensations from both the general and the particular laws of the Church . . . but each bishop is free to ask the *opinion* of His Holiness. . . . Since dispensations are granted nearly always in cases of the third and fourth degree of consanguinity and affinity, the bishops ought to consult as to the abolition of these impediments. . . . *Each bishop has the right to abolish the obligations resulting from Holy Orders, in the cases of deacons and subdeacons, whenever there is urgent reason. . . . No papal Bulls, and no ordinances of Roman Congregations, shall be recognized in Germany without the consent of the bishops. . . .* Once that the bishops will have been placed, through the powerful protection of His Imperial Majesty, in the possession of the rights which belong to them by divine institution, and that their causes of complaint against the court of Rome have been heeded ; then only will they be in condition *to proceed to a reformation of the discipline of the Church.*" The four archbishops immediately ratified the proceedings of their deputies ; and sending their report in a letter signed by all of them on Sept. 8, they dilated on its contents ; assuring His Majesty that "*for the present*" they would not beg him to abolish the Concordat, but entreating him to convoke a National Council,

(1) *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques*, 1786, p. 88.

“since there had been no fulfilment of that promise to correct abuses, which the Council of Trent had made.” They trusted that in this National Council *“the German nation would be delivered from oppression, and restored to perfect liberty.”* Joseph replied to this request by telling his four sycophants to consult with their brethren of the German episcopate. They obeyed; but they found no others prepared to plunge into the gulf of schism. Nevertheless, they endeavored to enforce the regulations devised at Ems; and when they did not succeed, the emperor thought to terminate the difficulty by laying the matter before the Aulic Council. Having obtained no satisfactory response from this incompetent tribunal, he issued a decree on Aug. 9, 1788, whereby the question was referred to the Diet which was about to meet at Ratisbon. When the Diet had assembled, the four principal prelates of Germany so far laid aside their own dignity, so far ignored the pre-eminent dignity of the Vicar of Christ, as to hurl their unfounded accusations against him in an assembly composed almost entirely of laymen, and to a great extent, of heretics; calling upon not only their own presumed Catholic emperor, but also the Protestant king of Prussia, the Protestant elector of Hanover, and many other heretical princes, to pass sentence on the Father of Christendom. Shortly before the meeting of the Diet, in Nov., 1788, the hallucinated bishops had afforded the Pope, as it were, an opportunity of escaping from this insult, by urging him to abolish his nunciatures in Germany; and Pius VI. had condescended to reply to the impudent proposition in the calm but firm letter from which we have drawn the particulars of this episode of his reign (1). The Pontiff had drawn the attention of the bishops to the gross impropriety of invoking a lay tribunal for the consideration of an entirely ecclesiastical matter, and one which involved the prerogatives of the Apostolic See. Then having discussed each of the German claims, and having especially shown the antiquity of the nunciatures, and the ever-admitted right of the Popes to establish them, the Holy Father had said:

(1) *Reply of Pius VI. to the Metropolitans of Mayence, etc.* Qto., pp. 350. Bologna, 1790.

"Let your religion and your sense of justice tell you what you should do. We can neither appear before the Diet, nor send an extraordinary legate to it; for we cannot submit the Apostolic See to an incompetent judge. We cannot abandon the rights which are of the very essence of the primacy which has been entrusted to us." But nothing definite was effected in the Diet; and before long the Congress of Ems was only an unsavory remembrance. The German princes cared little for ecclesiastical disputes, while the storms of the French Revolution were rolling toward them; and the four recalcitrant bishops soon lost both their sees and their temporal power.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE "CONSTITUTIONAL CHURCH" OF FRANCE.

Of all the events which rendered the pontificate of Pius VI. one of the most sorrowful in modern times, that which most afflicted him was the passage, on July 12, 1790, of the decree by which the National Assembly of France made it obligatory on all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom to accept the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy." Before the enactment of this measure, the Assembly had followed the suggestion of Talleyrand de Perigord, bishop of Autun, supported by the eloquence of Mirabeau; and had decreed, on Aug. 4, 1789, that "all the property of the clergy was placed at the disposition of the nation" (1). The Church could survive this robbery, as experience has shown in other countries, as well as in France; but had the Civil Constitution of the Clergy been adopted universally by the French ecclesiastics, the French Church would have perished. Probably the impious of that day realized that Catholicism

(1) According to Necker, the entire revenues of the French clergy, at that time, amounted to one hundred and fifty millions of francs. If this sum appears large, let the reader remember that the French clergy were then more numerous than at present. Reliable judges say that if this sum had been divided equally, each ecclesiastic would have received three hundred and eighty-nine francs. But we must not forget that the Church always reserved a large portion of her revenues for the poor; and that the residue was divided into three parts, to be distributed to the titulars, to the needs of public instruction, and to the colossal work of foreign missions.

and poverty are not incompatible ; probably it was because of this knowledge that they aimed at a debasement of the Church by a measure which would bend the consciences of her ministers. "The general interest," said the "philosopher" Nageon to the Assembly, "requires that the priest be rendered contemptible. In order to render the priest contemptible, we must impoverish him ; and we have done well thus far. But the design of discrediting the clergy entirely in the minds of the people merits praise only when it is fully executed ; there must be no temporization." Therefore the Assembly decreed that mixture of Presbyterianism and laicization which, in order that it might not be perceived immediately that it involved matters which depended exclusively from the spiritual authority, was termed a *Civil Constitution*. It decreed that a newly-appointed bishop should not ask for the papal confirmation ; he should merely notify the Pontiff of his nomination by the government, and should make that notification simply as an indication of his desire to be in communion with the Roman See ; he should receive his canonical institution from his metropolitan, or from the senior bishop of his province ; if both of these prelates refused to recognize him, he could be consecrated by any bishop, and the government would indicate the one whose duty it would be to instal him. The bishops and pastors were to be chosen by the same Electoral Colleges who nominated the civil officers, and it was declared that this method was a restoration of the ancient form of elections ; whereas history shows that in the early ages the chief part in the elections of bishops and pastors was taken by ecclesiastics. And certainly in the olden times heretics and Jews had no share in these elections. According to the *Civil Constitution*, the bishop could perform no act of jurisdiction without previous consultation with his vicars. The parish priests were to select their assistants from among the diocesan clergy ; but the bishop was to have no voice in the matter. The ecclesiastical division of France was assimilated to the civil ; the one hundred and thirty-five existing dioceses were reduced to eighty-three, one for each of the new departments. By this arbitrary arrangement old metropolitan sees were

annihilated; unimportant bishoprics were made metropolitan; and sees were created where none had existed. No Frenchman could be subject to the spiritual authority of a foreign bishop or metropolitan. "It is a matter of Catholic faith," says Emery, "that only the successors of the Apostles have received from the Holy Ghost the power to rule the Church of God. I ask whether there can be any act, in the governing of the Church, more absolute and capital than the suppression of fifty-three dioceses, and the erection of eight or ten others; than the destruction of metropolitan sees which dated from Apostolic times, and the creation of others; than the taking from each metropolitan some of his suffragans, and the substitution of others; than the abolition, by subtractions and additions, of the ancient boundaries of all the dioceses of France. And all this was effected by one act of the civil power." Well does Villemain say that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was "an innovation which was false in theory, and tyrannical in fact"; and with reason does M. de Falloux term it "a Jansenist, impious, and Protestant conception." In one of his early works, Thiers affirmed that the Constitution was "the work of the most pious deputies in the Assembly," and he blamed severely those who opposed it (1); but in his mature age he agreed with Jules Simon that "it was absurd" (2). Louis XVI., a sincerely religious prince, could not approve this document; but he feared to refuse his signature. In his anguish he recurred to the Pope; and he received a Brief in which His Holiness reminded him of the true principles concerning the authority of the Church, and advised him to follow the advice of Lefranc de Pompignan, archbishop of Vienne, and of Champion de Cyc , archbishop of Bordeaux. Some publicists contend that Mgr. de Pompignan counselled the king to sign the Constitution; the other prelate certainly did so advise, and ever afterward bitterly repented. Meanwhile the "ecclesiastical committee" of the National Assembly were threatening Louis with the displeasure "of the nation"; and hence, after many postponements, on Aug.

(1) *History of the French Revolution*, bk. 3, p. 229. Paris, 1823.

(2) Discourse in the Chamber, Dec. 4, 1867.

24 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy received the royal assent. Had the great body of the French clergy now remained silent, Catholicism would have been, in all probability, ruined in France. But the French episcopacy remained true to its glorious traditions. On Oct. 30 there appeared an *Exposition of Principles Concerning the Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, which had been written by Boisgelin, archbishop of Aix, and signed by thirty episcopal members of the National Assembly, with Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld at their head. It was a calm but thorough condemnation of the impious act of the Assembly; and since it was signed also, as soon as possible, by one hundred and ten other bishops (1), it was accepted as the authoritative judgment of the French Church on the vexatious matter. However, the revolutionary party in the Assembly succeeded in passing, on Nov. 27, a decree which Mirabeau had proposed, declaring that all the bishops and pastors, who would not have subscribed to the Constitution within eight days, would be regarded as having resigned their positions (2). Then a delay until Jan. 4, 1791, was granted to the ecclesiastical members of the Assembly. When the period for reflection had passed, out of the three hundred ecclesiastical deputies, sixty submitted, with the famous Gregoire at their head (3). A few days afterward, thirty-

(1) A few of these were foreigners, whose dioceses extended into France.

(2) Toward the end of his life, Mirabeau said that he had proposed the oath to the Constitution, in the hope that the measure would encounter a vigorous resistance. He declared that having perceived that the disorder in the Assembly was irremediable, he had deemed it wise to increase that disorder, so as to accelerate the dissolution of the half-insane body. *Memoirs of Malouet*. Paris, 1820.

(3) On July 9, 1790, during the discussion as to the ceremony of taking the oath, which was to occur on the 14th, the bishop of Clermont said: "Gentlemen, together with all the individuals of the nation, we are about to renew our oath to be faithful to that nation, as well as to the law and to the king. Where is the Frenchman, nay, where is the Christian, who will hesitate in taking an oath consecrated by every principle? I declare myself ready, if it be necessary, to sign it with my blood. . . . But, gentlemen, while I remember all that I owe to Caesar, I cannot hide from myself all that I owe to God. In all that belongs to civil, political, and temporal concerns, I must swear to uphold the Constitution; but a law which is superior to every human law compels me to proclaim loudly that in my civic oath I shall not intend to cover matters which belong entirely to the spiritual authority. Any appearance of including such matters would be a great scandal. . . . I beg you to perceive that the exception which I make is really a guarantee of my fidelity to that which I shall swear to observe." When the bishop finished his protestation, all the bishops of the Right, and very many of the lay and priestly deputies, signified their agreement with his sentiments. On Jan. 4, 1791, Gregoire affected to believe that the Assembly had no intention of entrenching on the purely spiritual. "It is certain that the purely spiritual is

six other ecclesiastics imitated these ; but twenty-five of them soon retracted. On Jan. 9, the oath was tendered to the parish clergy of Paris ; more than three-fourths refused to swear. In the provinces, five-sixths of the clergy spurned the Constitution. In fine, so admirable was the fidelity of the great body of the clergy, that Mirabeau exclaimed : " We have their money ; but they have preserved their honor." Only four bishops, out of the hundred and thirty-five then in France, were derelict ; namely, the Cardinal de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, whom Pius VI. afterward expelled from the Sacred College ; Savines, bishop of Viviers, who after some years of extravagancies as constitutional bishop of L'Ardèche, declared that he must have been crazy (1), and retracted ; Talleyrand de Perigord, bishop of Autun ; and Jarente, bishop of Orleans. On Jan. 25, 1791, without any pretense of consent from the ordinaries of the *consecrands*, without any commission from the Roman Pontiff, without any previous Profession of Faith, and in spite of the protests of the bishops and Chapters on whose rights he thus trampled, Talleyrand consecrated, in the church of the Oratory at Paris, Expilly as bishop of the Finisterre, and Marolles, as bishop of L'Aisne (2). The assistant consecrators were Gobel, (a Swiss) titular-bishop of Lydda, and Miroudot, bishop of Babylon (3). From that time the sacrilegious conse-

outside of its province ; the Assembly has always proclaimed this principle, and has always applauded its defenders. The Assembly does not demand an interior assent to the law ; it does not judge consciences." *Mercure de France*, July 24, 1790, and Jan. 8, 1791.

(1) In fact, he was for several years confined in the asylum at Charenton.

(2) Probably this church was chosen for the ceremony because Poiret, the superior of the Oratory in Paris, had taken the oath. He had also accepted the pastorship of Saint-Sulpice.

(3) As an indication of the character of Gobel, we submit the pastoral which, in his capacity of constitutional " bishop of Paris," he issued on the death of Mirabeau : " J. B. F. Gobel, heretofore, by the divine mercy and the grace of the Apostolic See, bishop of Lydda ; but now, because of the Constitution, the grace of the voters, and the decision of the tribunal, bishop of Paris ; to all the citizens of our diocese, health and benediction, by order of the law, the nation, and the king. While we were engaged on the pastoral which we had designed to address to you, an awful calamity troubled our meditations. To the chants of joy and triumph which we were preparing for your hearing, have succeeded the plaintive accents of grief ; and the national hymn, the *Ca ira*, which was so sweet to us when we repeated it with you, is now replaced by the funereal cry, ' He is no more.' That incomparable man, who was formed for our century, is no more. . . . If you owe to him that peaceable and radiant life which you now enjoy, we, dear brethren, owe to him that ministry which we now exercise *canonically* on the banks of the Seine, instead of exercising it, as once we did, miserably and without glory, amid the rocks and snows of Switzerland. . . . When we first came here, we were filled with abominable prejudices which alarmed our conscience ; *or we had been nurtured in the study of theology, and we had false ideas

crations continued ; the lately consecrated transmitting their jurisdictionless episcopal character for the perdition of conscienceless men like themselves. Before the end of the year 1791, every department of France had its schismatic bishop in opposition to its legitimate one ; for as yet very few of the latter had been compelled to flee into exile. Each constitutional prelate adopted every means to surround himself with priests of his own stamp ; and when he found that the number of Jansenist Frenchmen and apostate Germans (of these latter, says Pacca, there were very many who were ready to sustain the new church) fell short, he ordained any poor starveling who was but too glad to sustain life with the spoils of the sanctuary. On March 10, 1791, Pius VI. addressed a Brief to the episcopal members of the Assembly ; and on April 13, another to the other bishops, and to the clergy and people of France ; condemning and annulling all the proceedings of the schismatics. Such of the unfortunates as had acted in good faith, and it would seem that there were many of these, now opened their eyes, and returned to the fold of unity ; but the majority devised innumerable pretexts in justification of their schism. France was deluged with pamphlets attacking, now the form of the Papal Briefs, then their authenticity ; but the refutations of these sophisms were so convincing, that at length those alone were deceived who wished to be deceived. Certain of the legitimate bishops, uniting love of Church and of country with a sublime humility, surmised that peace might be given to their sorely-tried flocks, if they were to resign their croziers in favor of the intruders ; and when the idea was broached, all the prelates who had signed the *Exposition of Principles* wrote to the Pontiff, begging him to accept their resignations, if he deemed such a course apt to conduce, in the slightest degree, to the welfare of souls.

concerning those phrases, Catholic communion, ecclesiastical authority, the Apostolic Roman Chair, etc. . . . But with what zeal the eloquent Mirabeau dissipated this darkness, and banished our insane scruples !” (*Parliamentary History*, vol. ix., cited by Jager, in his *History of the Church of France During the Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 265. Paris, 1862). Miroudot had been a Cistercian, and in 1776 had been made bishop of Babylon by the Propaganda. He went no nearer to his diocese than Aleppo ; then he returned to Paris, where, until he joined the Constitutionals, he aided the archbishop in certain episcopal functions.

Pius VI. replied that the proposed sacrifice would, in the circumstances then subsisting, cause error to triumph, rather than to depose its pretensions. The rest of the history of the Constitutional Church of France is involved in that of the Revolution, and is easily attainable by the student; we shall merely say a few words concerning two points which are seldom noticed by the histories in vogue—the open apostasy of most of the Constitutional clergy, and the manner of their deaths. On Nov. 7, 1793, three days before that horrible profanation which was termed the Feast of Reason, the president of the Convention read to the members a letter from the municipal authorities of Paris, stating that they were about to accompany the *ci-devant* bishop of the capital and his *ci-devant* clergy to the Convention, where those individuals, "of their own accord, would exhibit a striking and sincere homage to Reason and to eternal justice." When Gobel and his followers entered the hall, a representative of the municipality announced that the *ci-devant* clergymen would now "despoil themselves of that character which superstition had impressed upon them." Then the miserable Gobel made the following declaration: "Born a plebeian, my heart soon received the principles of liberty and equality. . . . Now that the nation is marching so swiftly toward a happy revolution; now that it is about to profess no other public and national religion than that of liberty and holy equality, because the sovereign (people) wishes it so to be; I, consistent with my principles, submit myself to the national will, and I do now here loudly proclaim that henceforth I renounce the functions of a minister of the Catholic worship. The citizens, my vicars, now here present, join with me in this act. *Vive la république!*" (1). When Gobel and thirteen of his vicars had signed this attestation amid the frenzied plaudits of the Conventionals, the president congratulated the apostates: "Citizens, having sacrificed these playthings of superstition (2) on the altar of the country, you are worthy of the republic. Citizens, having abjured error,

(1) Our account of these proceedings is taken from the *Procès-Verbaux of the Convention*, vol. xxv.-xxvii.; and from the *Moniteur* describing the sessions of the xvii. Brumaire, and the following days, year 2.

(2) Alluding to the episcopal ring and cross which Gobel had laid on the "altar."

you will now and ever inculcate the moral and social virtues. That is the religion which is agreeable to the Supreme Being ; and now you are worthy of Him." Then the red cap was brought to Gobel ; and he placed it on his head (1). Several priests and bishops, all Constitutionals, now succeeded each other in the tribune, all protesting that Reason was the sole object of their worship. Lindet, Constitutional bishop of L'Eure, called the attention of the Convention to the fact that " he had never taught anything but morality ; that he had been the first of the bishops to ' marry.' " During the next few weeks, there were read from the tribune many notifications of apostasy, which had arrived from all parts of France—all so many instances of the truth concerning which ecclesiastical history is so eloquent, that in the matter of clerical disobedience to Church authority, " abyss calls on abyss." It is worthy of note that very many of these unfortunates became victims of the fever which they had helped to excite. Fauchet, Constitutional bishop of Calvados, had been guillotined with the Girondins a few days before the apostasy of Gobel ; but shortly before the fatal moment he had been reconciled to the Church, and had reconciled several of his companions. Gobel himself, condemned in 1794, and being unable to procure the attendance of a priest, sent a retraction in writing to the Abbé Lothringer, begging him to be at the gate of the Conciergerie, in order to give him absolution, as he went forth to death. Lamourette, Constitutional bishop of Saône-et-Loire, guillotined in Jan., 1795, had made his retraction some months previously, in the hands of the Abbé Emery ; and on the scaffold he declared that he accepted his fate " as a just chastisement of the divine justice." We read nothing concerning the sentiments with which the scaffold was mounted by the Constitutional bishops, Gouttes of Bouches-du-Rhône, Marcel de Loménie of L'Yonne, and several others. As for

(1) Gregoire, in his *History of Religious Sects*, a work in which he tries to palliate the guilt of his companions, says that when, on the day before this scene, Clooz and Peretra urged Gobel to abandon his errors in a public manner, the prelate replied that he knew of no errors in his religion. Then, says Gregoire, they remarked that there was no question of principle in the matter ; that he was merely asked to yield to the will of the people, who wanted no more of his functions. " If that is the will of the people," replied Gobel, " certainly the people elected me, and now they dismiss me."

those who survived the horrors of the One and Indivisible Republic, nearly all were in time reconciled with the Church (1).

Although the scope of our work precludes any attention to the general details of the French Revolution, we must not omit a brief narrative of the sufferings entailed upon the clergy who refused to swear fealty to the Civil Constitution. The month of May, 1792, beheld the prisons of France filled with non-juring ecclesiastics; in the prison of Laval alone there were confined more than four hundred. On May 26, the Assembly condemned all the recalcitrants to deportation; the measure having been adopted principally because of the insistence of Roland, the Minister of the Interior whom the factions had forced on Louis XVI., and having been opposed by not one of the Constitutional episcopal members, or by those Girondins whom ignorance designates as moderate. But the king, sorely beset though he was, placed his veto on the decree; and when Roland, yielding to the vanity of his wife, read before the Royal Council a letter (which probably she had composed) in which His Majesty was told in very insolent terms that he could not refuse his sanction (2), the minister, and his colleagues, Servan and Clavière,

(1) Among the priestly Constitutionals who became victims of the revolutionary guillotine which they themselves had glutted with innocent blood, was Joseph Lehon, an ex-Oratorian, who became head of the tribunal of Arras, his native city, and was accustomed to assist, in company with his "wife," at each of the hundreds of executions which he had ordered. The fall of Robespierre caused him to be guillotined on Oct. 9, 1795. Duquesnoy, representative of the people with the Army of the North, distinguished himself for republican exaggerations; and having taken part in the Jacobin insurrection of May, 1795, and having been condemned to death, he stabbed himself in prison. Chabot, a Capuchin, and vicar for Gregoire at Blois, was one of those who voted for the death of the king. He incurred the enmity of Robespierre, and when he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, he poisoned himself; but before death supervened, he was thrust under the axe, on April 5, 1794. Simond, episcopal vicar at Strasburg, was executed as an accomplice of Gobel on April 13, 1794. Jacques Roux, who had been suspended before the Revolution, became one of the constitutional clergy of Saint-Sulpice; and he accompanied Louis XVI. to the scaffold, conducting himself in a most brutal manner. Having been condemned to death for robbery, he escaped the guillotine by stabbing himself on Jan. 7, 1794. We have already met George Schneider, the German Franciscan who was one of the Jesuit professors in the University of Bonn. Emigrating to France at the outbreak of the Revolution, he was made episcopal vicar of Strasburg by the Constitutional bishop. During the Terror he officiated as public accuser for Alsace; and he never travelled unaccompanied by the guillotine. His monstrous excesses revolted even the tyrants at Paris; and he was executed on April 2, 1794.

(2) The following passage is sufficiently indicative of the tenor of this document. "The conduct of the priests, the pretexts which fanaticism furnishes to the malcontents, have caused the passage of a *wise law* against the disturbers. Let this law be sanctioned by

were dismissed from the cabinet. Roland laid his letter before the Assembly; and that body declared that "the regrets of the nation" followed his dismissal. Then began, throughout France, that exhibition of "popular" hatred for the "reactionary" clergy which was to culminate in the decree of Aug. 26, and the consequent massacre of Sept 2 (1). On Aug. 10, the king and his family were imprisoned in the Temple, and all power now resided in the Assembly, or rather in that invention of the Jacobin Club, the Commune of Paris, to which the Assembly perforce submitted. Acting in concert with the Minister of Justice, Danton, the Commune erected the guillotine in the Place du Carrousel; and during the night of Aug. 29-30, domiciliary visits were made throughout the capital in order to provide the victims. When the prisons of Les Carmes and of Saint-Firmin were filled, the unfortunates were thrust into La Force and the Abbey of Saint-Germain. The populace was prepared for the tragedy to come by a rumor that all the prisoners had

Your Majesty; the public tranquillity demands that sanction, and the safety of the priests calls for it. If this law is not enforced, the departments will find themselves compelled to substitute for it those violent measures which have been adopted already in many places."

(1) On June 4, Raynaud, archdeacon of Senez, accompanied by two canons, left Senez in order to escape the persecution of the Constitutionals. On the 6th, having arrived at Saus-ses, the three were seized by the police; and they were being led to prison, when a band of soldiers fell upon them, beat them cruelly, and threw Raynaud into the Var. When he was dragged forth, it was found that one of his legs was broken, and that his other limbs were dislocated. The brutes continued to beat him, and he died under their blows, saying: "I forgive you" (CARON; *Confessors of the Faith*, vol. i., p. 1. Paris, 1842). On July 13, Langoiran, grand-vicar of Bordeaux, together with a prebendary named Dupuy, and a Carmelite named Pannetier, were seized by the police. Pannetier escaped; but the others were massacred in the courtyard of the archiepiscopal palace (JAGER; *loc. cit.*, vol. iii.). At Baune, in the Ardèche, on July 12, the pastor, Pradon, and another priest named Naval, fell under the sabres of infuriated soldiers. On the 13th, at the same place, La Bastide, a canon of Uzès, was shot to death. On the 14th, at Naves, the anniversary of the glorious Revolution was celebrated by the slaughter of eight priests who had fled to that quiet spot, and had been received warmly by the inhabitants (GUILLON; *Martyrs of the Faith*. Paris, 1840). On the 20th, at Clairac, Lartigue, a priest who had devoted an immense patrimony to the poor, was murdered with circumstances of inconceivable barbarity (CARON; *loc. cit.*, p. 155). On the 23d, at Marseilles, two Minims, Miratte and Tassy, who were exercising their ministry in secret among the poor, were discovered by some of the "clubbists," dragged to the Hotel de Ville, and there stabbed and hung, despite the intercession of the Constitutional bishop of Bouches-du-Rhône. A few days afterward these same Marseillaise "clubbists" beat and then hung, at Manosque in Provence, a septuagenarian Franciscan named Ponthion, the Abbé Pochet and Reyra, and a parish-priest named Vial (*Martyrs of the Faith*, art. Pochet; *Confessors of the Faith*, vol. i., p. 25). At Belesme, the Abbé Duportail was dragged to the public square, asked whether he would renounce the Pope, and then poniarded. In Normandy, at Pont-Ecrepin, the Abbé Saint-Martin was first tortured, and then shot to death (*Ibid.*).

conspired to aid the Prussians, who were already in Champagne; while the brave Parisians were making ready to withstand the foreigner, it would be madness to expose themselves to an attack from those intestine enemies "who yearned to destroy their women and children." On the morning of Sept. 2, it was reported that the enemy was at the gates of Verdun; all the citizens were called to arms; a ferocious band of Marseillais and other desperadoes, many of them just freed from prison for the purpose, were armed and designated for the destruction of the domestic "enemies of the Republic." The firing of a cannon was the signal for the guards at the Hotel de Ville to march all their prisoners, arranged in three columns, either to the Abbaye, or to La Force, or to the Conciergerie. The massacre began at the Abbaye. The infernal work was superintended by commissaries of the Commune, wearing their municipal scarfs. The best authors differ as to the number of persons slaughtered at the Abbaye; Jager says that the official list records 216, of whom 86 were priests; the *Religious Annals* puts the number of priests at 60; while Guillon says that there were only about 40. Authorities differ also as to the number of priests murdered at Les Carmes and La Force. Records in the Hotel de Ville put the number killed at the former place at 120; but a few hours after the event, Fauchet, Constitutional bishop of Calvados, told the Assembly that 200 priests had fallen at Les Carmes. Among those who succumbed here were the two brothers La Rochefaucauld, bishops of Saintes and Poitiers. On the following day, pike, dagger, or club, continued their inauguration of the untrammelled reign of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, at the Seminary of Saint-Firmin. Here at least 74 priests were despatched; many being only half-killed in the building, and then thrown out of the windows, to be the sport of the mob below, until their last breath was exhaled with, in many instances, the words, "God, forgive them; for they know not what they do!" The official lists of the Republic give the number of victims of the September massacres in Paris, counting also those slaughtered in the asylums of Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière, as only 1,458; but whether or

not this estimate be correct, it seems to be certain that over 400 priests received on those terrible days the crown of martyrdom (1). There is no exaggeration in this qualification of these priestly victims; for each one would have saved his life, and would perhaps have been "honored" by the Republic, had he taken the abominable oath which was tendered to him as the fatal weapon was poised above him. The blood of these martyrs was still flowing when the Commune of Paris, through its "Committee of Execution and Surveillance," sent to every municipality in France the following invitation to general massacre: "The Commune of Paris hastens to inform those of all the departments that some of the *ferocious conspirators*, confined in our prisons, have been put to death by the people—an act of justice, which seemed to be necessary in order to terrify the legions of traitors who were within our walls at the very moment when we were starting to meet the enemy. Undoubtedly the entire nation will immediately adopt the same useful and necessary means." This provocation to assassination was signed by Duplaix, Panis, Sergent, Lenfant (2), Jourdeuil, Marat, Deforgues, Leclerc, Dusor, and Cailly; and was countersigned by Danton, as Minister of Justice (3). In many districts the invitation was spurned; but in too many others, notably in Versailles, Rheims, Meaux, and Lyons, the sanguinary scenes of the capital were reproduced. But thousands of faithful priests continued to exercise their functions, through the aid of devoted persons who hid them from the hunters; and shortly after the execution of Louis XVI., the Convention began a systematic search for the

(1) Granier de Cassagnac, searching in the archives of the Hotel de Ville for the secrets of this massacre, found indisputable proofs that the Committee of Execution had hired nearly three hundred abandoned wretches to do their work; that these murderers were kept continually drunk during their labors; and that they were paid twenty-four francs a day. See Cassagnac's *History of the Girondins and of the September Massacres*. Paris, 1860.

(2) This Lenfant was a brother to a Jesuit of that name, whom the Committee of Execution believed to be the confessor of the king, and who had been confined in the Abbaye at the time of the massacre. Maillard, who superintended the slaughter at the Abbaye, received an order to spare none of the prisoners, "excepting Father Lenfant, who was to be put in a safe place." On Sept. 5, friends succeeded in smuggling the Jesuit from the prison; but while they were taking him through the Rue Bussy, he was recognized by spies of the Committee, and having been returned to the Abbaye, he was immediately murdered.

(3) PAPON; *History of the Revolution*, vol. iv., p. 277. Paris, 1801.

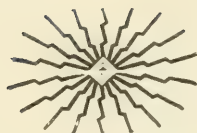
"enemies of society." From all parts of France priests were marched to the seaports, the intention being to cast them on the shores of Guiana, or to abandon them in the wilds of Africa. Two-thirds died before the arrival of the ships which were to carry them to a living death; they had been thrown into dungeons reeking with filth, or had been assigned to tasks which were beyond their strength. Many priests, however, succeeded in reaching some foreign land which accorded to them a willing hospitality. The Roman Pontiff especially welcomed many of these confessors of the faith; and cardinals, prelates, patricians, and monasteries, vied with each other in doing them honor. In Spain, the bishop of Orense, Pedro de Queveda, gave sustenance to more than two hundred; Cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo, supported five hundred for many years. The Low Countries and Switzerland also welcomed many; and during the years 1792 and 1793 seven thousand landed in England, where their zeal and constancy dissipated many Protestant prejudices, and caused many conversions to the true faith (1). In no country, however, were the French priestly exiles so gladly welcomed as in Poland; there the nobility and gentry found in them excellent tutors for their children. Canada gained much by the exile of so many French ecclesiastics; and much of the early progress of Catholicism in the United States must be ascribed to the same cause (2).

(1) For interesting details concerning this priestly emigration, see the *Memoirs for the History of the Persecution*, by the Abbé d'Auribeau. Rome, 1794.

(2) We have abstained from any reflections on the French Revolution, unless when treating of matters which immediately concern the Church; and we shall pursue the same course when we describe the pontificate of Pius VII. As compensation for a seeming neglect, we present the following observations of one of the most judicial minds of our century: "In the latter part of the past century, there appeared in French society a movement of ideas, of which we cannot yet foresee the ultimate consequences. Down to that time, nations had indeed modified the conditions of their public life to a certain extent, according to the needs of the day, and the state of the minds of men; and in the long course of her history, France herself had not failed, on many occasions, to accommodate her civil and political life to new conditions of things. In reforms such as these were, reforms inspired by justice and accomplished with wisdom, there is nothing which is not conformable with the designs of Providence, and with the natural order of things. But that a nation should suddenly cut itself away from its entire past, instantaneously making a *tabula rasa* of its government, its laws, and its institutions, in order to build a new social edifice—new from foundation to roof—and without taking into consideration either right or tradition; that a nation reputed to be at the head of all nations, should declare to the whole world that it had pursued a wrong path for twelve centuries, that it had always been mistaken in regard to

its genius and its mission ; that there had been neither justice nor legitimacy in all that had constituted its grandeur and glory ; that all was to be begun anew, and that it would never again take rest until every vestige of its past history would have disappeared ; a spectacle so strange had never been beheld by men. But was it indeed the will of the nation, in 1787, that France should tear up her glorious history, in a moment of anger, in order to plunge herself into a terrible unknown ? By no means. I have just read attentively the *cahiers* (the official instructions of the electors to the deputies in the States General) in which the clergy, the nobles, and the Third Estate, had given a free and sincere expression of their sentiments and desires ; for, 'no elections were ever more truly free than those of 1789' (So admits Chassin, the ultra panegyrist of the Revolution, in his *Genius of the Revolution*, vol. i., p. 217. Paris, 1863). Here all agree in preserving the foundations of French society ; monarchical government, the inviolability of the person of the king, and the heredity of the crown from male to male ; the Catholic religion being dominant, that is, alone having the right of public worship (See *The Cahiers of 1789*, by Leon de Poncins, p. 146. Paris, 1886). None of these things are questioned in any of the *cahiers* ; and the Third Estate is not the least enthusiastic when there is an opportunity to exhibit devotion to royalty (Chassin admits this fact, p. 240). It is therefore absolutely true that the idea of a radical revolution is totally absent in the *cahiers* which were prepared by the intellectual *élite* of the nation, and which were approved by the deliberate and free votes of the electors. In those *cahiers* you must search, if you wish to know the veritable sentiments cherished by the French nation on the eve of 1789. As Mounier said : 'They wished to destroy abuses, not to overthrow the throne' ; they wished to introduce reforms, not to effect a revolution. Yes, they wished to destroy abuses, and there were grave and numerous ones. They wished to work reforms, and unanimously and in accordance with right—reforms in matter of privileges, which once conduced to the general welfare, but which, for the greater part, had not then the olden reason for their existence ; reforms in the matter of partition and collection of taxes ; and above all, a reform by restoring the true principles of the French Constitution—the consent of the nation to the levy of a tax ; and a participation of the nation, through its representatives, in the framing of legislation, according to the old maxim, *Lex consensu populi fit, et constitutione regis*. Behold the real aspirations of every class of French society, toward the close of the last century. . . . No one dreamed of maintaining the abuses ; every one wished for the actuation of the reforms. At no time, and in no country, had there been seen, on the part of any government or political body, so much good will and generosity in regard to a pacific transformation of the social state. The enthusiasm did not pause to reflect ; witness that night of Aug. 4, when the nobility and clergy sacrificed their privileges without restriction, without any reservation of acquired rights, and therefore at the risk of violating justice and equity in the case of others who were interested in the question. But long before that event, and without any outside pressure, the hitherto privileged orders had spontaneously and solemnly renounced every exemption in matter of taxes (PRUDHOMME ; *Summary of the Cahiers*, vol. i., p. 197, and vol. ii., p. 182). The clergy especially, recognizing "the needs of the state, which form the supreme law," had insisted on being subjected to the same pecuniary charges which weighed on the other orders. Many of the *cahiers* expressed the wish that daily laborers should be exempt from every tax ; and that in no case whatever, the poor man should be deprived of the tools needed for his work, or of the furniture needed by his family. . . . Every sincere patriot should ask himself this question : What would be the condition of France to-day, if the reform movement of 1789, as indicated in its grand outlines by the *cahiers*, had followed its natural course, instead of giving place to permanent revolution ; if traditional institutions, rejuvenated and strengthened, had developed progressively, according to the needs and interests of the country ; if the government had not oscillated between dictatorship and anarchy, as it has done for the last hundred years, but had rather maintained the just equilibrium in which the general desire would have placed it ; if, sparing itself ten revolutions and thirty years of—albeit glorious wars, the French nation had known how to profit by the marvellous resources with which Providence has deigned to endow it ? No one possessing political acumen will hesitate in agreeing with us when we say that if the reform movement of 1789 had been actuated under such conditions, France would have then given the tone to all Christian Europe, and that to-day she would be at the head of the entire world. . . . All the civil and political reforms—I mean the useful, serious, and legitimate ones—which have been accomplished since 1789, have had

absolutely nothing in common with the French Revolution. The *cahiers* of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the Third Estate, demonstrate that all those reforms would have been effected more surely, more wisely, and more efficaciously, without the Revolution. . . . Do we advise a reaction against the revolutionary movement of 1789? Undoubtedly; for the salvation of France depends on that reaction—on a reaction both profound and vigorous; a reaction of realities against illusions and fictions; a reaction of experience against a series of lamentable deceptions; a reaction of principles against an absence of all doctrine; a reaction of hereditary and national right against the usurpations of force; a reaction of Christianity against atheists and materialists; a reaction of a country which wishes to live against the debilitating causes which would eventually kill it. If present evils and the threats of the future produce this result, we may bless God and thank men for them. As for me, I can conceive but one formula for deliverance: to bid farewell to all revolutionary ideas, and then to resume unhesitatingly, and with firmness, the reforming movement of 1789." *The Centennial of 1789, by Mgr. Freppel, Bishop of Angers, and Deputy from Finisterre.* Paris, 1889.



APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the Roman Pontiffs, Rulers of Principal Nations, Principal Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Sectarians.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes. Date of Election.</i>	<i>Holy Rom. Empr's. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of France. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Spain. Date of Death.</i>
Leo XI., 1605	Rudolph II., 1612	Henry IV., 1610	Philip III., 1621
Paul V., 1605	Mathias, 1619	Louis XIII., 1643	Philip IV., 1665
Gregory XV., 1621	Ferdinand II., 1637	Louis XIV., 1715	Charles II., 1700
Urban VIII., 1623	Ferdinand III., 1657		
Innocent X., 1644	Leopold I., 1705	<i>Kings of Naples. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Czars of Russia. Date of Death.</i>
Alexander VII., 1655			
Clement IX., 1667	<i>Kings of England. Date of Death.</i>	Philip II. of Spain, III., 1621	Boris Godounov, 1605
Clement X., 1670		Philip III., of Spain, IV., 1665	Feodor I., 1605
Innocent XI., 1676	Elizabeth, 1603		Vassily V., 1612
Alexander VIII., 1689	James I., 1625		Michael Romanov, 1645
Innocent XII., 1691	Charles I., 1649	Charles IV., of Sicily, III., of Spain, II., 1700	Alexis, 1676
Clement XI., 1700	Charles II., 1685		Feodor II., 1682
	James II., dep., 1688		Peter I., 1725

Ecclesiastical Writers: Baronio, Bellarmine, Molina, Du Perron, St. Francis De Sales, Thomas de Lemos, Alvarez, Sirmond, Petau, Morin, De Marca, Bollandus, Labbe, Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Mabillon, Ruinart, Fléchier, Richard Simon, Fleury, Baluze, Huet, Le Nain de Tillemont, Pagl, Combessis, Thomassin, Noris, Segneri.

Councils: About 50.

Sectarians: The Puritans in England. Baius. Arminius. Gomar. Presbyterians in Scotland. Illuminati in Spain, afterward in France. Quakers. Preadamites. Jansenists. Quietists.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes. Date of Election.</i>	<i>Holy Rom. Empr's. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of France. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Spain. Date of Death.</i>
Innocent XIII., 1721	Leopold I., 1705	Louis XIV., 1711	Philip V., 1746
Benedict XIII., 1724	Joseph I., 1711	Louis XV., 1774	Charles III., 1788
Clement XII., 1730	Charles VI., 1740	Louis XVI., 1793	Charles IV. forced by Napoleon to abdicate in 1808
Benedict XIV., 1749	Charles VII., 1745	Louis XVII., (said to have died in) 1795	
Clement XIII., 1758	Francis I., 1765		
Clement XIV., 1769	Maria-Teresa, 1780		
Pius VI., 1775	Joseph II., 1790	Constituent Assembly, Legislative Assembly, Convention, Directory.	<i>Czars of Russia. Date of Death.</i>
Pius VII., 1800	Leopold II., 1792		Peter I., 1725
			Catharine I., 1727
			Peter II., 1730
			Anna, 1740
			Ivan VI., 1741
			Elizabeth, 1761
			Peter III., 1762
			Catharine II., 1796
			Paul, 1801
<i>Kings of England. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Prussia. Date of Death.</i>		
William and Mary reign together until the latter dies in 1694; then William is sole monarch until his death in 1702	Frederick I., first king of Prussia, proclaimed in 1700, died in 1713		
Anne, 1714	Fred. Wm. I., 1740		
George I., 1727	Frederick II., 1785		
George II., 1760	Fred. Wm. II., 1797		
George III., 1820			

Ecclesiastical Writers: Ballerini, Mansi, De Colonia, Gotti, Muratori, Concina, Benedict XIV., Orsi, St. Liguori, Mamachi, Litta, Daniel, Tournely, Grancolas, Le Quien, Longueval, De Tourmenine, De Montfaucon, Martene, Languet, Billuart, Calmet, Witasse, Collet, Berthier, Bergier, Berault-Bercastel, Nonotte, Feller.

Councils: About 130.

Sectarians: Quesnel. The Appellants. The Philosophists. The Schismatics of the "Constitutional Church" of France.

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